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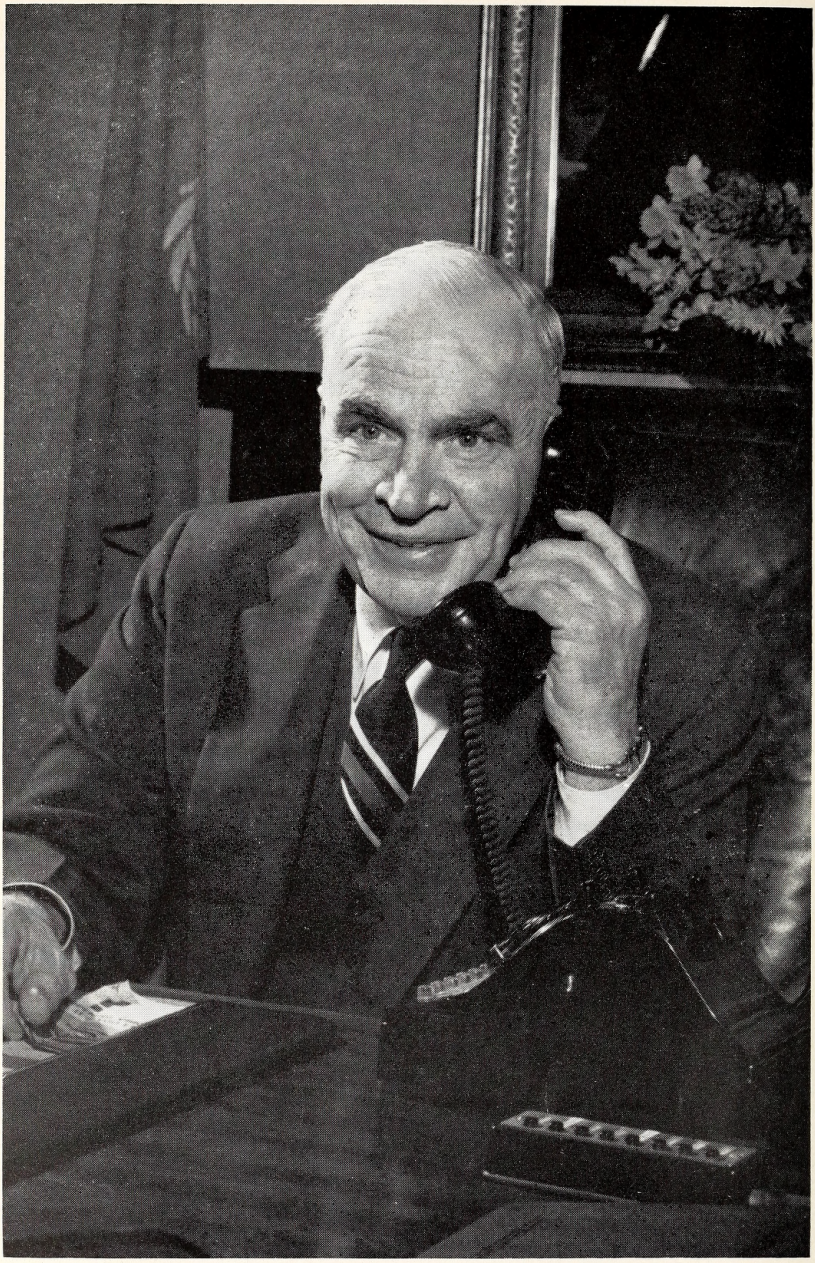
MESSAGES, ADDRESSES, AND PUBLIC PAPERS

OF

LUTHER HARTWELL HODGES



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Luther Hartwell Hodges.

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MESSAGES, ADDRESSES, AND PUBLIC PAPERS

of

LUTHER HARTWELL HODGES

GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA

1954 - 1961

Volume I

1954-1956

Edited by

James W. Patton
Professor of History and Director of the Southern Historical Collection
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh
Council of State
State of North Carolina
1960

FOREWORD

Ordinarily, the messages, addresses, and public papers of a governor of North Carolina are published in one volume at some time after their author has retired from the governor's office. Likewise, under ordinary circumstances a governor serves only one four-year term. In the present instance, however, Governor Hodges, who succeeded to the office upon the death of Governor William B. Umstead on November 7, 1954, and was elected for a four-year term in 1956, will have served more than six years and at the end of this period will have been in office longer than any governor of North Carolina since it became a state. Governor Hodges has also been one of the most prolific public speakers in the recent history of North Carolina. Most of his speeches have been carefully prepared in advance of delivery, and copies have been preserved among his public papers.

For these reasons it has been decided to publish his papers in more than one volume and to devote the first volume to the period in which he was filling out the term to which his predecessor had been originally elected. It has been manifestly impossible to print within a volume of any reasonable proportions all of the speeches which he made and the public papers which issued from the governor's office during this period. Fifty-four public addresses, considered to be the more important and the more illustrative of the Governor's thought and activity, have been selected for inclusion in their entirety. The remaining speeches have been summarized or simply listed by title, date, and place delivered. A similar selection has been undertaken with reference to proclamations, executive orders, and greetings and statements. The list of appointments contains only those made by Governor Hodges during the two years and approximately two months of his first administration.

The funds for printing this volume have been provided by the Council of State as has been the custom in previous volumes of the governors' papers. The editor was selected by and has worked under the general supervision of a committee consisting of Dr. Christopher Crittenden, chairman, Professor Hugh T. Lefler, and Messrs. E. A. Resch, Edward L. Rankin, Jr., and Harold Makepeace, the last two of these having been successively the

private secretaries of Governor Hodges during his tenure of office. All members of this committee have been cooperative and helpful to the editor with their comments and suggestions. Mr. Hugh MacRae Morton has generously supplied a number of photographs from his private collection. Mrs. Sylvia Fountain Brake and Miss Elizabeth Haynes Green typed the manuscript; Mrs. Elizabeth Dantzler Geer and Mrs. Jane Mears Adkins assisted in various phases of the editorial work; and Miss Emma Louise Shepherd prepared the index.

James W. Patton

Chapel Hill, North Carolina
July 1, 1960

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LUTHER HARTWELL HODGES

Luther Hartwell Hodges, one of the nine children of John James and Lovicia Gammon Hodges, was born on March 9, 1898, near the village of Cascade in Pittsylvania County, Virginia, only a short distance from the North Carolina state line. At the time of his birth and for some years previously his parents were tenants on a tobacco farm, but on account of crop failures the family moved in 1901 to the nearby town of Leaksville, North Carolina, where the elder Hodges secured employment in a cotton mill and later operated a small grocery store. Young Luther attended the public schools of Leaksville and Spray and in 1915 was graduated from the Leaksville High School. While in school, during summers, and in the interval between grade and high schools he worked variously as office boy and mill hand at Marshall Field and Company's Fieldcrest Mills in Leaksville, as handyman in his father's store, as "news butcher" on the Norfolk and Western Railroad, and in numerous other jobs.

In the fall of 1915, with a total of $62.50 saved from summer employment, he entered the freshman class at the University of North Carolina. Although conditioned in Latin, Greek, and mathematics, as a result of inadequate offerings and short terms at the Leaksville High School, he was able to remove these deficiencies and to graduate on schedule with his class in June, 1919. Along with his academic work at the University he also engaged in a multiplicity of other activities. To finance his education he waited on tables in the University dining hall, fired furnaces for residents of the village, ran a pressing club, and worked in the University Library. During summers he sold Bibles around the countryside or worked in the mill at Leaksville. He won a second lieutenant's commission at Plattsburg in the summer of 1918 and was absent from the University during the remainder of that year, serving with troops at Camp Grant in Illinois.

His extra-curricular activities were equally varied and time consuming. Among the student organizations to which he belonged, and in several of which he held office, were the Rockingham County Club (president), the International Polity Club, the Athletic Council, the Student Council (president), the Student

Cabinet, the Greater Council, the YMCA Cabinet (secretary), the Dialectic Literary Society (treasurer and president), Golden Fleece, and Epsilon Phi Delta. He represented the Dialectic Society in the Junior Oratorical Contest, participated in class football, baseball, and basket ball, made the varsity basket ball squad and managed the varsity baseball team, served as a commencement marshal, and was elected president of the senior class which carried with it the leadership of student government on the campus and leadership of the student body. Quite understandably, he was voted the best all-round man in his class. Under his graduation picture in the 1919 *Yackety Yack* appeared the comment, "Break into Carolina life anywhere, and you will discover 'Luke.' As president of 'nineteen, and leader in Di Society, Y.M.C.A., athletics, and what not else, he has imbued the entire campus with his enthusiastic spirit. He is eagerly looking forward to the greater Carolina of the future, and very genuinely helping lay its foundations. 'Luke' will make good."

In so far as the University had a system of majors and minors at the time of his attendance there, Hodges had specialized in economics, but until the end of his senior year he had made no decision as to a vocation. He considered the YMCA and was offered a position with that organization in Alabama. In the end, however, he returned to Leaksville to accept a position as secretary to the general manager of the Marshall Field mills in the Leaksville-Spray area, reasoning that although the beginning salary was considerably less than that offered by the YMCA, the opportunities for promotion in the mills were much greater. Moving rapidly up the ladder, he became personnel manager in 1920, manager of the blanket mill in 1927, production manager of all the company's mills in the Leaksville area in 1934, and general manager, in charge of sales as well as production, of all twenty-nine Marshall Field mills in the United States and foreign countries in 1938. The 1938 promotion resulted in his transfer to New York in 1940 where he lived until returning to Leaksville in 1947. He was promoted to vice-president of Marshall Field and Company in 1943, and retired, after thirty-two years with the company, in 1950.

Throughout his career as a textile executive, Hodges was also active in community, state, and national affairs. Recalling his

military service during World War I, he joined his local post of the American Legion and became its commander. He helped to organize the Leaksville-Spray Rotary Club in 1923; served as chairman of all local club committees, and later as president; became district governor of Rotary in North Carolina in 1927, chairman of the Rotary International Committee on Community Service in 1931, member, vice-chairman, and chairman of the Post-War Committee of the Rotary from 1943 to 1945, director of the New York City Rotary Club for three years and its president in 1946-47, and chairman of the Rotary International Convention at Rio de Janeiro in 1948; represented Rotary International as consultant and observer at the organization of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945, and thereafter before the Security Council of the United Nations.

His civic interests were further manifested by activities in Boy Scout work, for which he received the Silver Beaver award; as board member of the Southern YMCA Industrial Conference, the Silver Bay Conference, and the Metropolitan YMCA in New York; as state chairman of the North Carolina Cancer Society, the Society for Crippled Children, and the United Fund Campaign; as director of the national campaign for attack on leprosy in foreign countries; as member of the Southern Industrial Conference Board; as trustee of the University of North Carolina and chairman of its Development Council, trustee of the North Carolina Medical Foundation, and president of the North Carolina Business Foundation; and as trustee of New York's Town Hall, director of the Institute of Textile Technology and of the Cotton Textile Institute, and trustee of George Peabody College in Nashville, Tennessee.

In the field of governmental operations Hodges served during this period as a member of the North Carolina State Board of Education under Governor O. Max Gardner and on the State Highway and Public Works Commission under Governor J. C. B. Ehringhaus, with the federal government as price executive of the Textile Division of the Office of Price Administration in 1944, as special consultant to the Secretary of Agriculture in 1945, and as adviser on a special mission for the United States Army in 1948. Following his retirement from Marshall Field and Company in 1950 he spent more than a year as chief of the Industry Division

of the Economic Cooperation Administration in West Germany and the latter months of 1951 as consultant to the State Department on the International Management Conference.

Fraternally, he affiliated with the Masonic Order. In religion a Methodist, he served for many years as lay leader, Sunday school teacher, and steward of his church in Leaksville. Once in a public address at Lake Junaluska he referred to his church membership and activities as having been "the anchor of my busy life."

Shortly after his graduation from the University of North Carolina Luther Hodges met Martha Blakeney, a teacher in the Leaksville schools, and they were married in the summer of 1922. Born in Monroe in Union County, she had later lived at Wake Forest and was a graduate of the North Carolina College for Women (now the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina), with additional summer work at Columbia University and the University of Chicago. They became the parents of two daughters, Betsy Blakeney (Mrs. Donald Mumford Bernard, Jr.) and Nancy Houston (Mrs. John Campbell Finlay), and one son, Luther Hartwell Hodges, Jr. At the end of his first term in 1956 the Governor and Mrs. Hodges had five grandchildren.

Following his work in Germany and with the State Department, Hodges went back home to Leaksville at the end of 1951. He had no definite plans, but he had a theory. During his tours of governmental duty he had been impressed by the tremendous amounts of money handled by all levels of government, and he had also seen some of the complicated administrative problems a government runs up against. Some of the money was wasted, some of the problems bungled. What government needed, he concluded, was more businessmen. He himself had always wanted to serve in public office, but the pressures of private business and the need for making a living had for the most part prevented his giving the matter serious consideration. So now when a friend suggested that he run for lieutenant governor, Hodges decided to enter the Democratic primary of 1952.

Few took him seriously; even his close friends doubted that he could win. By tradition the office of lieutenant governor in North Carolina almost always goes to one with long experience and activity in state politics. Hodges, despite his success in the business world, was not well known in North Carolina, and his only

previous venture in politics had been one appointive term as highway commissioner. Nevertheless, he had a stack of campaign cards printed and set out to cover the state. In order to make as many stops and see as many people as possible he usually bought only a dollar's worth of gasoline at any one filling station. All in all he traveled about 11,000 miles, shook thousands of hands, and announced to everyone he met, "My name is Luther Hodges. I'm running for lieutenant governor. I'm not a politician and I've never run for office before. I'd appreciate your vote." The result was a handsome victory for Hodges (226,167) over veteran legislator Roy Rowe of Pender County (151,067), with Marshall C. Kurfees of Winston-Salem (55,055) and Ben J. McDonald of Wilmington (52,916) running a modest third and fourth. Rowe did not call for a second primary.

Hodges' victory in the May primary was virtual assurance of his success in the general election of November, where he won easily over his Republican opponent, Warren H. Pritchett of Spruce Pine, by a vote of 783,792 to 374,530. Taking office, along with Governor William B. Umstead, in January, 1953, he presided over the Senate during the General Assembly's session of that year and in addition occupied the constitutionally designated post of ex-officio member of the State Board of Education. Under normal conditions he would have presided over the Senate again in 1955 and at the end of 1956 would probably have returned to the political obscurity from which he had emerged in 1952. All of this was completely changed on November 7, 1954, when the death of William Bradley Umstead elevated Luther Hartwell Hodges to the office of governor of North Carolina.

Since the state had not experienced the loss of a chief executive in modern times, there was no readily available precedent for handling the ceremony of succession. The constitution simply states that the lieutenant governor shall succeed to the office upon the death of the governor. Accordingly, at four o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, November 9, a few hours after the funeral of Governor Umstead, the new governor took his oath of office before Chief Justice Maurice Victor Barnhill in a brief, simple ceremony in the Capitol's Hall of the House of Representatives and thus entered upon a career as governor of North Carolina

which was to last longer than that of any previous governor in the history of the state.

Few governors have ever faced so critical a period with so little experience in the rough-and-tumble game of practical politics. It is true that Hodges while presiding over the Senate in 1953 had acquired a working knowledge of the state government and had gotten to know the members of the Senate and most of the key men in the House, but this experience was essentially legislative rather than executive. At the same time, the "non-political" character of his successful race for lieutenant governor suggested that his following was largely personal; certainly he was not identified with either of the major Democratic factions in the state. This independence, which proved to be a valuable asset in the long run, could have deprived him of a nucleus of legislative support and could have encouraged some legislators to try to take over direction of affairs.

With the 1955 session of the General Assembly only two months away, it was imperative that the new governor give immediate attention to two major problems. These were the budget, which he had not seen, and the segregation issue, on which he had only such information as any reasonably well-informed citizen would get from the newspapers. In fiscal matters, the state, confronted with growing needs and threatened with diminishing means, must choose between continuing or curtailing its services; and if the decision was in favor of the farmer, the money had to be found. The segregation issue had been precipitated by a decision of the United States Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, holding that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains. Instead of issuing a decree, however, the Court ordered that the five cases in which the decision of May 17 was rendered be restored to the docket for reargument sometime after October, 1954, and further stated that the attorneys general of any of the seventeen states having constitutional or statutory provisions for separate schools would be permitted, upon application, to file briefs in answer to certain questions which the Court had heretofore submitted. North Carolina was not a party to the original suit, but as one of the Southern states maintaining separate schools for black and white, it would obviously be affected by the decree of the Court when

issued. In anticipation of the Court's action, Governor Umstead in August, 1954, had appointed a Special Advisory Committee on Education, consisting of nineteen members with Thomas J. Pearsall as chairman, to study the problems resulting from the decision of the Supreme Court with reference to segregation and then make recommendations for consideration by the 1955 General Assembly. This committee had made no report, nor had the cases been reargued before the Supreme Court, at the time of Governor Umstead's death.

As previously intimated, Governor Hodges had no occasion to make the customary inaugural address of a new governor before the General Assembly, since that body was not in session at the time of his succession to office. His first opportunity to announce his program came, therefore, in his biennial message to the General Assembly, delivered on January 6, 1955, in which he also included the budget message, which former governors had usually incorporated into a separate document, often sent to be read instead of being delivered personally. In this and later messages his approach was smooth, polished, and tactful. By rigid application and capable advice he had quickly familiarized himself with the details of the budget, and in this as well as in other matters he proved himself equal to the task of dealing with the General Assembly.

The 1955 session of the General Assembly was the longest in contemporary history, largely because of legislative preoccupation with financial problems. For the first time since the depression of the early 1930's, the state and the General Assembly had to face up to the need for boosting taxes substantially in order to balance the state budget. As director of the budget, the Governor had to choose between raising more revenue or cutting state services. He called for more revenue. He agreed that the state should economize where economy could be applied "without hurting essential services," but he warned against setting economy above good government. "A growing state," he said, "requires more and more services. North Carolina is a leader in many fields and its people are proud of its leadership. They want to continue to go forward in a common sense way, not with frills but with a proper regard for fundamentals."

The 1955-57 budget estimates, which were based upon economic conditions prevailing in the early fall of 1954, reflected a need for new revenues amounting to approximately $26,000,000 for each year of the biennium. To raise these amounts it was proposed that excise taxes be placed on soft drinks and tobacco products, that certain exemptions from the sales tax be removed, and that various miscellaneous taxes be raised or changed. Many conservatives looked with suspicion upon these proposals, especially the contemplated tax on tobacco and soft drinks, and in response to pressures from constituents the legislators countered with a proposal to raise the sales tax. Hodges resolutely opposed any increase in the sales tax, as well as any increase in the income tax. Explaining his position at press conferences, in speeches, and over radio and television networks, he argued that the people if given the facts would not balk at paying their fair share of new taxes.

Fortunately, an upswing in the state's economy while the legislature was in session made possible a revision of the additional revenue needs first from $52,000,000 to $37,000,000 for the biennium and later to $20,000,000. The Governor announced these revised estimates in a special message to a joint session of the General Assembly on May 5, 1955, and at the same time explained a plan to improve sales and income tax collections which would reduce still further the need for new taxes. He called the new estimates realistic but warned the legislators that they could not evade their responsibility for balancing the state's budget. In response, near the end of the 1955 session, the General Assembly approved the Governor's recommendation for spending $640,000,000 a year from all fund sources and provided for raising the necessary money without increasing either the sales or income tax. The key element here was the revised revenue estimates; without these the Governor might not have been able to hold out against the legislative proposal to increase sales and income taxes.

Perhaps the best evidence of the Governor's strength in dealing with the 1955 General Assembly was presented in legislative reaction to the positions he took on segregation, highway spending, pre-audits in the state auditor's office, and higher education. As to segregation, the Special Advisory Committee appointed by Governor Umstead made its report on December 30, 1954, recommending "that North Carolina try to find means of meeting the

requirements of the Supreme Court's decision within our present school system before consideration is given to abandoning or materially altering it." To this end the report called for legislation to give local school boards power over the enrollment and assignment of children in the public schools and on school buses throughout the state. Enactment of this legislation was as far as the Governor thought the state ought to go until further action should be taken by the Supreme Court or until the pending decree of the Court should be issued. Despite persistent opposition from extremists, the General Assembly followed the Governor's lead and adopted the pupil assignment plan on March 30, 1955.

The Governor also received the support of the General Assembly in a controversy with the powerful and politically important State Highway Commission. The commission had invested $110,000 in a study which proposed the spending of $610,000,000 over the next six years to modernize the primary highway system. The Governor said that this was not realistic and so told the legislature in a special message sent on January 20, 1955. He called instead for a pay-as-you-go program, in which the General Assembly concurred. Another proposal of the Governor which won legislative approval was the pre-audits item involving bookkeeping methods in the state auditor's office. Auditor Henry L. Bridges opposed this plan on the ground that it amounted to reducing the independence of a constitutional office, but in a showdown the Assembly sided with the Governor. Still further successes were registered by the Governor in getting adopted his proposals for a board of higher education to exercise general supervision over the state's institutions of higher learning and for increasing the authority of the director of prisons—until this time under the State Highway Commission—with a view to setting up eventually an independent prison department. He was also able to rescue the highway safety program from threatened destruction by anti-"whammy" legislation.

In at least three instances he was unable to get his proposals adopted. He failed to get the higher minimum wage law which both he and Governor Umstead had endorsed. As had other governors, he failed to get the action he called for on the biennial liquor referendum. On the matter of legislative redistricting he was no more successful than had been his predecessors Scott and

Umstead. In general, however, the major items in his program were approved by the 1955 General Assembly.

The segregation issue did not end with the 1955 General Assembly but continued to be a problem throughout the entire first term of Governor Hodges' administration. Following the rehearing of the segregation cases in April, 1955—at which Assistant Attorney General I. Beverly Lake presented an able brief on the part of North Carolina—the United States Supreme Court issued its decree on May 31, 1955, implementing the decision of May 17, 1954, to the effect that enforced segregation in the public schools is a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Governor Hodges criticized the Court's action as an unwarranted assumption of power, but he steadfastly refused to follow the lead of certain other Southern states in programs of massive resistance or other species of defiance of the Court's decree. Instead, he recommended a plan of voluntary segregation in the schools of the state on the part of both races. This proposal, which he elaborated in a state-wide radio and television address on August 8, 1955, received considerable criticism from Negro leaders in the state and in particular from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Meanwhile, in place of the Governor's Special Advisory Committee on Education, the General Assembly had created on April 8, 1955, a seven-member North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education, which Governor Hodges appointed in June, 1955, and of which Thomas J. Pearsall was also the chairman. This committee held a number of meetings, conferences, and hearings and at length recommended a constitutional amendment authorizing the General Assembly (1) to provide for the payment of education expense grants from state or local public funds for the private schooling of any child who is assigned against the wishes of his parent or guardian to an integrated school and (2) to permit local communities by majority vote to suspend the operation of public schools if conditions become intolerable by reason of forced integration. Called into special session on July 23, 1956, the General Assembly adopted the desired amendment and directed that it be submitted to the people of the state on the following September 8. Governor Hodges gave his active support, both personally and officially, to the Pearsall amendment and in

numerous conferences, public addresses, and radio and television appearances helped to bring about its ratification by a vote of 471,657 to 101,767 in the September 8 referendum.

It was an ironic circumstance that Governor Hodges, whose main interest was in giving the state a businessman's administration, should have been forced to devote so much of his time and energy to problems which were not of his own making and which for the most part could not have been anticipated. One of these was, of course, the segregation issue. Another was the destruction wrought by a series of three hurricanes—Connie, August 12; Diane, August 17; and Ione, September 19, 1955—which swept through eastern North Carolina before that section had recovered from the ravages of Hurricane Hazel which had caused similar damage less than a year previously. In these emergencies the Governor acted vigorously, going in person to the coastal area on two occasions while the storms were still in progress, directing relief and rehabilitation activities, and tirelessly working to secure disaster relief from the federal government. He also worked for an adequate system of civil defense and for hurricane warnings which would enable the state to prepare for and withstand better such emergencies in the future.

Other twentieth-century governors of North Carolina have emphasized various programs for improving the welfare of the state. Aycock, for example, relied on education; Morrison and Scott on good roads; Gardner on governmental streamlining and the "live-at-home" movement; and Broughton on better health facilities. Luther Hodges sought to lift the standard of North Carolina living through industrialization. To achieve this number one goal, which he liked to call "Operation Bootstrap," he advocated more local industries, more small factories, and more processing plants for converting the state's raw materials into greater income-yielding products. He was particularly distressed over the state's low per capita income which he attributed to excessive preoccupation with agriculture and to the comparatively low wages earned by workers in certain of the state's major industries, notably textiles and tobacco manufacturing. Speaking incessantly on this subject, he hoped to stimulate the interest of bankers, financiers, and businessmen in establishing new industries in the state and bringing others in from the outside. One of

his favorite devices was to itemize the benefits, financial and otherwise, that a new industry would bring to the community in which it was located. His most notable achievement in this respect was his Governor's Small Industries Plan and his Business Development Corporation. The latter of these was chartered by the General Assembly and was designed to sell stock, the proceeds of which would be used to make loans to persons or firms wishing to establish new industries in the state.

Two other matters to which the Governor gave serious attention during his first term were the conservation of the state's water resources and highway safety. On the question of water conservation he made a number of public statements and devoted two speeches entirely to the subject—at Danville, Virginia, before the Roanoke River Basin Association on June 24, 1955, and at Point Clear, Alabama, before the Southern Governors' Conference on October 19 of the same year. He gave active support to a water resources advisory committee which had been appointed by Governor Umstead and to its report which resulted in the creation of a Board of Water Commissioners by the 1955 General Assembly. In the interest of highway safety he spoke frequently, proclaimed various "safe driving days," and by executive order on November 30, 1954, established "The Governor's Traffic Safety Council" to "encourage, develop, and make use of public support in promoting highway safety." Also, as previously indicated, he was able to prevent legislative approval of proposals which, if adopted, would have seriously reduced the effectiveness of the state's highway safety program.

A significant feature of Governor Hodges' administration was the amount of speechmaking that he found time to undertake. From the date of his succession on November 7, 1954, to the end of 1956 he made at least 300 public addresses, of which approximately 225 were carefully prepared and distributed to newspapers and other news media in advance of delivery. Speaking and other functions also led the Governor to undertake an enormous amount of travel, by almost every conceivable form of conveyance. In 1955 he covered 44,927 miles, and in 1956 his total mileage was 57,929. The 1955 total represented 21,776 miles by automobile, 3,615 by train, 16,021 by airplane, 1,195 by helicopter, 650 by jet plane, 1,672 by ship, and 100 yards by road scraper, this being the only

available facility by which he could leave a particular place during a hurricane. The 1956 amount included forty miles by Coast Guard tow boat and thirty-eight miles by beach buggy, while inspecting sand dunes.

The constitution of North Carolina forbids the governor to succeed himself after serving an elective term, but it places no such restriction upon him when he is serving out the unexpired term of a governor who has died or resigned. Luther Hodges was thus eligible to succeed himself for the full four-year term, 1957-1961. He had no substantial opposition in the May primary of 1956 and won the Democratic nomination easily by a vote of 401,082 over Tom Sawyer, 29,248; Harry P. Stokely, 24,416; and C. E. Earle, Jr., 11,908—all three of his opponents being residents of Charlotte. In the general election of November 6 Hodges' vote was 760,480 as against 375,379 for his Republican opponent, Kyle Hayes of Wilkesboro.

Prior to the death of Governor Umstead there were only two instances since the Civil War in which a governor resigned or died while in office. Governor Zebulon B. Vance resigned in 1879 to enter the United States Senate and was succeeded by Thomas J. Jarvis who ran for and was elected to the succeeding four-year term. Governor Daniel G. Fowle died in office in 1891 and was succeeded by Thomas M. Holt who did not seek the succeeding term. Governor Jarvis served from February 5, 1879, to January 21, 1885, a total of five years, eleven months, and fifteen days. At a much earlier period Governor Richard Caswell served a total, though not continuous, of six years and approximately one month. Luther Hodges at the end of his elective term will have been in office for six years and approximately two months, the longest period ever served by a governor of North Carolina since it became a state.

MESSAGES TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

MESSAGES TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

[The messages of January 6 and May 5, 1955, and July 23, 1956, were delivered in person by the Governor before the General Assembly. The message of January 20, 1955, was transmitted and was read by the respective clerks of the Senate and the House of Representatives on that day. Three messages of a routine nature, transmitting reports of committees and lists of appointments, were sent on January 26, March 9, and May 20, 1955, respectively. These are printed in the *Journal of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, Session 1955,* pp. 71-73, 198-200, and 758. The four messages here printed also appear in the *Journal of the Senate, Session 1955,* pp. 12-23, 39-41, and 604-610, and in the *Journal of the Senate, Extra Session 1956,* pp. 9-17; and also in the *Journal of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, Session 1955,* pp. 19-31, 66-67, and 959-965, and in the *Journal of the House, Extra Session 1956,* pp. 7-16.]

"THE STATE OF THE STATE"

Biennial Message to the General Assembly

January 6, 1955

[Governor Hodges did not have an opportunity to deliver the customary inaugural address of a new governor before the General Assembly, since that body was not in session at the time of his succession to office, following the death of Governor Umstead in November, 1954. This, his first message, included the budget message, which former governors had usually incorporated into a separate document, often sent to be read instead of being delivered personally. In addition to the tax and spending programs that were to be laid before the General Assembly, Governor Hodges also gave his views on a number of controversial subjects, including segregation.

The message, delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, was originally set for noon but was advanced to 11:30 in order to avoid conflict with President Eisenhower's "State of the Nation" message which was broadcast at 12:30.]

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and Members of the General Assembly of North Carolina:

Since the hour when fate cast upon me the responsibility of the governorship, I have sought to know the problems facing us in North Carolina and to consider plans for their wise solution. I will admit frankly that there have been many moments during the past few weeks when I entertained doubts as to my own wisdom! At such times, I have been encouraged in the knowledge that you would soon be here and that I could share my thinking with you, knowing that you would examine what I have to say in the light of your rich experience.

Ever since my first association with the General Assembly two years ago, when I had the rewarding and satisfying experience of presiding over the Senate and knowing many of you personally, I have looked forward to seeing you again. I am indeed glad that you are here.

May I at this moment pay tribute to my predecessor, the late Governor William B. Umstead. I should like to repeat now what I was privileged to say about him on my first day in office.

He was a great and good man. His career was one of dedicated devotion to public service. He was a man of strong will power, of the highest ideals and unquestioned integrity.

I now submit for your earnest and careful consideration my views regarding the budget report for the biennium 1955-1957.

As members of the 1955 General Assembly, you will receive immediately following this message, a written report of the Advisory Budget Commission signed by each of its members, by me as director of the budget, and by the assistant director of the budget. You will also receive the required appropriation and revenue bills.

The written report, as it will be submitted to you, is the result of many months of careful study and analysis by your Advisory Budget Commission consisting of Messrs. William Rodman, Jr., chairman of the Finance Committee of the House; Kemp Doughton, chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House; John Larkins, Jr., chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the Senate; Claude Currie, chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate; Alonzo Edwards, and LeRoy Martin, appointed by Governor Umstead.

The assistant director of the budget and his staff have worked diligently to help the Advisory Budget Commission in studying the needs and requests of the various departments and institutions, and in helping to write the report. Former Governor William B. Umstead gave much of his time and too much of his strength to this task—even to the point of holding a budget meeting in his room at the hospital.

Although most of the conclusions regarding appropriations and revenue had been agreed upon before I came into office, I have spent quite a bit of time during the past several weeks with the Advisory Budget Commission helping to put on the finishing touches and concluding the recommendations.

The budget report is a unanimous report, and your Governor is not requesting further amounts to be added to these already large figures. I recognize that many deserving requests for increases have been denied, but I feel that the state cannot, at this time, afford to do more than has been recommended by your Advisory Budget Commission. A concise and graphic explanation of the increases and decreases contained in the proposed budget has been prepared and is being submitted herewith as a part of this message. This will reflect a need for new revenue of approximately $26,000,000 for each year of the biennium.

We are not suggesting that the General Assembly should not consider additional appropriations or other revenue measures. We would suggest that you review the recommendations submitted to you and consider the advisability of additional or reduced appropriations and also explore additional or other sources of revenue. The Tax Research Department, the commissioner of revenue and the Budget Bureau, as well as the Advisory Budget Commission members, are ready and available to assist you in your consideration of these problems. However, we point out that the Advisory Budget Commission and the governor have done the same exploring and soul-searching that we recommend to you.

Our state is growing! The following table is dramatic evidence of our expanding income and expenditures:

GENERAL FUND REVENUE AND CURRENT EXPENDITURES FOR CERTAIN FISCAL YEARS 1933-1934 THROUGH 1953-1954

Fiscal Year	*Revenue*	*Expenditures*	*Notes*
1933-1934	$ 24,056,004	$ 23,981,932	Sales tax and beer tax started.
1939-1940	40,698,042	40,644,985	1937-1938 intangibles tax and whiskey tax started.
1944-1945	80,697,290	61,313,350	
1949-1950	132,837,931	132,310,973	1947-1948 franchise and intangible tax rates were reduced.
1953-1954	184,709,897	189,472,567	

Note: Revenue is total General Fund revenue including non-tax revenue. Current expenditures exclude reserves for permanent appropriations, payment of $51,585,079 to the sinking fund in 1945, but include debt service other than the lump sum payment into the sinking fund.

Highway Fund collections and expenditures also show phenomenal growth:

Fiscal Year	*Highway Fund revenue other than federal aid*	*Expenditures from the Highway Fund including expenditures of federal aid*	*Notes*
1933-1934	$ 21,977,328	$ 22,965,337	Private passenger plates reduced; trucks classified and rates graduated.
1939-1940	34,007,162	39,914,551	1937-1938 rates reduced; gross receipts tax added.
1944-1945	33,520,800	26,931,402	1941-1942 rates on farm trucks reduced.
1949-1950	73,171,642	80,502,737	One cent added to gasoline tax January 1, 1950.
1953-1954	102,284,336	112,372,434	1951-52 Powell Bill.

Since the enactment of the sales tax in 1933, primarily for the purpose of enabling the state to assume the obligation of public school maintenance, we have made a few slight changes in our revenue structure. However, there has been no material change since the adoption of the permanent Revenue Act of 1939. For fifteen years, therefore, our system of state taxes has met our needs through many rapidly changing political, economic, and international situations.

With continuing increases in population and an ever-expanding economy, one can visualize the problems and opportunities that lie ahead.

REVENUES

Before adding a dollar to our present expenditures and before considering any growth in school population, or other necessary expenditures, we find that for the biennium ending next June, General Fund expenditures will have exceeded General Fund revenue collections by approximately $30,000,000. This does not mean that we have been operating under an unbalanced budget. It does mean, however, that we no longer have the surplus fund of $32,490,156, which the state had on June 30, 1953.

With no surplus of revenues and with growing requirements for state services—reflected most emphatically in our public schools—it is apparent that we must either cut the services our state has been rendering or raise additional revenues.

We have cut out all but what was considered absolutely essential and have recommended appropriations for the next biennium considerably less than those requested by the responsible agency and institution heads. This was not sufficient to balance our budget in the light of revenues to be expected under our existing tax structure. We have, therefore, exhaustively explored many new sources of revenue, and are recommending the use of some of these sources to obtain the needed funds.

Our state has successfully avoided imposing ad valorem taxes on tangible personal or real property for more than twenty years. Counties and municipalities must rely principally on these sources for their increasing needs.

We have found that only about one-fourth of our General Fund revenue is derived from our stable and fairly constant levies. The giants in the revenue family are income and sales taxes, which are measured directly by earning power on the one hand and spending power on the other.

It does not appear to be economically sound to recommend an increase in corporate or individual tax rates at this time. We have the highest rate of individual income tax in the Southeast and stand near the top in the corporate income tax. Our per capita state tax on business is high compared to other Southeastern states, but our per capita collection of general sales taxes is the lowest.

Our sales tax rates are as high as any of the other thirty-one states which impose a general sales tax, but our law contains thirty-two exemptions and a limitation of liability on a single article. Many of these exemptions, especially food, are considered essential because of the relatively low per capita income in our state and the effect on the family budget. But there are two changes we think should be made now—namely, the removal of the single article limitation, which will annually produce an estimated $7,250,000, and the repeal of the fleet owners exemption, which will annually produce an estimated $450,000.

One of the basic principles of taxation is the ability to pay. The single article limitation conflicts with this principle in that

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the purchaser of an item which sells for $500 or less must pay the full 3 per cent, while the purchaser of an item which sells for above $500 pays a decreasing rate; for example, the tax rate on an item for $2,000 is only three-fourths of 1 per cent. The purchaser of the $500 item pays the same actual dollar amount of tax as the purchaser of the $2,000 item. Each pays $15.

As to the fleet-owner exemption—the small operator of less than five vehicles has his purchases taxed at the full rate of 3 per cent, while the owner of five or more vehicles is taxed at one-twentieth of 1 per cent. No other state has a similar provision.

In our situation there is the choice, as suggested, between greatly broadening the base of our sales tax by taxing food, prescription drugs, most building materials, production materials, and fuel, and seed, feed, and fertilizer, or enacting excise taxes on other consumer goods. We have recommended a low rate excise tax on tobacco products, which will annually produce an estimate $8,945,000. We are not unmindful of the importance of our tobacco growing and manufacturing industries in this state; however, information obtained from reliable sources discloses that other states which have in recent years imposed excise taxes on tobacco products have not experienced any appreciable decline in the consumption of such products. There are consumer tobacco taxes imposed now in forty-one states and the District of Columbia.

We recommend an excise tax on soft drinks which would likewise be borne at the consumer level. It is estimated that this will annually produce $7,125,000. There is, however, a recommended decrease in one of the existing taxes applicable to this industry. We also recommend an increase of 1.5 percent in the rate of tax on the sale of spirituous liquors. This would produce annually approximately $900,000.

It is thought that the state should derive from this source a reasonable tax yield which will not tend to drive the consumer to the bootleggers. The retail price will still compare very favorably with that in other states.

An examination of the insurance tax schedule reveals that there is a wide differential in the rate of tax levied on gross receipts of premiums as between foreign and domestic companies. Income and franchise tax rates applicable to other corporations

make no such distinction or result in a competitive disadvantage. Twenty-seven states impose the same per cent tax rate on domestic and foreign insurance concerns. In general, those states in which the companies having the bulk of the total insurance company assets are located, have the same rate on domestic and foreign companies. We, therefore, recommend that the rate on domestic companies be raised to the same level as the foreign. This will furnish annually approximately $1,170,000.

Other recommended sources of revenue are increases in licenses of insurance agents, annually producing approximately $172,195, and a uniform increase in the charge for commissions issued to notaries public and justices of the peace.

I am not one of those who believe that the state is facing a crisis in its fiscal affairs. I think our state is simply facing the sort of tough problems that are expected to arise from time to time in a growing and dynamic society. I have faith in this General Assembly and in the people of North Carolina. I am confident that, working together, we can successfully solve the problems facing us. I hope all of you will try to view the needs of the state as a whole as you look at these problems.

I believe that in North Carolina we have operated our government more economically than has the average state or the federal government. With the exception of three states, North Carolina employs fewer government employees on a state and local basis combined than other states of the Union. Most of our employees are loyal and render a good day's service. There are instances, however, where there has not been enough work planned for employees, and the state is not getting the most for its money. There is also, as there is everywhere else, some duplication and overlapping of functions which cost the state unnecessarily.

We should economize in every way possible without hurting essential services or without cutting salaries. Subject to your wishes and my responsibility and authority, I shall be continually trying to cut down on waste and inefficiency and save money for the state. I hope, with your help and that of agency and department heads, to make economies and improvements wherever possible.

Let me add that in my opinion North Carolina is today in sound financial condition. We must keep it that way! Our credit

rating has never been better than it is now. We are known and respected as a state that practices good business principles, basing our fiscal policy squarely upon a balanced budget. Our good name and our reputation for integrity are the natural and logical products of half a century of good government.

OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

I am appreciative of the fact that you are serious-minded and dedicated to get on with your work and complete the Assembly's business as expeditiously as you can. As I have said publicly, I am hopeful that you can finish sooner than any of us thought possible some months ago. Your distinguished Senate president and speaker of the House are great leaders who believe in getting things done, and with you, I look forward to working with them.

I have certain other recommendations which I wish to make and which I hope you will consider seriously.

COMMISSION ON REORGANIZATION OF STATE GOVERNMENT

This commission, which was authorized by the 1953 General Assembly, has filed eight reports. The commission was composed of distinguished citizens, for the most part legislators, with Mr. William Rodman, Jr., serving as chairman. I commend the reports of the commission to you. It is impossible for me to go into the details of all of them, nor do I want to make special recommendations on each report. These reports will be implemented by specific bills which will be introduced for your consideration. The sixth and eighth reports made by this commission are on prison reorganization and the reorganization of the governor's office, and I would like to comment on these.

PRISON REORGANIZATION

The commission's report on prison reorganization is one of its most important reports. It has to do with the possibility of separation of the prison system from the State Highway and Public Works Commission. This problem has been in the public eye for a long time. It is possible of solution. We should have the courage to make the decision for eventual separation if, and

when, the studies that are recommended prove separation to be feasible. It is my present opinion that it is feasible, and I join with the unanimous report of the Commission on Reorganization of State Government to recommend certain interim measures. These measures, which will be covered by recommended legislation are important; and I commend them to you for your favorable consideration. They will do much toward continuing the improvement of the prison system. Among the recommendations to be submitted to you are the transfer of administrative and executive powers and duties from the Highway Commission to the prison director, with administrative rules and regulations to be approved by the Prison Advisory Council as well as by the State Highway and Public Works Commission and the governor.

The director of prisons would be appointed for a four-year period, starting one year after a new governor comes into office. His removal would be only after notice and for cause. The director is to have the power to appoint subordinate prison personnel, and all supervisory workers are forbidden to engage in political activity or collection of party funds. Cost studies of the prison are to be made, comparing North Carolina with other states and ascertaining data on which to base intelligent conclusions regarding work for prisoners and a program of rehabilitation.

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

Many of you have heard that the job of being governor is a back-breaking job.

There is no question about it. Very seldom does the occupant of that office ever get a chance to find the time to take a serious look at his work and question some of the duties he inherits. Fortunately for me, there was a preliminary report prepared by the Institute of Government at the University of North Carolina at the request of the Commission on Reorganization of State Government. This was available the week I went into office. I studied it at great length. It points out for the first time in the history of North Carolina the detailed requirements of this office and some of the customs that have grown up around it.

For example, the report points out that the governor is chairman of seven boards or commissions; that he is a member of eleven other boards or commissions. He is, by statute or tradition,

or both, expected either to preside at or to attend these meetings. Some of the board meetings are concerned with administrative detail which should be of no serious concern to the governor's office. He should be able to designate someone to attend for him.

The governor, during a normal term of office, appoints over 1,000 state officials, judges, department heads, board and commission members, and also 800 justices of the peace and 28,000 notaries public. There are approximately 100 officials, including department heads, board chairmen, executive directors and others, who in many of their duties, are responsible directly to the governor. With that many persons reporting to him, a governor can find little time for supervision or counsel, or to be of any real help to them. Study should be given to this problem with the idea of permitting the state's chief executive to do a better job of supervision of and planning for the affairs and development of the state.

COMMISSION ON HIGHER EDUCATION

Another commission authorized by the 1953 General Assembly was the Commission on Higher Education. I should like to give you my views on the report of this commission.

We are proud of our state colleges and university system. They stand well in the state and nation. We have the following state tax-supported higher educational institutions:

	Enrollment 1953-1954
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	5,966
University of North Carolina, Division of Health Affairs	834
Woman's College of the University of North Carolina	2,386
North Carolina State College	4,335
Appalachian State Teachers College	1,393
East Carolina College	2,345
Western Carolina College	784
Agricultural and Technical College	3,016
North Carolina College at Durham	1,608
Elizabeth City State Teachers College	482
Fayetteville State Teachers College	625
Winston-Salem State Teachers College	810
Pembroke State College	148
Total	24,732

According to all reports our college enrollment will grow by leaps and bounds in the next few years. It has been estimated that this enrollment will practically double by 1970.

This means more buildings, larger staffs, more maintenance costs. All this will call for a heavy drain on the state's finances, and we must plan ahead as to how we can pay for these extra needs. The administrations of the various state-supported colleges and the boards of trustees of these colleges are inclined to build up, not only their enrollments and curricula, but have ambitions to make their colleges larger and more diversified. Although this may be commendable, it ultimately means duplication and extra cost. It is essential that we exercise some control of our colleges and university system in their expansion or it could cost the state millions of dollars extra in the coming years. To coordinate and save money, the commission has proposed the creation of a board of higher education made up of distinguished citizens, and a bill to effect this will be introduced.

Proposed legislation will not eliminate the local college boards or prevent the various college administrations from going to the Advisory Budget Commission as they do now. However, we will have a strong and helpful body which will work with the Advisory Budget Commission and the colleges to see that there is a minimum of over-lapping and duplication. I hope you will authorize the appointment of such a board.

JUDICIAL COUNCIL

I have received the third report of the Judicial Council. As you know, the council is engaged in a continuing study of the administration of justice in this state and is required to submit its recommendations to the governor for transmittal to you. I call your particular attention to the council's first and second recommendations which have to do with the redistricting of judicial districts and placing in the Supreme Court the power to make rules of procedure for the Superior Courts.

REPORTS OF OTHER COMMISSIONS

I also call your attention to the fact that there are several other commissions which have filed or will file reports for your consideration. These commissions are: the General Statutes

Commission; the Commission on Juvenile Courts and Correctional Institutions; the Radio and Television Commission; the Commission to Study Dog Track Operations; the North Carolina Marketing Commission; and the Commission on the Revision of Public School Laws.

WATER RESOURCES

Water is one of the few fundamental resources for which there is no substitute. It is basic to life itself and to most activities which produce our necessities. An expanding population and a greatly increased per capita use of water require that it be available in sufficient quantity to meet our needs. Having sufficient water of good quality presents a problem with which we are greatly concerned. The problem is extremely complex—due in part to the fact that water is usually moving about, as water vapor in the air, in streams, and as ground water. It falls on one man's property and moves to another's. Many of man's uses of water do not consume or destroy it, but do often render it unfit for users downstream.

North Carolina is blessed with abundant water which, if properly used and conserved, is sufficient to supply all our needs in the foreseeable future. During the past four years, however, there has been less than the average annual rainfall, with most of the shortage occurring in the months of greatest need. Every section of the state and every segment of our economy has been seriously affected. This shortage has retarded industrial growth, reduced agricultural production, and limited municipal usage to an alarming degree.

In the fall of 1953 Governor Umstead appointed a Water Resources Advisory Committee to consider this problem and advise as to what steps could be taken to deal with it. This committee has worked diligently, and it is expected that a report will be filed within the next few weeks. This report will, in all likelihood, contain suggested legislation on the subject. As soon as it is ready, I shall transmit it to you and I urge that you give it serious consideration.

HIGHWAYS

We have done well through the years in building our highways. North Carolina was one of the first states to build a state

system. We feel sure that our early beginnings have helped us in our modern progress. Our rural roads have not only aided the rural residents and the farmers but the entire economic life of North Carolina.

There has been much discussion about what we could do with our primary highways and how much it would cost to put them in modern shape. The State Highway and Public Works Commission some months ago engaged an outside firm of engineers to make a study with recommendations. The study has been made and is now being given careful consideration. The Highway Commission will formulate recommendations as to what it believes our primary highway program should be. When the recommendations are received, I shall give you my views.

REDISTRICTING

I would like also to express my interest at this time in the proper redistricting of our state, as provided for by the Constitution of North Carolina. As you know, the 1951 and 1953 sessions of the General Assembly did not comply with this requirement. If we are to continue to have representative government, under the provisions of our state constitution, I believe that the General Assembly should act upon this matter during this session. The recent negative vote of our people on the proposed constitutional amendment to limit each county to one senator is indicative of how the public feels toward redistricting.

ABSENTEE BALLOT

The State Board of Elections, composed of members of both parties, has just made its report and unanimously recommends the abolition of the absentee ballot except for those persons connected with military service. Its report on the absentee ballot closes with these words: "We are, therefore, unanimous in the belief that this special privilege of civilian absentee voting should be repealed by the 1955 General Assembly, and in the belief that its repeal will do more to inspire confidence in the fairness of our elections than any other thing we can now do."

I believe that the harmful effects of the use of the absentee ballot in recent years have outweighed the good effects. I join with

the State Board of Elections in asking you to abolish the civilian absentee ballot provision for the general elections as has been previously done for the primary.

LIQUOR REFERENDUM

This question comes up perennially. There are those who view the liquor problem as one of revenue; others view it as a moral problem. Whatever may be the nature of the problem, I feel that the people of the state should have a right to vote on it. I, therefore, recommend that the General Assembly submit this issue to a vote of the people.

SEGREGATION

The citizens of North Carolina, and particularly its lawmakers and other elected officials, are to be commended for the calmness and wisdom they have shown in connection with the Supreme Court decision of last May.

The late Governor Umstead appointed a committee of distinguished citizens of both races to study this problem and to advise him on it. I requested this committee, known as the Governor's Special Advisory Committee on Education, to continue its studies and give us a report as soon as possible.

The report reached me in the last few days and is a unanimous document of great significance. The Honorable Thomas J. Pearsall and his distinguished associates have rendered a great service in formulating this report, signed by all members, which gives to this General Assembly and to all of North Carolina a starting point from which the state may go forward toward a solution of this problem.

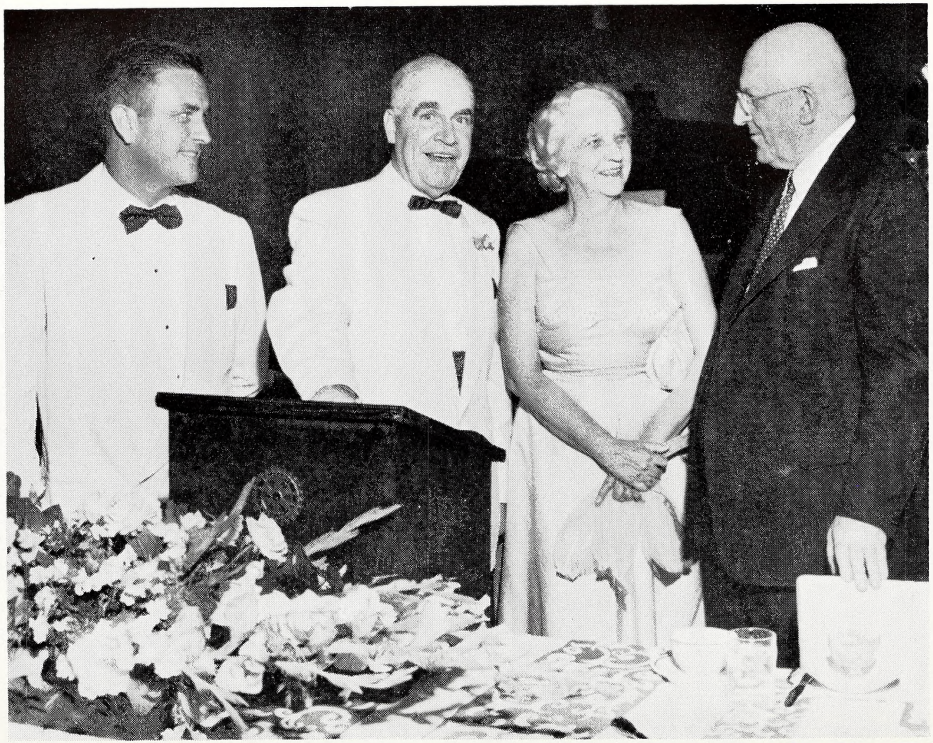
After stating its objectives: (1) preservation of public education in North Carolina and (2) preservation of the peace throughout North Carolina, the committee makes the following conclusions and recommendations:

"First: The committee is of the opinion that the mixing of the races forthwith in the public schools throughout the state cannot be accomplished and should not be attempted.

"The schools of our state are so intimately related to the customs and feelings of the people of each community that their

Photo by Hugh Morton

The Hodges residence in Leaksville.



Greensboro News Photo

Left to right: E. W. Freeze, Jr., Lieutenant Governor Hodges, Mrs. Hodges, and Moravian Bishop Howard E. Rondthaler at a testimonial dinner in Greensboro, June 24, 1953, celebrating the Lieutenant Governor's return from Paris where he had been elected a director of Rotary International. This picture was made on the thirty-first anniversary of the wedding of Mr. and Mrs. Hodges, at which Bishop Rondthaler was the officiating minister.

effective operation is impossible except in conformity with community attitudes. The committee feels that the compulsory mixing of the races in our schools, on a statewide basis and without regard to local conditions and assignment factors other than race, would alienate public support of the schools to such an extent that they could not be operated successfully.

"Second: The committee is of the opinion that the people of North Carolina look upon education as the foundation upon which our democratic institutions stand and are determined to provide education for all children within the limits of their financial ability. The committee feels that the people of North Carolina desire to solve the problems created by the Supreme Court's decision and provide education for our children within the framework of our present public school system, if possible. The committee shares that view and, therefore, recommends that North Carolina try to find means of meeting the requirements of the Supreme Court's decision within our present school system before consideration is given to abandoning or materially altering it. Only time will tell whether that is possible.

"Third: The committee is of the opinion that the enrollment and assignment of children in the schools is by its very nature a local matter and that complete authority over these matters should be vested in the county and city boards of education. With such authority local school boards could adopt such plans, rules and procedures as their local conditions might require. The committee finds that public school problems differ widely throughout North Carolina and there is even a wide variation of problems and conditions within counties themselves. As these problems unfold and develop from month to month and from year to year local school administrative units could move to meet each problem as it arises if such units are given complete authority over the matters referred to above. We, therefore, recommend that the General Assembly of North Carolina enact the necessary legislation to transfer complete authority over enrollment and assignment of children in public schools and on school buses to the county and city boards of education throughout the state.

"Fourth: The committee feels that problems arising from the Supreme Court's decision will be with us for many years and will require continuous study, attention, and perhaps legislative

action. We, therefore, recommend that the legislature be represented on such a commission.

"The committee, of course, is aware of the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States has not handed down its decree in the Virginia, South Carolina, Delaware, and Kansas cases, implementing its decision of last May in those cases, and is aware that additional legislation might be required immediately after that decree is issued, and from time to time thereafter. We do not think, however, that the legislation herein recommended is premature or that it will in any way adversely affect the welfare of the schools of North Carolina, regardless of the terms of the Court's final decree in those cases."

I pay tribute to the committee for its arduous labors and its collective wisdom, and I urge that the General Assembly accept this report with its recommendations.

IN CONCLUSION

I have purposely combined my remarks on the budget with my recommendations on other matters, many of which have been dealt with by commissions established by previous General Assemblies. This is as it should be. No one of us has a monopoly on ideas or programs, but all of us should constantly strive to improve gradually and sanely, but with courage and foresight, our governmental operations in North Carolina.

You have ahead of you a difficult and challenging task as you try to resolve these and other problems. It is my deep conviction that you will bring to this task ability, courage, patriotism, and wisdom which have been characteristic of the General Assemblies of North Carolina for many, many years. Further, that the results of your labors will prove to the people of this great state that they have as their elected representatives men and women who see the state's interest as a whole, and who are not afraid of the future.

Governing North Carolina is not a one man job. It takes the combined effort of all of us to do the job well. It is not the responsibility of this administration alone; it is also the responsibility of you who make our laws and of the judiciary who interprets them. I know that we all seek the common good, the welfare of North Carolina.

In this hour it is good for us to remember that we are here to give voice as best we can, to the will of the people. We seek to give form and substance to their hopes, to give validity to their aspirations. In the pursuit of this great goal I pledge to you my hearty cooperation, and I shall seek at every turn your advice and help.

May I take this opportunity to thank all of you in this Assembly, the press and other media of communication, and the people of North Carolina generally for the good wishes and offers of cooperation, which have come to me during these last eight weeks. I am here to serve you and the people of our great state, and I pledge to all of you my best efforts to assist in making this a greater, finer commonwealth. I, along with you, shall seek Divine Guidance in working toward this objective.

Thank you!

HIGHWAY PROBLEMS

MESSAGE TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

January 20, 1955

[The State Highway and Public Works Commission had employed the New York engineering firm of Parsons, Brinckerhoff, Hall, and MacDonald to make a survey of the state's highway needs. On the basis of this firm's report, the commission proposed to spend $610,000,000 in the next six years to modernize primary highways and bridges and to issue $150,000,000 in bonds and raise truck and auto taxes and fees to help bear the cost. Governor Hodges disapproved of the commission's plan as premature and suggested that the "whole highway set-up" should be examined. The characterization of the State Highway and Public Works Commission as not being "a separate, unintegrated enterprise" apparently had reference to a recent attempt by the commission to air-condition its building without first securing approval from the State Budget Bureau, and indicated the Governor's intention to see that the commission should be as much subject to the Budget Bureau as any other agency.]

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and Members of the General Assembly of North Carolina:

In my budget and biennial message delivered to you January 6, I stated that when the recommendations of the State Highway and Public Works Commission concerning a highway program has been received, I would give you my views with respect to them. Since then the recommendations have been received and transmitted to you with my letter of January 17. You will recall that in this letter reference was made to questions that were asked the commission concerning the basis upon which its recommendations were made. The chairman of the commission has now delivered his answers to my inquiries. These answers have further convinced me that much of what the commission has recommended is, to say the least, premature.

In answer to the question as to which estimates were used as a basis for determining future increases in highway revenues which result from normal increases in vehicle registration and mileage travel, we are advised that the estimates of the Parsons-Brinckerhoff firm were used rather than the Highway Commission's own independent estimates. No reason is given as to why the lower estimates received preference. The chairman adds that:

"If the Parsons traffic forecasts are too low, then their estimates

of highway needs, which are based on the same traffic forecasts, are also too low. If the revenue estimates are to be increased, then the needs estimates of the program cost must also be increased."

No indication is given as to the ratio in which needs increase with revenues. No account is taken of the fact that existing (or backlog) needs are not dependent upon future traffic increases. Nor are we helped by the knowledge that if the Parsons estimates are wrong in one respect they must also be wrong in another respect.

We are further informed that because of the uncertainty in the present status of the federal highway program, the commission was unable, in formulating its recommendations, to include any figure for possible increased federal aid. And for the same reason, it is said, consideration of the effect of the possible construction of toll roads—both as to the remainder of the primary road system and as to possible federal fund allocations—could not be taken into account. It is stated that the Parsons recommendations concerning prison labor are not "practically feasible" under existing legislation. However, no clear statement is made as to future policies regarding the use of prison labor other than that attempts will be made to find diversified employment for prisoners.

Finally, the chairman tells us that, in the opinion of the commission, none of the revenues to result from the proposed increased highway taxes should be related to or ear-marked for debt service or retirement of the recommended bond issue. No suggestion was offered as to how the proposed bond issue is to be financed.

The factors mentioned above are bound to have a substantial bearing on the kind of highway program the state can afford and on the amount and kind of highway tax increases, if any, that will be needed to finance the program. Therefore, I must and do recommend that there be no authorization for a highway bond issue at the present time. As to the proposed methods for immediately increasing highway revenues, I am unable to express any opinion other than that, on the surface at least, some of them seem to have merit.

As I have previously emphasized, highway problems are one of my chief concerns, and you may be assured that I shall make every effort in support of a highway program which I feel is satisfactory.

In the meantime, I would like to advise with the Roads and Finance Committees of the House and Senate in studying our whole highway set-up, including the present operations and the commission's plan for the future.

In my opinion, it is time that the Highway Fund be handled as an integral part of state government and not as a separate, unintegrated enterprise. It has been suggested that the State Highway and Public Works Commission ought to have its expenditures and its programs carefully reviewed and approved by the Budget Bureau just as any other agency of state government. It is now spending $200,000,000 each biennium, or one-third of the total cost of the entire state government. State budget officials ought to know more about the highway management and its plans, both current and long-range. The Highway Commission should submit its budgets in the same detail that is required of all other agencies. I propose, in the interest of the state as a whole, that the Highway Department be treated in the same manner as other departments of the state government.

I should also like the aid of the General Assembly in devising means whereby the Highway Commission will be encouraged to function as an agency dealing with the highway needs of the state as a whole and not as fourteen more or less autonomous units. Until this takes place, we are not likely to have long-range planning or state-wide highway construction designed to provide a truly state highway system such as I believe is wanted by this legislature and the people of the state as a whole.

Naturally, I would want to have the Highway Commission's advice and assistance in all of these matters.

REVENUE NEEDS

MESSAGE TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

May 5, 1955

[This message, delivered at the General Assembly's invitation before a joint session of the two houses, was devoted to a briefing on the state's revenue needs. The Governor announced that revised estimates had reduced the amount of necessary new taxes to $20,000,000; admonished the legislators to say soon how this amount would be raised; and reminded them that their mission would not be fulfilled until the budget was in balance.]

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker and
Members of the General Assembly:

A great deal has transpired since I first stood before you on Thursday, January 6, with my budget and biennial message. There has been much legislation considered and much accomplished. In my talks and contacts around the state, I have pointed out the sacrifices which you as legislators are making to render this dedicated service to our state. It has been a difficult session and I know you are anxious to complete your work and return home.

As is well known, the problem of balancing the budget is the primary obstacle to the completion of the work of the 1955 General Assembly. This problem has been with us from the very first day when I attempted, on the basis of data then available, to outline the budget problems facing North Carolina. On January 6, as governor, I transmitted to you a budget report from the Advisory Budget Commission signed by all six members and myself. I stated then that I was not requesting further spending amounts to be added to these already large figures. This budget report reflected at that time a need for new revenues amounting to approximately $52,000,000 for the next biennium.

There was incorporated in the budget an explanation of the revenue forecasts based on economic conditions which prevailed during the early part of last fall. At that time monthly collections for sales taxes had for each month of the year been below the corresponding month of the previous year with the exception of collections for March. Furthermore, in each month during 1954, up until November, non-agricultural employment in North Carolina had been below the corresponding month for the previous

year. Weekly earnings for the first eight months were down, manufacturing activities had been off, prices received by manufacturers were not satisfactory, profits were off, and retail sales were below the previous year. While all of this was going on in North Carolina, the national economy was dropping from the 1953 peak, and although there was some promise of improvement, it appeared to those who were preparing the original estimates that the economic situation was not likely to change greatly in the very near future. It was under these conditions that the revenue estimates contained in the budget report were concluded.

In late November of last year revenue reports revealed an upward trend in sales tax collections. This trend continued steadily upward and reversed the downward trend which had existed for ten months prior to November of last year. Previously, these sales tax decreases ran from 0.46 per cent to 6.3 per cent through October. Since the sales tax is the most current barometer of prevailing economic conditions so far as North Carolina tax schedules are concerned, this trend upward which had begun in November raised some serious doubts in my mind about the applicability of the original revenue estimates. Further economic indices, including increased employment and earnings and the general upward trend in business, impressed me with the necessity of a thorough re-examination of the original revenue estimates which were based on conditions existing last fall and which estimates I accepted at face value.

About the first of March of this year, I requested the commissioner of revenue, the director of the Department of Tax Research, and the chairmen of the Senate and House Finance and Appropriations Committees to re-examine carefully the revenue estimates in the light of the upward trend in business conditions which had become apparent during the first part of 1955. I asked them to do this with a view toward revising the revenue estimates if their findings so justified. It was first suggested to me that revenues might increase by $5,000,000 to $6,000,000. Many conferences were held by them and each tax schedule was carefully analyzed. They found that improved business conditions had resulted in a *sharp* increase in sales tax revenue which justified an increase from the first estimate of $54,200,000 in sales tax collections for the year ending June, 1955, to a revised estimate of

$57,000,000. This increase in sales tax estimates plus signs of higher employment and weekly earnings, projected into the two years of the coming biennium, was largely responsible for the increased revenue estimates of $15,000,000 which decreased the estimated need of $52,000,000 to an estimated need of $37,000,000. The revised estimates were signed by the six officials named above, and even though it turned out they were not optimistic enough, they are to be commended for their work in helping to reach a solution of the state's budget problems in the Appropriations and Finance Committees.

Committee chairmen, like the rest of us, had to depend largely on the people who deal with these matters constantly, and this is not meant in criticism of anyone but is a statement of fact. It's a great responsibility to make estimates or "pre-estimates" with figures of our proportions. We are talking of a $640,000,000 budget, so a variance of even one per cent can make a difference of over $6,000,000.

The improved estimates were good news, of course, but from this point forward your task in the General Assembly became more difficult. With a smaller amount to raise, those who were opposed to various kinds of taxes felt that the items they were against should be dropped.

As the weeks have passed, many proposals for balancing the budget have been made, studied, heard, and discarded. Apparently every possible answer to this problem has been thoroughly explored in the hope that the need for new taxes could be avoided or greatly reduced. In line with all these attempts to reach a solution to this problem, there have been, within the last week or so, a number of statements issued by the assistant director of the budget, the commissioner of revenue, by leaders in the General Assembly, and by me with reference to our present budgetary situation. Each of these statements can be readily understood if considered in its particular context, but taken as a whole, they have tended to confuse the picture. So I feel that it is my duty, as chief fiscal officer of the state to take an over-all look and to clarify, if I can, the whole budget picture so that the members of the General Assembly, the Joint Finance Committee, the subcommittees now sitting, and the public will be fully advised as to the revenues needed to balance the budget.

When we consider the stress and the strain under which we are all working, it is not surprising that there would occasionally be some confusion as to the factual situation, for some of these statements have been issued under great pressure, in an informal way, dealing with only one phase of the total picture. In fact, the tenseness under which we are working is some measure of the seriousness and the sincerity with which the members of this General Assembly are seeking a fair solution to our fiscal problems. Nor is it surprising that last week attention was focused upon the possible savings which we will have at the end of this current fiscal year. After it became clear that we will have saved around $4,000,000 as of June 30, 1955, I released a statement which substantiated the report of this fact, and I explained that the money saved was the result of policies begun by the previous administration and continued by me in an effort to hold down expenses.

These savings could not be realized or announced until the fourth quarter (April-June, 1955), after requests had come in from various departments and allotments had been made. At the time I confirmed the report of these savings, I also stated to members of the Finance and Appropriations Committees that these economy policies would be continued and on this basis an additional saving of $4,000,000 could be expected during the next biennium. By some people this statement was understandably taken to mean that I would approve of a budget in which the estimated revenues were $4,000,000 less than the required appropriations and would take the responsibility of filling the gap by the possible savings. After due thought and consideration, I have concluded that it is not practical to project possible savings of an extra $2,000,000 a year during the next biennium because this would accept as a certainty that we could cut line items in the budget even further than the appropriations subcommittee was able to do after six weeks of joint and concentrated effort. We cannot make this absolute presumption. This is true because in order to begin the biennium with a balanced budget, the estimated revenues must match the total appropriations made. It cannot be determined with certainty until about April, 1957, what, if anything, could be saved from the amount appropriated for the biennium, unless we were to make cuts in the budget on a completely arbitrary basis.

It is my firm intention to make every effort possible to operate our state government as economically and efficiently as possible. Many of our department and agency heads have indicated to me that they are aware of the financial dilemma now facing the State of North Carolina and have further indicated their cooperation in holding the line on any expenditures not absolutely necessary.

Despite all that has been said or done in the past four months, we are still faced with the need for an increase in new taxes to meet state services. It is this need that I wish to emphasize to you today. As I have already mentioned, revised revenue estimates made in March of this year reduced our original estimate of needs from $52,000,000 to $37,000,000. Since that time we have been informed of additional facts which will permit still further reductions. This is made possible through the policies of economy already mentioned and continued improved economic conditions, the full extent of which have become known to us only in the last few days.

We wish we could have advised you much sooner, but you will recall that this Assembly changed the filing date of individual income tax returns from March 15 to April 15. We have just finished the tabulation of these returns for the income year 1954 and find a better picture than all our experts had estimated. When these individual returns were analyzed, I requested that a complete check be made of all our tax schedules through April and projected through June, 1955. This study has disclosed a further probable increase of $3,100,000 of which about $1,400,000 will come from individual income tax collections.

After getting this figure of increases through June 30, 1955, I called in our tax specialists to see if they would join with me in projecting further increases in estimates for the two-year period from July 1, 1955, through June 30, 1957. Although it is something of a risk to project possible further improvement in North Carolina's economy beyond these already new and improved conditions, I am advising you now that we have agreed to a further improved estimate of $4,000,000 in revenue receipts for the coming biennium. Most of this will come from the individual income and sales tax schedules which have shown the greatest recent improvement. These increased estimates from now until June 1957 (including the $3,100,000 mentioned above) amount to $7,100,000

and bring the needed funds for balancing our budget down to approximately $26,000,000.

I should like to say to you that in addition to these reductions based on improved revenue estimates, I am informed by the commissioner of revenue that if his department is furnished additional personnel costing $640,000, it can collect during this next biennium, through increased efficiency and better compliance with respect to income and sales tax collections, an additional $7,000,000. I think he has assumed a terrific responsibility to collect the amount he thinks can be obtained, but I am willing to help assume this responsibility if you agree to make the necessary supplemental appropriations of $640,000 for the Revenue Department and I would recommend you do so. All of this means that we can make a further *net* reduction in our needs of $6,360,000, giving us a final figure in new taxes needed of approximately $19,500,000 to $20,000,000!

This figure of estimated needs has not take account of the $1,115,000 reduction made by the Appropriations Committee in the recommended budget. I believe that it is not wise at this time to count in this reduction since it appears quite possible that additional miscellaneous appropriations if approved by you could absorb this cut before you adjourn. I am indeed pleased to be able to tell you that because of improved economic conditions and our determination to reduce expenses and work for better tax collections, our original estimated need of $52,000,000 and the revised estimated need of $37,000,000 will now be only $19,500,000 to $20,000,000 of new taxes. This means a reduction of about $32,000,000 made up roughly as follows:

Improved economic conditions causing increase in estimates	$22,000,000
Savings by administration	4,000,000
Greater effectiveness in collections of income and sales taxes	6,000,000
Total	$32,000,000

I would like to emphasize that revenue estimates, which are dependent on many, many factors, may and probably will vary during any two-year period, since no one can predict with abso-

Photo by Lawrence Wofford

Inauguration ceremony, November 9, 1954. Chief Justice Maurice Victor Barnhill administers the oath of office to Governor Hodges in the Hall of the House of Representatives at the State Capitol.

Close-up view of Governor Hodges taking the oath of office, November 9, 1954. Chief Justice Barnhill *(left)* is administering the oath.

lute accuracy the exact trend of our economy. As I have said, calculations which, because of completely unforeseeable factors, vary as little as one per cent, may result in a difference of several million dollars. If we were to make new estimates every month for the next two years, we might get varying figures—some would be up and some would be down. However, we cannot budget for a two-year period and wait from month to month indefinitely for the most current estimate. At some stage in this process, as you all well know, we must reach a final figure and on the basis of that figure, adopt our budget. These figures that I give to you today are final and should serve as a basis for decisive action. The present income tax collections, which were delayed this year for an additional thirty days, constitute the last factor with which we must deal, and it is imperative that we provide for $19,500,000 to $20,000,000 in new taxes for the biennium.

The problem of changes in expected revenue is not a new one. Much wider differences in income and much greater shifts in the state's economy have occurred during the last ten or fifteen years. But, this is the first time the problem has had so much emphasis and attention. Within the hour our revenue commissioner has advised me that only once during the past six years has the department been requested to make a revision in the revenue estimates. This occurred in March of the 1953 legislature. Upon the direct request of the sub-committee on appropriations, an analysis was made and the department reduced its previous estimates by approximately $7,000,000. In spite of the revised estimate then and recent upward revisions, it is significant that the total revenue for this biennium will be approximately $7,000,000 less than that originally estimated. The reasons, of course, are that we haven't needed money from new taxes in the past twenty years and all of us are reluctant to levy new taxes, but instead look elsewhere for an answer to our problem.

These developments of the last few weeks have been confusing and somewhat disconcerting, but I think it has created a healthy situation and will tend to encourage all of us to do a better job.

North Carolina is widely known for its sound and progressive government which has served its citizens well through the past half century. Through strong executive leadership and outstanding patriotic, devoted service by members of the General

Assemblies through the years, our state government has kept step with the times and needs of the people.

I know that you are aware of the heritage of good government which is yours. A balanced budget is an integral part of that heritage, and I am confident that you have the courage to meet our fiscal problems and balance the budget. I am also confident that the people of this state are expecting you to do so. A balanced budget is necessary for the orderly development of our state. To fail in this responsibility would blacken our financial reputation, seriously damage our credit, and be a backward step. No administration should be asked to operate with an unbalanced budget.

And now just a few brief words on the subject of my making specific tax recommendations: The Advisory Budget Commission and the Governor prepared tax recommendations on the basis of an estimated need for $52,000,000 in new taxes—an amount thought necessary last fall to protect our schools and other public services.

You will recall that in my message which carried these recommendations, I said that we were not suggesting that the General Assembly should not consider additional appropriations or other revenue measures. We emphasized that you review the recommendations submitted and consider the advisability of additional or reduced appropriations and also explore additional or other sources of revenue. However, we pointed out at that time that the Advisory Budget Commission and the governor had done the same exploring and soul searching that we recommended to you. You have certainly done and are still doing this!

When, some weeks ago, the two chairmen of the Finance Committees came out with a "package" which omitted both the excise tax on soft drinks and on manufactured tobacco products, I stated publicly that if they could raise the money without these controversial items, it would be smart. As you have tried substitute items, the pressure has continued. In fact, in view of your experience during the last few months, I believe you will all conclude that there is no such thing as a non-controversial tax.

Once having joined in specific tax recommendations sufficient to meet recommended appropriation—and more than sufficient to meet our needs in view of improved conditions—I personally feel

that I have performed the proper function of the governor's office.

The good business principles and the sound fiscal management that have characterized North Carolina over a long period of years, as well as the Executive Budget Act, require that the budget be balanced, and until this is done—until this over-shadowing responsibility is discharged—your mission here will not have been fulfilled. There have been suggestions that the General Assembly leave without balancing the budget especially since there have been several revisions of estimated income. I haven't taken these suggestions seriously and have so told many members of this General Assembly. It would be unthinkable for you to abdicate your responsibility. It is your job to levy the specific taxes which are best in your judgment for these times. I am sure you'll do it quickly and with proper regard for the state's future.

As I speak to you here today in this historic hall, we all recall how for more than a century patriotic North Carolinians have come here to this Capitol building to discuss and resolve the issues of the hour. Here in the halls of this ancient building, many stirring events have been witnessed, many great debates have been heard, and many crucial votes have been taken. I am sure that we all realize that the sustained progress of this commonwealth has been due to the willingness of North Carolinians to come here to meet with courage the issues of their day. Here in the shadow of their greatness, I know we will not fail to meet the challenge of our own day and hour.

I have an abounding faith in the patriotism of this General Assembly, and I want to thank all of you most sincerely for the service you have rendered and the sacrifices you are continuing to make.

Thank you!

THE SEGREGATION ISSUE

MESSAGE TO THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

July 23, 1956

[This special session of the General Assembly was called to consider plans for meeting the problems created by the United States Supreme Court's decision abolishing segregation in the public schools. An advisory committee on education, appointed by the Governor and headed by Thomas J. Pearsall, had recommended constitutional amendments to allow (1) state and local units to pay tuition for private schooling of children who object to attending mixed schools and (2) local communities to abolish public schools by majority vote if conditions become intolerable. The Governor characterized the Pearsall plan as a "sensible and acceptable" program, which offers "the best possible course of action at this time." Although addressed to a joint session of the Senate and House, much of this speech was directed toward the public, who would eventually pass judgment on the proposals of the Pearsall plan.]

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and
Members of the General Assembly:

We face tonight one of the greatest crises which North Carolina has ever experienced and affecting at this moment the lives of more than a million school children.

You have been asked to leave your work and families to assemble here in what might well prove to be one of the most important and historic meetings of our General Assembly. It was with a great deal of concern that your governor and Council of State felt it necessary to call this extraordinary session of the legislature. All of us wish it could have been avoided; however, since in our judgment it could not, I want to say that I am glad to see all of you and to know that as of today, the high responsibility for protecting our public schools will be shared by an additional 170 able, informed, and devoted public servants. I know that you as a group are determined to protect our schools insofar as possible under the law. And that is as it should be!

The people of North Carolina whom we all represent, and in whose interest we are assembled at this special session, do not take lightly the danger in which our schools have been placed. There is a deep and abiding faith in the value of the public schools as we have known them, and the people of North Carolina do not expect us to stand idly by, as some have suggested, while

our public schools are ruined in the course of a sociological experiment sought to be carried out at the expense of our children. It is my firm belief that on the contrary, the people of North Carolina expect their General Assembly and their governor to do everything legally possible to prevent their children from being forced to attend mixed schools againt their wishes.

Let us consider for a few minutes the original source of the trouble that has made this special meeting of the General Assembly necessary. I refer, of course, to the Supreme Court of the United States and its school segregation decisions. As you know, the 1954 decision by the Supreme Court overturned an interpretation of some sixty years' standing, placed upon the Fourteenth Amendment by that Court, to the effect that separate but equal facilities did not violate the terms of equal protection contained in that amendment.

In overturning the previous interpretation, the Court ignored completely the well-established and often-cited doctrine: that an interpretation of the Constitution when it has been accepted over a long number of years by all branches of government *fixes* the construction on a point and it cannot thereafter be changed except by an amendment of the Constitution itself. Thus, what the Court actually did in the 1954 segregation decision went far beyond the mere results of the case. What the Court did was to take unto itself the power to amend the Constitution without consulting Congress or the people of the several states. And on what basis did the Court place this unwarranted assumption of power? The Court said this:

> In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

The clear meaning of these words is that the Court has definitely informed the people of the United States that then and henceforth it intends to change the Constitution whenever the members of the Court think it ought to be changed, without regard for what was intended by the Congress and the people, and without

regard to previous interpretations of the Supreme Court, no matter how well-established.

With deep seriousness, I would say a doctrine more dangerous to the very life of our government could not, in my humble opinion, be devised. I recommend that this General Assembly, through an appropriate resolution, alert the other states and the entire nation to the perilous pitfalls lurking in such a doctrine. As I said in a speech made in New York last January:

> Eventually, if such a method of making decisions is followed, there will be a decision which conflicts with the customs and beliefs of other parts of the country as seriously as this one does with those of the South. Perhaps then the rest of the United States will realize the extent of the power which nine men assumed when they made their segregation decisions—and perhaps then it may be too late.

Occasionally I am asked why I do not urge our state to defy the Court's decision if I am really sincere in my belief that the decision represents an unlawful seizure of power by the Supreme Court in derogation of the Constitution of the United States. I would like to take this opportunity to answer that question, inasmuch as I definitely do not propose that this state defy the Supreme Court, even though I am convinced that the segregation decisions constitute an unlawful usurpation of power.

North Carolina is one of the United States and North Carolinians are citizens of the United States. We are each and all a part of one indivisible nation and none of us, I am sure, would have it otherwise. When our nation's government takes a wrong road, as, in my opinion it is doing by allowing the Supreme Court decisions to be enforced as law, we in North Carolina will do everything we can to alert the rest of the nation that a wrong road has been taken and to use our influence in such manner as we can to change the bad state of affairs. But, and this is important, North Carolinians have no desire or intent to defy our country's government, simply because we believe it is making an error. In the first place, a course of defiance would forfeit whatever chance we might have of convincing the rest of the nation that our position in this matter is sincere. In the second place, such a course would get us nowhere. I suppose my feelings on this can be summed up simply by paraphrasing a toast offered by Stephen Decatur many, many years ago:

> Our Country! . . . . May she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong.

No, we are not going to defy the Court, but I'll tell you what we are going to do. We are going to use every legal means we can devise to insure that the effects of what we feel is an erroneous decision by the Supreme Court are not forced on our state in a fashion which could deprive us of one of our dearest possessions, namely—our public schools. It is to that end that we are assembled here in special session.

You will recall, I am sure, that during the primary election of state officers, including members of the General Assembly, very little difference of opinion appeared in this state on the mixing of races in the public schools. This fact was largely attributable, in my opinion, to wide public acceptance of the recommendations contained in the April 5 Report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education. I know most of you have already read and studied that report, but since it has not previously been presented to the General Assembly in session, I would like to present it formally to you now by incorporating it into this message by reference. We shall not deal with the committee's April 5 report in detail tonight, but I would like to read to you the two fundamental premises upon which its recommendations are based. They are:

> 1. We are of the unanimous opinion that the people of North Carolina will not support mixed schools. This is to say that we believe if the schools were integrated in this state, the General Assembly, representing the people, would withold support to a degree that the result would certainly be the ruin and eventual abandonment of the public schools. Whether a particular viewpoint finds this conclusion to be good or bad, pleasant or unpleasant, it remains our conclusion and we state it as such.
>
> 2. The second threshold conclusion, of which we are quite sure, is that the saving of our public schools requires action now. To do nothing would, we believe, destroy our public schools. Those who would insure the preservation of the public schools are those who would act. The United States Supreme Court has dealt our schools a near fatal blow, and it now requires positive action to save them.

The statements just read are, of course, matters of opinion. They are true in the opinion of the members of the committee. They are true in the opinion of your governor and other public officials and private citizens who have endorsed what has come

to be known as the Pearsall plan. But, in the final analysis, you, the members of the General Assembly, are the best judges of the truth of those conclusions. It is my impression that you also believe them to be true.

Convinced then that if we allow the full force of mixing the races to hit our public schools, they will wither and die from lack of support, and, convinced that the time for action is at hand, I am sure you will want to start to get action in this session without delay—as to how long this will take, it is up to you. And that brings us now to the Advisory Committee's Report of today (July 23), which contains the recommended legislation which I approve and which I hereby transmit to you.

I should like now to read you this July 23 Report of the Advisory Committee on Education, omitting, of course, the reading of the proposed legislative bills included therein. May I now read:

The July 23rd (1956) Report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education to the Governor and General Assembly of North Carolina:

The thinking and recommendations of the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education, in connection with the problems growing out of the segregation decisions of the United States Supreme Court, were stated and made public in the Committee's Report on April 5. The committee would like to express its grateful appreciation for the reception given that report and the support it has received both from officials of the state and the general public of the state.

We will not repeat here all of the thoughts expressed in that report, but we do take this opportunity to say that nothing has occurred since its publication which would indicate any need for change in the opinions and recommendations stated therein.

The present report is, therefore, largely for the purpose of transmitting officially to the governor and General Assembly the proposed legislation we believe necessary to implement the recommendations contained in the April 5th report. This proposed legislation is incorporated in and made a part of this report.

In addition to transmitting recommended legislation, the committee includes herein a brief and summary description of its work since April 5.

Immediately following publication of the April 5th report, the committee and its staff, assisted by personnel from the governor's office, the attorney general's office, and the office of the superintendent of public instruction, undertook to prepare rules and regulations to be recommended to local school boards for the implementation and the administration of the 1955 Assignment Law. This task consumed several weeks, and during this time extended conferences were held with representatives from the Superintendents' Division of the North Carolina Educa-

tion Association and with members of the Policy Board of the North Carolina School Board Association. These representatives furnished a great deal of help to the committee and those working with it.

As soon as drafts of rules and regulations had been prepared to the satisfaction of all those mentioned above, conferences were held throughout the state with school superintendents, school board attorneys, and members of local school boards for the purpose of explaining the provisions of the rules and regulations and pointing out how they best could be used. These conferences were, in the opinion of the committee, highly successful and most of the local school boards in North Carolina immediately thereafter adopted necessary rules and regulations in connection with the 1955 Assignment Act.

Immediately following completion of that phase of our work having to do with rules and regulations, the committee and its staff, again with the assistance from the governor's office, the attorney general's office, and the office of the superintendent of public instruction, began the task of drafting the proposed legislation, which is included in this report. As soon as tentative drafts could be prepared, four conferences were scheduled for the purpose of securing the advice and counsel of members of the General Assembly. These conferences were held at Rocky Mount, Kinston, Lexington, and Waynesville. The committee is deeply appreciative of the help of the members of the General Assembly in completing the drafts of this legislation. We believe that the conferences were in the public interest and were highly productive. We further believe that the work of the General Assembly in the Special Session, beginning July 23, will be considerably facilitated as the result of those conferences.

In concluding this present report the committee believes it advisable, for purposes of emphasis, to repeat here certain paragraphs from its Report of April 5.

The report then quotes several paragraphs from the April 5 report, pointing out that:

1. The Supreme Court has never said that child must go to a school with children of another race.

2. Although a child cannot be barred from a public school solely because of race, nevertheless, a sympathetic Court could recognize the difference between exclusion solely because of race and exclusion because of local conditions, even if the race is one of the causes of the condition.

3. The original Governor's Special Advisory Committee, which included three Negroes among its members, unanimously concluded that the effective operation of the schools is impossible except in conformity with community attitudes.

4. The people of North Carolina must be assured of

escape possibilities from intolerable situations, before they will give the necessary long-term support to an honest trial of the assignment plan passed by the regular session of the 1955 General Assembly.

5. The education expense grant and local option plans will provide the necessary escape possibilities, and these proposals are, therefore, recommended.

The committee concludes its report of July 23 by pledging itself to continued study of the problem and urging in the meantime the adoption of the proposed legislation included in the report. The report is signed by all seven members of the committee.

The bills which are a part of the report are: First, the bill containing the recommended amendment to Article IX of the Constitution of North Carolina; Second, the bill setting up the necessary machinery for holding the election in which the people will vote on the amendment (the members of the North Carolina Supreme Court have said in an advisory opinion, which was given in answer to an inquiry by the governor sometime ago, that the proposed constitutional amendment may be voted on by the people at an election held before November, if you so authorize); Third, the bill providing for educational expense grants; Fourth, the bill setting up the system of local option; Fifth, the bill modifying the compulsory school attendance law; Sixth, the bill authorizing appropriations from the Contingency and Emergency Fund for education expense grants; Seventh, the bill amending the 1955 Assignment Act; And finally, a resolution of condemnation and protest against the usurpation of power by the United States Supreme Court.

We shall not attempt at this time any detailed discussion of this proposed legislation, other than a brief comment on the proposed constitutional amendment on which the people of the state will be asked to vote in September, assuming you authorize it. The two items (or "safety valves") of school attendance grants and local option are joined together in one amendment. This was purposely done because it was felt that it takes both of them to give our people the protection they need. I should like, however, to emphasize two major points which should be kept in

mind when considering these bills. First, they are completely permissive in nature. The proposed constitutional amendment could be adopted, and all of these bills enacted, and there would not necessarily be any change in the school assignment of any child, and no educational expense grants paid, and no votes on suspending schools, and no suspension of schools anywhere. Their provisions will be used only in the event they are necessary; and the only ones who can decide whether and when their use is necessary are the people themselves—the individual citizens and the local communities of this state. That is our answer to those who have expressed doubt that this legislation is really necessary. If it is not needed, it will not be used; if it is, it will be available and ready for use. But we owe it to the people to have it available.

I emphasize again, the legislation recommended to implement the Pearsall plan is permissive only. It is in truth, as the committee has described it, "safety valve" legislation. There are some who have accused the Pearsall plan of permitting integration. To be kind to them, I suppose their thinking grows out of the fact that the plan does not *forbid* integration. The truth of the matter is that the decision of the Supreme Court is what would permit integration, and any plan that attempted to forbid integration as a matter of law would be void on its face and of no protection whatever. No, this legislation does not make mandatory segregation or integration. It simply attempts to provide both the individual and the community the widest possible choice under the law.

So what do we mean when we say that the Pearsall plan is permissive and not mandatory? We mean that our people will not, under its provisions, be forced to do anything; they will be, on the contrary, permitted to make the important decisions themselves. First, the entire plan is to be submitted to all the people of the state in a referendum; and, second, no change can be made in the status of the school or schools in any locality without a vote of the people immediately concerned. This is what I like about the Pearsall plan—its faith in the people, its trust in the democratic process.

Ask yourselves this simple question as you deliberate over this legislation: Is there any plan that you know of which can do a better job for the people of North Carolina?

There are those who sincerely insist that it is dangerous to give individual citizens and communities the choices offered by this legislation. There are some, equally sincere, who say that the educational expense grant is acceptable, but insist that no community should be given authority to suspend the operation of its schools.

Our answer is that we believe the overwhelming majority of parents can be relied upon to act in the best interest of their children. Furthermore, if conditions are ever so bad in a community that the people there will vote to suspend the operation of their schools, then conditions are so bad that those schools could not be successfully operated anyhow.

Perhaps, in the final analysis, the best way to evaluate the Pearsall plan is to compare it with other courses of action that have been suggested at one time or another. One course would be simply to pass a bill automatically closing any school in which any mixing of the races, however slight, occurred. To me there are two things wrong with this suggestion. One, it seems to me that if a state offers to provide schools for one community and denies them to another, the act would not stand up constitutionally. (It will be remembered that under our program, the state, at all times, offers to provide schools to all communities alike, and it is only the community which by popular vote can refuse the offer.) The second thing wrong with the suggestion is that it would deprive the people of any say so in the matter; and, if I am any judge of the character of the people of North Carolina, they are not going to be deprived very long of their right of choice in any public matter, especially in public schools.

Another course of action suggested by some—although, fortunately, they are few—is to pass legislation which would require integrating the schools. I don't have to dwell long on this suggestion, but it can be pointed out that it, too, would deprive the people of North Carolina a choice in the matter.

Then, there are those who would simply do nothing and let the tide of events carry us where it will. The end result of this course of action or inaction could easily be integration with no choice and no relief, with the consequence of our schools being starved to death for lack of legislative and public support. All of us are happy to have these plans suggested, provided, as I have

publicly said many times, the proposer or critic makes the suggestion with the idea of preserving the schools and the peace! Those who voice disagreement with the plan being submitted should have an alternate plan or suggestion, but the proposer, representing an individual, a group, or a newspaper, should evidence honesty, sincerity, and unselfishness. The worst situation I can imagine is one in which someone, of whatever race or affiliation, deliberately tries to create doubt and confusion among members of your distinguished body, well-meaning groups, and of the public in general. These particular critics do not really love their state or its schools.

It is my firm conviction that your Advisory Committee has recommended to you the best possible course of action at this time!

I would like now, and I believe I can speak for most of you in this, to express the state's grateful appreciation to the members of the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education for the sincere and devoted service they have given their state. The members are: Mr. Thomas J. Pearsall, chairman; Mr. William T. Joyner, vice-chairman; Senator Lunsford Crew; Senator William Medford; Representative Cloyd Philpott; Representative Edward Yarborough; and Mr. Robert O. Huffman. To these fine citizens, I say, "Well done, and thank you."

There are two other gentlemen who particularly deserve the deep appreciation of our state for their tireless efforts in connection with this problem. They are attorney general, William B. Rodman, Jr., and superintendent of public instruction, Dr. Charles F. Carroll. To them all, I say, "Well done, and thank you."

One other thing needs to be said in connection with what the Advisory Committee has proposed. It is that any real long-term success of North Carolina, in meeting the school problem, is going to depend substantially on voluntary separate school attendance, with the races working in harmony for the over-all good. This means, and I cannot emphasize it too strongly, that every community in this state must see that all school facilities are truly equal. We cannot, and need not, in my judgment, expect Negro parents to be willing to send their children to dilapidated and unsanitary school buildings. Any community allowing such conditions to exist should not be surprised if they find themselves

in serious trouble. I urge sincerely that any inequality in school facilities be eliminated without delay.

Incidentally, the Honorable Edwin Gill, our state treasurer, tells me that we will shortly market the last $25,000,000 of state school bonds, which should aid substantially in the over-all program of providing adequate facilities for all the school children of North Carolina.

And now, may I suggest the spirit in which we as North Carolinians should approach the solution of this great crisis?

It seems to me that perhaps the greatest virtue in life is the quality of self-restraint or moderation, if you prefer. I realize only too well my own weaknesses and shortcomings, and I have no desire to question the motives and faults of others.

So let us rather reason together and find, if we can, a common ground for the salvation of our schools. I know there are extremes on this issue; those who would go far to the left, and those who would get equally as far to the right. It is neither fear nor lack of conviction that makes me stay nearer the middle; it is a sincere desire to be the governor of all the people of whatever belief, of whatever extremes, and to lead as best I can the state in a moderate fashion to help solve this problem pressing down upon us.

The people of North Carolina have been wonderful. I am proud of their restraint, their moderation, their love for our schools. Working together without pride of our own opinion, we may make a contribution of which we and our children can be proud.

I urge the state and each citizen to be calm and have the spirit of moderation. Perhaps my feelings can best be expressed by quoting from one of the nation's most eminent judges, the Honorable Learned Hand:

> What is the spirit of moderation? It is the temper which does not press a partisan advantage to its bitter end, which can understand and will respect the other side, which feels a unity between all citizens . . . . which recognizes their common fate and their common aspirations—in a word, which has faith in the sacredness of the individual.

And now, ladies and gentlemen of the General Assembly, those of us who have struggled with this responsibility through these past several months place the matter in your capable hands. While

it is true that the Advisory Committee has taken the initiative in making these proposals, it has been done at your direction, through your Resolution No. 29, adopted during the regular session of the 1955 General Assembly. Furthermore, the proposed bills have been hammered out with your help and advice in two series of legislators' conferences, plus innumerable personal conferences, both within and without the legislative ranks. We have done the best we knew how to devise a sensible and acceptable plan for your consideration. Of course, no one contends that this plan is perfect, nor can anyone predict with absolute certainty its ultimate effect—for we must remember that we are sailing uncharted seas. Yours is the power to accept it as is, to modify and change it if you desire, or to discard it completely, if you see fit. I know that you realize the vast amount of thought and work and prayer that have been given to the program we are submitting to you, but you as individual legislators will, of course, vote as your conscience dictates.

I have publicly said on many occasions that the 1955 General Assembly was composed of sincere, devoted, and able public servants. Whatever, in your wisdom, you decide to do, will, I am confident, be decided in the public interest.

Good luck and Godspeed!

PROCLAMATIONS AND EXECUTIVE ORDERS

PROCLAMATIONS
AND EXECUTIVE ORDERS

PROCLAMATIONS AND EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[Unlike the governors of some states, Governor Hodges as a general rule confined the issuance of proclamations to matters that were considered to be of more than ordinary significance. Less important and more routine subjects and events were dealt with in greetings and statements, a representative group of which will be found on pages 543-604 of this volume. The following proclamations and one executive order, though not including all of those issued by the Governor during his first administration, have been selected as illustrative of this phase of the work of his office.]

ANNIVERSARY OF THE TOWN OF BATH

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
RALEIGH

A PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR
August 11, 1955

Whereas, The year 1955 marks the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of the town of Bath, the oldest incorporated town in North Carolina;

And whereas, Among other important historical events occurring in the town of Bath were the establishment of the first public library in North Carolina and the erection of the oldest standing church in this state;

And whereas, The town of Bath was one of the earliest seats of government of the State of North Carolina;

And whereas, The town of Bath was one of the few communities in this state which successfully resisted the Indian attacks in 1711 and was the home and residence of many of our prominent colonial citizens;

And whereas, It is fitting and proper that the State of North Carolina recognize these historical events as having played a vitally important part in the early development of North Carolina;

And whereas, Every effort should be made to keep alive the memory of these significant occurrences as an inspiration to this and future generations;

And whereas, The citizens of the town of Bath and Beaufort County are planning a celebration to commemorate the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of the town,

and it is fitting and proper that the state should take recognition thereof and participate therein in order that there may be more widespread recognition of the historic events in this state and the nation;

And whereas, The General Assembly of North Carolina has created a commission to plan and carry out the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of the town of Bath and has authorized the Governor of North Carolina to designate a week in 1955 for said celebration:

Now, therefore, I, Luther H. Hodges, Governor of North Carolina, by virtue of the authority of Chapter 1369 of the 1955 *Session Laws,* do hereby designate October 1-4 as the period during which the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the town of Bath shall take place.

Done at our capital city of Raleigh, this the eleventh day
(Seal) of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifty-five, and in the one hundred and eightieth year of our American Independence.

Luther H. Hodges, *Governor.*

By the Governor:
Edward L. Rankin, *Private Secretary.*

WILLIAM B. UMSTEAD STATE PARK DAY

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
RALEIGH

A PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR
August 18, 1955

Whereas, By action of the State Board of Conservation and Development, the name of Crabtree Creek State Park will be formally changed to William B. Umstead State Park in recognition of the late Governor's interest and concern in the welfare and development of the state's recreational activities;

And whereas, This dedication will further honor the memory of Governor Umstead for his outstanding efforts in behalf of the conservation and development of our natural resources so that

North Carolina can continue to grow and provide for its people, as well as for generations of the unborn;

And whereas, The date for the dedication and naming of the park has been fixed at five o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, August 28, 1955, at the park site, midway between Raleigh and Durham on U. S. Highway 70, and an appropriate program has been arranged:

Now, therefore, I, Luther H. Hodges, Governor of North Carolina, with Mayor Fred B. Wheeler of Raleigh and Mayor E. J. Evans of Durham jointly, do proclaim to the citizens of Durham and Raleigh and throughout the State of North Carolina that the day of Sunday, August 28, 1955, shall be designated as William B. Umstead State Park Day, and we urge our citizens to observe this day by attending this dedication ceremony as a tribute to the memory of our late Governor, William B. Umstead.

Done at our capital city of Raleigh, this the eighteenth
(Seal) day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifty-five.

Luther H. Hodges, *Governor.*
Fred B. Wheeler, *Mayor of Raleigh.*
E. J. Evans, *Mayor of Durham.*

By the Governor:
Edward L. Rankin, Jr., *Private Secretary.*

HURRICANE IONE

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
RALEIGH

A PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR
October 6, 1955

Whereas, The Hurricane Ione has brought distress and suffering to the people of our state;

And whereas, The American National Red Cross is the recognized disaster relief agency, and has demonstrated its ability to meet the needs of families and individuals who are victims of disasters;

And whereas, The American National Red Cross has an

experienced staff capable of seeing that relief is supplied on the basis of need to all disaster-affected persons:

Now, therefore, I, Luther H. Hodges, by virtue of the power vested in me as Governor of North Carolina do hereby designate the American National Red Cross as the official disaster relief agency to deal with the problems of individuals and families affected by the Hurricane Ione;

And I urge that all citizens and agencies, both public and private, within the State of North Carolina give the Red Cross their full support and cooperation;

And I further urge that all individuals, groups, and organizations, wherever located, desiring to make contributions for the relief of the disaster victims send their contributions to their local Red Cross chapter. All such donations will be used by the Red Cross in the humane task of caring for the needs of our citizens who have suffered loss in the disaster and who are unable to rehabilitate themselves without assistance.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of North Carolina to
(Seal) be affixed at Raleigh, this the sixth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifty-five.

Luther H. Hodges, *Governor.*

By the Governor:
Edward L. Rankin, Jr., *Private Secretary.*

VETERANS DAY

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
RALEIGH

A PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR
October 20, 1955

Whereas, It has long been an honorable and befitting national custom to commemorate November 11, the anniversary of the ending of World War I, by paying tribute to those who served in that struggle and by rededicating ourselves to the causes of peace;

And whereas, In the intervening years the United States has

been involved in two other great military conflicts, which have added millions of veterans living and dead to the honor rolls of the nation;

And whereas, The Congress passed a concurrent resolution on June 4, 1926, calling for the observance of November 11 with appropriate ceremonies, and later provided in an Act approved May 13, 1938, that the eleventh of November should be a legal holiday and should be known as Armistice Day;

And whereas, In order to expand the significance of that commemoration and in order that a grateful nation might pay appropriate homage to the veterans of all its wars who have contributed so much to the preservation of this nation, the Congress, by an Act approved June 1, 1954, changed the name of the holiday to Veterans Day:

Now, therefore, I, Luther H. Hodges, Governor of the State of North Carolina, do hereby call upon and earnestly urge all of our citizens to observe Friday, November 11, 1955, as Veterans Day. On that day let us solemnly remember the sacrifices of those who so valiantly fought for us to preserve our heritage and meaning of freedom, and let us reconsecrate ourselves to the task of promoting an enduring peace so that their efforts shall not have been in vain.

In order to insure proper and widespread observance of this anniversary, it is my cherished hope that our entire citizenry will want to join hands in the common purpose of acknowledging the immeasurable and valiant service of living veterans under the theme, peace with honor.

I am requesting all citizens of the state, all business enterprises, all veterans organizations, and all state, city, and county officials to assist the State Committee in every way possible toward celebrating November 11, 1955, in an appropriate manner.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of North Carolina to
(Seal) be affixed at Raleigh, this the twentieth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifty-five.

Luther H. Hodges, *Governor.*

By the Governor:
Edward L. Rankin, Jr., *Private Secretary.*

SAFE DRIVING DAY

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
RALEIGH

A PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR
November 4, 1955

Whereas, The traffic accidents kill thousands of Americans, injure more than a million others, and cost us more than four billion dollars every year;

And whereas, Experience shows that soundly organized and publicly supported safety programs can reduce traffic accidents substantially;

And whereas, The S-D Day campaign will direct the attention of millions of motorists and pedestrians to their responsibility for supporting these sound programs by their own behavior in driving and walking:

Now, therefore, as Governor of the State of North Carolina, I hereby proclaim Thursday, December 1, 1955, as "S-D Day"—Safe Driving Day—and appeal to every citizen of our state to give his personal, active support to this important life-saving undertaking.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of North Carolina to
(Seal) be affixed at Raleigh, this the fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifty-five.

Luther H. Hodges, *Governor.*

By the Governor:
Edward L. Rankin, Jr., *Private Secretary.*

THANKSGIVING DAY

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
RALEIGH

A PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR
November 24, 1955

Whereas, It is one of the best-loved traditions of Americans that we set aside each year in November one day when we pause in our labors and return thanks for all the blessings bestowed upon us;

And whereas, In 1629 Governor Bradford set aside a day of thanksgiving in order that the Pilgrims might thank Almighty Providence for a good harvest; in 1789 George Washington, the first President of the United States, received a joint resolution from both Houses of Congress requesting that he recommend to the people a day of public thanksgiving and prayer; and in 1863 Abraham Lincoln by proclamation invited his fellow-citizens to set aside the last Thursday in November as a day of thanksgiving and praise;

And whereas, During this Thanksgiving season, many religious organizations are placing a special emphasis upon a people-to-people sharing of American abundance as a means of evidencing gratitude to God for the many blessings He has bestowed upon our nation; and thereby demonstrating the traditional friendship and compassion of Americans for those less fortunate than ourselves;

And whereas, "Now is a time of peace.
Now is a time of drawing close.
The crops are garnered, the last row ploughed,
The husbander stands in the heavy sun
And watches the purple hills
Painted with the quick hand of Indian summer.
Autumn has climbed the mountains
And quilted the still hills with colors—
With Indian corn colors.
And the great quiet hand of God
Lies on the land.
And we draw close around the restless fire—

In thanksgiving.
I do proclaim this a day of Thanksgiving
A day for prayer
A day to acknowledge the blessed rewards
Of a bountiful land.
A day for men to lift their eyes in thanks
And see in the white air the face of God."

Now, therefore, I, Luther H. Hodges, Governor of North Carolina, do hereby proclaim Thursday, November 24, a legal holiday in North Carolina and request that all the citizens of our state, with their families and friends, render hearty thanks to Almighty God for all His benefits on Thursday, November 24, 1955. Insofar as possible, where there are services on Thanksgiving in our churches, you are urged to attend these services as an expression of your gratitude.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of North Carolina to
(Seal) be affixed. Done at our capital city of Raleigh, this the sixteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifty-five.

Luther H. Hodges, *Governor.*

By the Governor:
Edward L. Rankin, *Private Secretary.*

NATIONAL GUARD MUSTER DAY

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
RALEIGH

A PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR
February 1, 1956

Whereas, The Departments of the Army and the Air Force are desirous that the strength of the National Guard, Army and Air, be materially increased as soon as possible;

And whereas, This can be accomplished by a one full day's recruiting campaign designed to encourage enlistment of young men and men with prior military service;

And whereas, The North Carolina Army and Air National Guard through the years have served our state and nation long and faithfully, in time of war as in time of peace, as a trained and valuable shield against the ravages of man-made and natural disasters and merit the wholehearted support of the entire citizenship of this state:

Now, therefore, I, Luther H. Hodges, Governor of North Carolina and Commander-in-Chief of the North Carolina Army and Air National Guard, in order to accomplish the assigned mission and to honor our men of the North Carolina National Guard for their services to the state and nation in every armed conflict in which our country has been engaged, do hereby proclaim the twenty-fifth of February, 1956, as "National Guard Muster Day" in the State of North Carolina. I urge all citizens of this great state to support wholeheartedly the North Carolina National Guard, both Army and Air, and the citizens of each community are requested expecially to assist their local unit in its recruiting campaign.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of North Carolina to
(Seal) be affixed. Done at our capital city of Raleigh, this the first day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifty-six.

Luther H. Hodges, *Governor.*

By the Governor:
Edward L. Rankin, *Private Secretary.*

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
RALEIGH

A PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR
June 19, 1956

Whereas, The General Assembly of 1955, by Resolution No. 29, directed the appointment of a committee, known as the Advisory Committee on Education, "to provide counsel and advice to the Governor, the General Assembly, the State Board of

Education, and the county and local school boards throughout the state";

And whereas, The Advisory Committee on Education, on April 5, 1956, filed a report with the governor, and said in its report:

> "We recommend that a special session of the General Assembly of North Carolina be called this summer to consider submitting to the people the question of changes in our state constitution.
>
> "We recommend that this legislature cause to be submitted to a vote of the people of North Carolina constitutional amendments, or a single amendment, to achieve these desirable and, we think, necessary results:
>
> "1. Authority for the General Assembly to provide from public funds financial grants to be paid toward the education of any child assigned against the wishes of his parents to a school in which the races are mixed—such grants to be available only in non-sectarian schools and only when such child cannot be conveniently assigned to a non-mixed public school.
>
> "2. Authority for any local unit created pursuant to law and under conditions to be prescribed by the General Assembly, to suspend by majority vote the operation of the public schools in that unit, notwithstanding present constitutional provisions for public schools."

And whereas, The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, have created special problems in the State of North Carolina and extraordinary occasions have occurred as a result of said decisions, and it is deemed necessary, in order to provide means for the continuing education of our youth to submit to the people of the state amendments to our state constitution and to enact legislation in order that our youth may be educated:

Now, therefore, I, Luther H. Hodges, Governor of the State of North Carolina, do, by and with the advice of the Council of State, proclaim that the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina shall meet in Extraordinary Session at Raleigh, North Carolina, at noon, on Monday, July 23, 1956, for the purpose of considering and acting upon the report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education, created pursuant to Resolution No. 29 of the 1955 General Assembly, and to enact such legislation, including the proposed constitutional amendments, as may be appropriate to give effect to said report and to provide a continuing means of educating the youth of the State of North

Carolina. I do hereby call upon, notify, and direct all members of the said General Assembly to meet at the Capitol in the city of Raleigh, at noon, on July 23, 1956, in such General Assembly as provided by the constitution.

Done at our capital city of Raleigh, this the nineteenth (Seal) day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifty-six.

Luther H. Hodges, *Governor.*

By the Governor:
Edward L. Rankin, Jr., *Private Secretary.*

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
RALEIGH

A PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR
December 3, 1956

Whereas, The State Board of Elections of the State of North Carolina has canvassed the returns of the votes cast for electors for President and Vice-President of the United States at the general elections held on November 6, 1956;

And whereas, Said secretary of state has, under his hand and certified an abstract of same to the Secretary of State of the State of North Carolina;

And whereas, Said secretary of state has, under his hand and the seal of his office, certified to the undersigned governor of the State of North Carolina the names of as many persons receiving the highest number of votes for electors of President and Vice-President of the United States as the State of North Carolina is entitled to in the Electorial College:

Now, therefore, I, Luther H. Hodges, Governor of the State of North Carolina, pursuant to the power and authority vested in me by the provisions contained in the *General Statutes of North Carolina,* Section 163-110, do hereby proclaim that the following persons have been duly elected as electors for President and Vice-President of the United States:

ELECTORS AT LARGE

John G. Clark — Fred B. Helms

ELECTOR	CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
W. C. Dawson	First
W. H. S. Burgwyn, Jr.	Second
Dr. John D. Robinson	Third
W. L. Lumpkin	Fourth
Mary Kerr Spencer	Fifth
David S. Neill	Sixth
W. A. Johnson	Seventh
C. Watson Brame	Eighth
Mrs. J. C. Spencer	Ninth
Sheldon M. Roper	Tenth
C. C. Horn	Eleventh
Claude S. Ramsey, Jr.	Twelfth

and each of the above named electors are hereby warned to attend a meeting at the Capitol in the city of Raleigh, North Carolina, at noon, on the seventeenth day of December, 1956, for the purpose of voting for the President and Vice-President of the United States, as required by law.

(Seal) Done at our capital city of Raleigh, this the third day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifty-six, and in the one hundred and eighty-first year of our American Independence.

Luther H. Hodges, *Governor.*

By the Governor:
Edward L. Rankin, Jr., *Private Secretary.*

ESTABLISHMENT OF "THE GOVERNOR'S TRAFFIC SAFETY COUNCIL"

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
RALEIGH

EXECUTIVE ORDER
November 30, 1954

Whereas, The problem of deaths, injuries, and property damage caused by accidents on the highways of North Carolina is one of the most serious with which the state is confronted;

And whereas, This problem is of concern, not only to public officials but also to every citizen of North Carolina;

And whereas, There are many citizens and organizations in North Carolina who have manifested an active interest in the promotion of highway safety;

And whereas, The support of such citizens and organizations is of great assistance to the official agencies of the state charged with the responsibility of combatting motor vehicle accidents;

And whereas, The effectiveness of such support can be increased by the formation of an organization to encourage, develop, and make use of public support in promoting highway safety;

There is hereby established a public support organization to be known as "The Governor's Traffic Safety Council."

"The Governor's Traffic Safety Council," hereinafter referred to as "The Council," shall be composed of an Official Division and an Advisory Division.

OFFICIAL DIVISION

The Official Division shall be composed of the commissioner of motor vehicles, the chairman of the State Highway and Public Works Commission, the state superintendent of public instruction, the director of the Institute of Government at the University of North Carolina, and the attorney general. Members of the Official Division may designate members of their staffs to assist them in connection with the operations of the Official Division.

The commissioner of motor vehicles shall serve as chairman of the Official Division.

The responsibility for all final actions and decisions of The Council shall be that of the Official Division. The recommendations, actions, and decisions of the Advisory Division shall be advisory only and shall not become official recommendations, actions, and decisions of The Council until approved by the Official Division.

ADVISORY DIVISION

The Advisory Division shall be composed of state-wide or regional civic, farm, industry, labor, business, professional, religious, and educational media of public information; service and

other organizations; and individuals and local organizations having an outstanding interest in traffic safety.

Members of the Advisory Division shall be appointed by the governor.

The Advisory Division shall annually choose from its membership an Executive Committee composed of nine citizens of the state who are known to have an interest in highway safety and are representative of the Advisory Division.

The chairman of the Official Division shall preside at meetings of the Executive Committee of the Advisory Division.

In the intervals between meetings of The Council, the Executive Committee with the approval of the Official Division is authorized to act on behalf of the Advisory Division. A majority of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

MEETINGS

Meetings of The Council shall be held at the call of the governor. Meetings of the Official Division or the Executive Committee of the Advisory Division shall be held either at the call of the governor or the chairman of the Official Division.

PROGRESS REPORTS

The chairman of the Official Division shall keep the governor informed on the progress made by The Council toward the achievement of the objectives for which The Council has been established.

Done at Raleigh, North Carolina, this the thirteenth day of November, 1954.

Luther H. Hodges, *Governor.*

PUBLIC ADDRESSES

PUBLIC ADDRESSES

[From the date of his accession to the office of governor on November 7, 1954, through December, 1956, Governor Hodges made 224 speeches of which more or less complete typescript copies are available, plus about sixty others which he is known to have made extemporaneously or from rough notes. Since it is manifestly impossible to print all, or even the greater portion, of this material in one volume, and since the speeches and addresses quite naturally contain a considerable amount of repetition, the following arrangement has been adopted. Fifty-four of the speeches, considered to be among the more important ones, are printed in their entirety; ninety-eight are described in brief summaries appearing on pages 487-529; and the remainder are listed by date and title only on pages 533-540.]

REMARKS AT SPECIAL PRESS CONFERENCE

State Capitol, Raleigh
December 13, 1954

[More than 200 editors and other representatives of non-daily newspapers were invited on this occasion, but because of bad weather only about sixty came. The purpose of the conference was to brief the editors on the budgetary situation and thereby to rally popular support for the tax increases which the Governor and the Advisory Budget Commission were preparing to recommend to the General Assembly. State Auditor Henry L. Bridges and Revenue Commissioner Eugene F. Shaw were also present and joined the Governor in a discussion of the state's financial outlook.]

We are well blessed in North Carolina with newspapers and primary media of communication—both in quality and quantity. There are about 200 newspapers, 110 radio stations, and 10 television stations now serving the people of our state. We are indeed fortunate to have so many sources for information, education, and entertainment; and it is my feeling that North Carolina is fortunate to have media of such high character.

As you know, this conference was called primarily for the smaller daily and non-daily newspapers which normally are not represented at the governor's regular conferences held twice weekly in Raleigh. It is your job to devote much of your interest to local news and happenings and you serve the state well as the newspapers closest to the people. I believe North Carolina ranks high among the states in the number and influence of its small daily and weekly newspapers.

I realize fully the responsibility which you, as newspaper people, have in dealing with that most perishable commodity—news. Your record of service to your communities and counties throughout the years has been outstanding. As governor, I want you to know that we in your state government will make every effort to keep you informed to the best of our ability on the progress and problems of your government.

Thank you for the many kind comments and editorials which have been written about me since I took office, following the death of Governor Umstead.

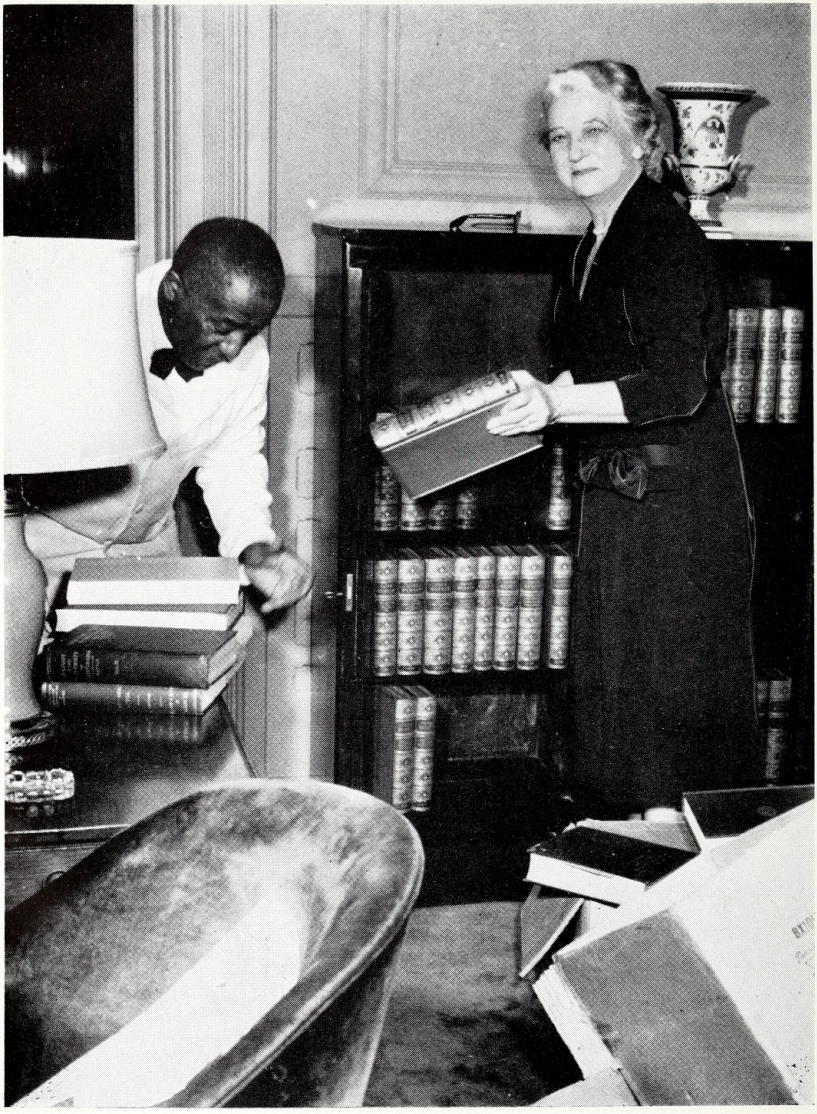
I seek your continued understanding and support in the problems which we all face as citizens of North Carolina. However, I am well aware of the need for constructive criticism from the press and elsewhere; and I know that you will not hesitate to speak your minds through the editorial columns of your newspapers. My only suggestion to you, when dealing with our many state problems, is to remember that the over-all welfare of the state should be taken into account, rather than a more restricted viewpoint based primarily on regional or special interests. I shall attempt to see my job from a state point of view, also.

During the past several weeks I have met with the majority of the state department heads in an effort to get better acquainted with them and the work which they do. I have told them that they should continue to carry on the state's business to the best of their ability, as no one man could find the time to check on their work; but their own conscience and the public would be their bosses.

The majority of state employees are energetic, efficient, and loyal people; and they are proud of the services rendered by the agency which they represent. North Carolina's record of long years of good state government is proof of this statement. However, we as state employees cannot rest on our laurels. Day by day, North Carolina grows. Additional needs for services are evident. New services, authorized in such areas as education, are frequently found to be outgrown before completion and our state government becomes more complex and expensive. In talking with one group of state employees, I reminded them that greater diligence is demanded of each of us to match these difficult times. I said we must always bear in mind that every dollar comes from

News and Observer Photo

Left to right: Ralph Scott, Governor Hodges, Mrs. Hodges, and State Highway patrolman J. A. McColman on the Capitol steps shortly after the ceremony at which the Governor took the oath of office, November 9, 1954.



Mrs. Hodges supervises the moving of the Hodges family into the Executive Mansion in November, 1954.

the pocketbooks of the people of North Carolina—the taxpayers.

One of the most important problems facing our state now, of course, is the question of revenue and appropriations. I would like to introduce the Honorable Henry Bridges, State Auditor, who will tell you briefly about this situation.

[Auditor Bridges appeared at this point and presented a report on the state's revenue and appropriations for the biennium 1953-55.]

I shall not attempt to analyze in detail all aspects of this 1953 fiscal problem. However, a glance back at the record of the General Fund will reveal some astounding figures. In 1932-33, our total collections were under $39,000,000. This period saw our sales tax enacted. Since about 1940, net revenues have exceeded current expenditures each year until the fiscal year, 1952-53. At this time, revenues began to level off, while expenditures—the cost of government—continued upward. Last year was the first year since 1941 that the Revenue Act failed to produce more revenue than expenditures. We are now spending more than we are taking in. In 1953-54, we spent $6,000,000 more than we took in. In 1954-55, it is estimated we will spend $26,000,000 more than we take in. For the biennium 1953-55, it appears we will spend approximately $32,000,000 more than we receive from revenues.

So we see the seriousness of the problem. It is only natural to ask immediately what can be done to reduce present state expenditures in keeping with reduced revenues. As Mr. Bridges said, the major expenditures of state tax revenues go to education, public welfare and health, mental hospitals, retirement system and pension funds, and general government services. These functions alone account for over 90 per cent of the General Fund appropriations. Meanwhile, the needs in these particular areas continue to grow. For example, it is estimated that we will have 31,000 more pupils in our public schools in 1955-56, and another 31,000 in 1956-57. This will require more than 1,000 extra teachers to take care of these additional students each year. This is cumulative! To summarize these additional educational needs, it has been estimated that the public school system will need an additional $18,700,000 more for the next biennium at the same teacher load and at the same salary level.

The Highway Fund, too often overlooked in a discussion of the state's finances, will amount to over $200,000,000 for the coming biennium. This fund supports the highways, the prison, the Motor Vehicles Bureau and the Parole and Probation Boards. Expenditures by the Highway Commission have increased along with everything else.

The simple fact is that our governmental services have expanded tremendously in recent years, as our state has continued to grow. We have reached the point where we no longer have revenue surpluses to tide us over from year to year. If we are to maintain state services, it will require a combination of additional revenue, economy, and efficiency.

I have said a number of times that I believe that if our people are told the facts, they will respond to this challenge as they have responded in years past. I urge you, as newspaper people, to study these facts and acquaint your readers with all the background information which they need to be able to decide for themselves what our state, through its legislators, should do.

I believe that North Carolina can and will maintain a balanced budget. We have an Advisory Budget Commission composed of the following:

Messrs. Claude Currie, chairman, Senate Finance Committee
John Larkins, chairman, Senate Appropriations Committee
William Rodman, chairman, House Finance Committee
Kemp Doughton, chairman, House Appropriations Committee
Alonzo Edwards—appointed by Governor Umstead
LeRoy Martin—appointed by Governor Umstead

This commission worked diligently for months with Governor Umstead, and I have spent much time with this group over the past four weeks. Up to now, the commission has not thought it wise to recommend a general salary cut or to drastically curtail state services. It is required by law to submit to the legislature through the governor a balanced budget. Official figures will not be given until the budget report, signed by the Advisory Budget Commission and the governor, is released to the General Assembly in early January. However, it is clear that we will need substantial additional revenue for the biennium of 1955-57 to take care of essential expenditures for schools, etc., and to compensate for the $30,000,000 surplus which we had at the start of this period. In

other words, we will have spent $30,000,000 more than we took in during the past two years.

This is disturbing news, but we must honestly face up to the facts. None of us likes extra taxes; but if we want and demand services of schools, welfare, health, and other government benefits, we will have to pay for them at whatever level—local, state, or federal!

We need more taxpayers, new industries, and expansion of present industries; and we shall continue the state's campaign along these lines.

I shall do all I can as governor, to economize in the state's spending, subject to the will of the legislature, and my authority and responsibility under the law.

As you know, there are many other problems besides the fiscal one. There is a serious question about the state of our water resources, for example; and I believe that something will have to be done to safeguard an absolutely necessary supply of water for our people and for our industries.

We are now receiving the copies of the report of the Commission on Reorganization of State Government, which has been at work for the past two years in studying the over-all structure and functions of our various agencies. Government, like any large organization, is troubled with the problems of duplication, inefficiency, and waste of funds. The reports from this commission contain many good recommendations which I shall transmit to the General Assembly for its consideration. I shall not attempt to go into detail on these reports (which you will receive by mail), but I commend them for your careful reading and consideration. One of the more important of these reports which we hope to have soon has to do with the problem of prison separation. Another will deal with the governor's office.

I would like also to express my interest at this time in the proper redistricting of our state, as provided for by the Constitution of North Carolina. As you know, the 1951 and 1953 sessions of the General Assembly did not comply with this requirement. If we are to continue to have representative government, under the provisions of our state constitution, I believe that the General Assembly should act upon this matter during the next session.

We are all aware of another major problem which is on the horizon. This is the question of segregation in the public schools. Since 1875, our state constitution has provided for the separation of schools, without discrimination against other races. Our public school system has grown and expanded under this provision, and the laws which have been enacted by the General Assemblies, down through the years. Under this program our state, counties, and school districts have invested millions of dollars in providing facilities in an effort to accommodate the tremendous demands for public education, always based upon the recognized principle of separate but equal facilities. Recent large expenditures for public school buildings have accomplished much in equalizing the school buildings available to all races. Teachers' salaries have been fully equalized.

However, the Supreme Court of the United States has reversed its own decision which had stood for almost sixty years, and has created a condition in North Carolina, and the other Southern states, with complications and problems which are difficult indeed! We do not know at this time what final decisions will be made about this question, but we must meet each problem calmly and wisely. We are encouraged by indications that more time and more consideration may be given.

As lieutenant-governor, I was chairman of the State Board of Education, and I have first-hand knowledge of many of our school problems. Since becoming governor, I have worked closely with the attorney general of North Carolina, the superintendent of public instruction, the State Board of Education, the special committee on segregation set up by Governor Umstead (and continued by me), and others in a genuine effort to decide the wisest program to follow in light of this recent Supreme Court decision. I have previously commended the brief submitted by our attorney general. You may be sure that this entire problem will continue to receive my best attention.

There are other problems we must consider, but I have suggested some of the more important. May I express my thanks, and that of North Carolina, for your presence and your interest; and I ask your continued cooperation in keeping our citizens informed.

ADDRESS OVER STATE-WIDE RADIO NETWORK IN BEHALF OF "S-D DAY"

December 14, 1954

[This was Governor Hodges' first state-wide radio broadcast after taking office as the state's chief executive. It originated in the governor's office and was carried by sixty-seven stations. The subject, safety on the highways, was one of the chief concerns of the Governor throughout his administration.]

My Fellow Citizens:

Within a few hours North Carolina will join with the nation in a heroic attempt to demonstrate that traffic accidents, deaths, and injuries need not occur!

At midnight today Safe Driving Day—or S-D Day—will be the watchword throughout the land, by proclamation of the President of the United States. For the next twenty-four hours it is hoped the nation's drivers, at the wheel of some 55,000,000 motor vehicles, will combine courtesy, caution, and common sense in a mass effort to combat accidents.

North Carolina is expected to, and will, do her part to make this dramatic and ambitious undertaking successful. From our commissioner of motor vehicles, Mr. Edward Scheidt, I understand North Carolina with 1,400,000 motor vehicles is fifteenth in the nation in total registration. We have one of the most extensive systems of state maintained highways in the country. Geographically, they extend through the mountainous terrain of the western reaches of our state, the broad Piedmont Plateau, and the flat Coastal Plain. Of all of these roads, our plans, our strategy, to meet tomorrow's challenge for safe driving must be diligent and persevering.

When I was first informed of the S-D Day project my first impression was, to be candid, pessimistic—this was just another "special" day.

But I have changed, and I would like to tell you briefly what I have learned about S-D Day, its organization, promotion, and what it will mean, if successful, to everyone of us who drives an automobile.

There have been many "days" in the history of our country—D-Day, V-E Day and V-J Day are a few that come to mind. They,

of course, stand as milestones of World War II. But as the National Safety Council suggests, our country and our state have long been engaged in another kind of war—the apparently never ending fight against needless traffic accidents. S-D Day can be a victorious milestone in that war.

Safe Driving Day is an undertaking of the President's Action Committee for Traffic Safety, and as such enjoys the full endorsement and personal backing of President Eisenhower. While the manifold problems of the nation are strenuous and demanding, the President is vitally interested in the safety and welfare of those who use the highways. He said in a recent White House statement that "All of us agree with the purpose of Safe Driving Day. It is to save lives and to prevent injuries. No endeavor could be more worthy of our universal cooperation. None is more urgent."

Therefore, in cooperation with the President's Action Committee, I signed on November 17 a proclamation designating tomorrow, December 15, as North Carolina's S-D Day and asked simultaneously that all the mayors and county officials prepare and publish similar proclamations in their communities.

The public's acceptance of tomorrow's challenge has been most gratifying. I have noticed in the various media of public information a strong appeal to the people of our state to climax S-D day with a victory over accidents.

Of course, my fervent wish is that, after a day of cautious driving, we shall indeed have set new records for accident-free motoring. I assure you no greater accolade could be awarded our state than for the nation to read and hear the news— "Tar Heels lead S-D Day drive."

In anticipating tomorrow's maximum effort toward safe driving, let me stress the tragic consequences of motor accidents in the Tar Heel State. Before me are the facts and figures concerning automobile mishaps in 1953. Statistics, as a rule, are cold and impersonal. But these are tragically impressive.

First, the death toll: Last year, we North Carolinians killed one person on the average every eight hours, day in and day out, throughout the year. Our total for the year: 1,118. I need not go extensively into the causes of such tragedies, because they are well known. Carelessness, impatience, and high speeds contrib-

uted more than a proportionate share in these death dealing accidents.

Next, the injuries: In 1953, there were 15,171 persons injured in motor accidents to varying degrees of severity. Nearly 6,000 of these unfortunate citizens were permanently injured, unable to contribute to their families' welfare and thus becoming a financial burden to the community or to their loved ones.

The economic loss: Automobile accidents last year, including property damage, hospital and funeral expenses, insurance claims and law suits, cost us Tar Heels the truly astonishing sum of *one hundred and six million dollars.* This represents an out-of-the-pocket dollar loss sufficient to run our entire state government for approximately four months. Nation-wide the total price of traffic accidents in 1953 is estimated to have been four billion, or almost five times as much as all fire losses in the United States for the same period.

That's our problem! Fortunately, I am happy to note here, officially and with pleasure, that we in North Carolina are gaining some measure of control over our deplorable accident situation. It's becoming more evident day by day that we shall end this year with substantially fewer traffic fatalities than we had last year. But that is a much broader and complex program than the immediate need of the hour—S-D Day.

For those interested drivers and pedestrians listening to this broadcast, to all those who want to participate enthusiastically in S-D Day, to all those who want safety at their sides as they drive and walk I have these suggestions recommended by the President's Action Committee. This is what every driver and pedestrian in the United States will be asked to do as the clock passes midnight tonight:

1. Observe the letter and spirit of all traffic regulations.
2. Be courteous to every driver and pedestrian—practice sportsmanship.
3. Give full attention to driving and walking.

In short, drive and walk as you would have everyone else drive and walk.

S-D Day, my friends, is a commendable effort and a worth-while project! It dramatizes the seriousness of the accident problem and

provides the opportunity for everyone to share in proving what can be done by concerted effort. And to the citizens of North Carolina I make this appeal: Support and work for the significant achievement that will be ours if S-D Day is successful.

S-D Day, you know could mean *Sudden Death Day!* While the promise of tomorrow's safe driving results is spectacular enough, I feel it is proper here to mention a step your state government has taken to help insure an enduring S-D Day. I have outlined the high-lights of last year's motor accidents. Such a record cannot continue. In a determined effort to achieve safer highways, an outstanding group of your fellow citizens are rolling up their sleeves and preparing now an ambitious, permanent and aggressive program to that end.

On December 3, as many of you recall, the Governor's Traffic Safety Council held its initial meeting in Raleigh. It was my privilege to welcome the delegates to this significant organizational meeting. From all walks of life—civic, farm, industry, labor, business, professional, religious, educational, press, radio, television, and other organizations—these men and women met to lay plans for an unprecedented safety campaign in our state. They came at their own expense and because of their deep interest in safer highways. My greatest admiration and my fullest support and cooperation go out toward this public-spirited citizens group.

The task before them we've agreed is immense. Instead of one S-D *Day,* they will be working for S-D *Years.*

A continuing program of traffic safety promotion and education was one of the fondest dreams of our late Governor, William B. Umstead. That I may actively participate in this new and enthusiastic group throughout the term of my office is indeed a privilege.

I anticipate some significant contributions toward safer North Carolina roads as soon as the council is fully prepared and working.

I have purposely neglected, until now, to mention where the real balance-point of success or failure of the Governor's Traffic Safety Council lies. The thin line of demarcation between continued suffering and destruction from automobile accidents and the safe, pleasant motor travel we all want lies simply with "the people."

It is, of course, the proper duty of the Motor Vehicles Department to enforce the traffic laws of North Carolina, and to devise ways and means of protecting life and property on the roads. But enforcement alone is neither a "know-all" nor a "cure-all" where accidents continue to kill and maim. The State Highway Patrol, in a year's time, finds it necessary to make many arrests. But it must be evident that arrest of the traffic law breaker, though important, is not the solution to our problem. Education and an appeal to man's better nature are factors in the accident prevention formula which are even more important in the long run.

Essentially that is the appeal behind S-D Day. To ask—not force, since that is an obvious impossibility—everyone who walks and drives to do as they would have others do. In other words, to practice the Golden Rule.

My fellow citizens, the Governor's Traffic Safety Council, with your support, your enthusiastic interest, and your participation, will help to make North Carolina roadways the kind of thoroughfares we are proud to travel. Our enforcement program will, of course, continue in the same impartial way it has in the past. Professional safety workers will continue their day and night efforts to make our roads safer. With your support, roads once traveled with fear may become roads of safe passage, traveled with peace of mind by all who use them.

In summing up S-D Day, a successful S-D Day may well establish a new trend in people's thinking. Too often I'm afraid, we are prone to dismiss highway tragedies as inevitable, the irreducible forfeit we are compelled to pay for operating more motor vehicles than any other country in the world. A nation-wide moratorium on traffic accidents, while admittedly monumental in scope, conceivably could readjust the thinking of the defeatists who cry "accidents are inevitable."

If it can be shown that accidents may be materially reduced, under the glaring spotlight of public participation that is S-D Day, then we will have erased for all time the mistaken idea that accidents are inevitable.

There are only 1,440 minutes in twenty-four hours, and many an accident has occurred with disastrous results in a split-second. For each of those 1,440 minutes beginning at the stroke of

midnight tonight, I am asking every citizen who prides his Tar Heel heritage, to drive and walk with utmost caution.

To insure the success of S-D Day in North Carolina, I ask that the motor vehicle laws be scrupulously obeyed. Since speed is the greatest killer, drive within the speed limit, never faster than fifty-five miles an hour and slower if highway, traffic, and weather conditions indicate.

For those afoot I suggest that they walk to the left, facing traffic, if there are no sidewalks available. At night, they should dress in light-colored clothes and, if possible, carry a flashlight.

For the military men and women at Camp Lejeune, Cherry Point, Fort Bragg, and other installations—who constitute the greatest concentration of armed forces personnel in the nation—I solicit especially their cooperation in achieving a successful S-D Day for North Carolina.

Most of these men and women in uniform are only temporary residents of our state. All over the nation are broken-hearted parents of soldiers and marines far from home who have been killed on North Carolina highways in the past. As their parents would do, I ask that all military personnel within the borders of North Carolina drive tomorrow and other tomorrows with the utmost care.

On Thursday, S-D Day will have become history. But our Highway Patrol, our Traffic Safety Council, and our enthusiasm and eagerness for safer Tar Heel roads—secondary and primary and rural—will be with us still. Let us right now fasten our sights on tomorrow's goal—a Safe Driving Day we will be proud of in North Carolina. If we are successful, we and our loved ones will be happy. And may tomorrow's success be an inspiration for our future.

ADDRESS TO THE NINTH ANNUAL BANQUET SOUTHEASTERN NORTH CAROLINA BEACH ASSOCIATION

WILMINGTON
January 22, 1955

[This address was delivered by Governor Hodges while on a tour of inspection of the southeastern beaches which had been seriously damaged by Hurricane Hazel. During the afternoon he had observed beach repair work at Long Beach in Brunswick County, where bulldozers and other power equipment were forming emergency sand dunes. At noon he had spoken to a civic club luncheon at Southport, assuring this group of his interest in a speedy recovery of Brunswick County as well as the entire southeastern area.]

When Hurricane Hazel struck our coast here on October 15, it dealt North Carolina one of the most disastrous blows which we have received in the recorded history of our state. To get some idea of the enormous damage and destruction which was caused in this brief period, first let us look for a minute at the box score. According to the best estimates available to our State Civil Defense Office, the total damage suffered in North Carolina from Hurricane Hazel amounted to $120,500,000. This includes:

4,000 dwelling houses completely destroyed or suffering major damage, estimated at $7,500 average	$30,000,000
20,000 dwelling houses sustaining minor damage, estimated at $1,000 average	$20,000,000
10,000 farm buildings completely destroyed or suffering major damage, estimated at $4,000 average	$40,000,000
15,000 farm buildings sustaining minor damage, estimated at $700 average	$10,500,000
1,000 business buildings completely destroyed or sustaining major damage, estimated at $5,000 average	$5,000,000
4,000 business buildings and personal property sustaining minor damage, estimated at $1,000 average	$4,000,000
Estimated damage sustained by churches, church property, private colleges and schools	$1,000,000

According to this survey, the following counties suffered the greatest losses of public and private property: New Hanover,

$7,818,665; Brunswick, $6,500,000; Pender, $2,000,000; Carteret, $2,000,000; and Onslow, $750,000.

Fortunately, the loss of human life as a result of Hurricane Hazel was very light, but the suffering and hardship brought about by this great storm created a serious problem. Reports from this area indicated that the American National Red Cross provided invaluable emergency and rehabilitation assistance to people in need throughout southeastern North Carolina. The latest report from the Red Cross revealed that 1,251 families in North Carolina were assisted by the Red Cross, with 64 houses being rebuilt and 530 houses repaired. This meant the Red Cross provided over $500,000 in total relief to the people in need in our state. Naturally, the majority of these funds and assistance went to this immediate area which was hardest hit. Families in Brunswick County and New Hanover County together received over $350,000 of this sum.

Timely assistance given North Carolina before, during, and after Hurricane Hazel by the American Red Cross deserves the hearty commendation of everyone. You can also appreciate that in back of each of the statistical accounts of Red Cross assistance stands a warm human story of hope and material relief brought to people in time of distress—assistance made possible by the volunteer service and voluntary contributions of people all over our country. The people of North Carolina have consistently aided in their service and contributions to the Red Cross, and so each has a share in meeting this responsibility to help the victims of disaster. This is truly our people's way of helping others. This demonstration of Red Cross preparedness should make us all recognize the need for keeping Red Cross disaster plans active and ready for any national disaster.

I know that all of you are aware of the other outstanding assistance given these coastal counties during the hurricane, and later. Let me summarize briefly what state and federal agencies or organizations have accomplished.

Highway Patrol. On the day before the hurricane struck, additional highway patrol personnel began to move to the coastal area, all the way from the South Carolina to the Virginia border. Patrolmen in the southeastern area began to warn beach residents and residents of other isolated areas of the impending storm. The

Governor Hodges' first meeting with the press (November 10, 1954) after taking office as the state's chief executive. The newsmen *(left to right)* are Noel Yancey, W. Lynn Nisbet, Robert E. (Fleet) Williams, Charles Craven, and Jay Jenkins.

News and Observer Photo

The Governor, a retired businessman, is officially welcomed to Raleigh by representatives of the local business community. November 23, 1954. *Left to right:* Karl G. Hudson, Martin K. Green, W. H. Trentman, Governor Hodges, and John Alexander.

patrol worked closely in cooperation with the various sheriffs' departments and the Coast Guard as the storm drew nearer to the coast. In other instances it was solely the responsibility of the patrol since some more isolated areas had little police protection and no Coast Guard contact. Radio communications were maintained at all times and during many hours of the storm the state highway patrol radio stations and patrol cars served as one of the few links of communication throughout eastern North Carolina. As the storm crossed our state, the patrol continued its efforts to safeguard life and property for countless citizens. About 380 members of the uniformed division were utilized during the hurricane period and their services amounted to approximately 1,920 man days. Most of these days consisted of at least twelve hours of duty. Meanwhile, the mechanical divisions throughout the state moved gasoline into the disaster areas to keep the patrol cars moving.

The State Highway Commission. Early storm warnings enabled the State Highway Commission to alert highway employees in the second and third highway divisions. Through an agreement with the State Civil Defense Council, men and equipment from these divisions make up two mobile support regiments for disaster work. It is well that they were prepared because the highway facilities from the Piedmont section to the coast were dealt a severe blow by Hurricane Hazel. However, within minutes after the hurricane subsided, highway personnel were on the highways removing trees and other debris. Here in the beach areas, roads were either washed away or left covered with sand from two to six feet deep. Numerous buildings, boats, and miscellaneous debris littered the highways. As you know, several vital bridges were washed out or damaged and the ferries operating to Ocean Isle Beach and Topsail were washed ashore and the ferry approaches destroyed. The major bridge damage was at the North River in Carteret County, and the bridge at Gallants Channel between Morehead City and Beaufort was damaged so badly it had to be closed.

Actually, the entire highway personnel in southeastern North Carolina worked for more than a month in restoring highway facilities. I would also like to point out that many of the services rendered by the Highway Commission were over and above

those strictly in the line of duty. Numerous services were performed which materially helped the restoration of property and homes of individuals and communities.

There is no way to express in dollars and cents the services rendered by the highway personnel during this time of disaster. The total dollar cost of the actual work performed by the Highway Commission, as reported by the several divisions, was approximately $836,000 with about $350,000 used for debris clearance and sand removal, $239,000 for road repairs and restoration, and $192,000 for bridge repairs and restoration.

Adjutant General's Department. The widespread destruction of property made it impossible for many counties and towns to provide the necessary police protection against looting and possible fire damage. At the specific request of law enforcement officers or county and town officials, eleven units of the National Guard were called into state service to aid civil authorities. The National Guard also set up an emergency radio net and its Raleigh radio served effectively. National Guard units responded promptly to orders, carried out their missions without appreciable delay, and rendered service in aiding civil authorities in protecting property, evacuating personnel, and maintaining law and order. The adjutant general reported that performance of National Guard personnel indicated good morale, efficiency, loyalty, and a real desire to render service in this disaster. The eleven units of the Guard accumulated a total of eighty-three days of active service and a total of 4,462 individual man days.

Civil Defense. The State Civil Defense Office in Raleigh operated at maximum capacity before, during, and after the hurricane as a center of communications and coordination of disaster information and assistance. Civil Defense notified amateur radio operators and military amateur operators prior to the arrival of the hurricane. These amateurs rendered splendid service with a radio net across North Carolina. The state office was in constant contact with the regional office of the American Red Cross at Atlanta, and the regional office of the Federal Civil Defense Administration in Thomasville, Georgia. Following the hurricane, Brigadier General Edward F. Griffin, director of the Council of Civil Defense, who is here tonight, was named as chairman of the

State Hurricane Disaster Relief Committee by Governor Umstead. General Griffin visited the hardest hit areas a number of times and conferred with local and county officials. Other members of this disaster committee were the Honorable E. L. White, then mayor of Wilmington; the Honorable George Dill, mayor of Morehead City; the Honorable S. Bunn Frink of Southport; the Honorable D. N. Lucas of Burgaw; Colonel R. L. Hill, United States Corps of Engineers, Wilmington; Mr. W. H. Rogers of Raleigh, state highway engineer; and Mr. E. M. Jarrett of the North Carolina Board of Health, Raleigh. All of these men are to be commended for their valuable service in this time of need.

Colonel Harry F. Brown, then regional administrator for FCDA, and representatives from Third Army Headquarters surveyed the damages immediately following the hurricane, and Colonel Brown flew to Washington to report personally to Administrator Val Peterson of the Federal Civil Defense Administration. On the day following the hurricane, Governor Umstead wired President Eisenhower requesting that North Carolina be considered a major disaster area; and the following day, October 17, the President announced that our state was a major disaster area, as qualified under the provisions of Public Law 875. This meant, of course, that our state could qualify for disaster relief funds under the provisions of this law. There has never been any doubt that North Carolina qualified as a major disaster area, but there has been considerable doubt and confusion about whether or not our state would ever receive any disaster relief funds under the provisions of this law.

It might be pointed out that requests for federal grants under Public Law 875 are specifically limited. For example, the first criterion for this aid is that as a result of the disaster the local government is not in financial condition or position to do the necessary work that is required to make its public facilities and properties usable again. The second is that the local government unit must make a *reasonable contribution* toward the over-all rehabilitation project. The third states that work under this law shall be "protective and other work essential for the preservation of life and property, clearing debris and wreckage, making emergency repairs to and temporary replacements of public facilities

of local governments damaged or destroyed in such major disaster".

Another item not to be overlooked was the executive order issued on January 16, 1953, which stated that "federal disaster relief provided under the act shall be deemed to be supplementary to relief afforded by state, local, or private agencies and not in substitution therefor; federal financial contribution for disaster relief shall be conditioned upon reasonable state and local expenditures for such relief; the limited responsibility of the federal government for disaster relief shall be made clear to state and local agencies concerned; and the states shall be encouraged to provide funds which will be available for disaster relief funds."

Recently I was very happy to announce that the Federal Civil Defense Administration had deposited an advance sum in the amount of $387,797.52 with the state treasurer, Honorable Edwin Gill, to be applied toward the restoration and rehabilitation of public facilities and beaches in the hurricane disaster area. These funds, as well as other sums to be obtained later, *are available to communities and counties as they present their properly documented bills, contracts, and payrolls to the State Budget Bureau for approval. Actually, this documentation is the same general procedure which is now required for claiming payment from state funds.* The only departures from this process are certain certifications required by the federal government. I do urge all communities and counties who have submitted project applications that have been approved up to now by the Federal Civil Defense Administration to complete their documentations and qualify for these funds as quickly as possible. Thirteen communities or counties have had project applications approved by FCDA up to this time. Only one, Brunswick County, has documented evidence sufficient to obtain actual payment of funds.

Assistance has come from a number of other state and federal agencies. For example, the Sanitary Engineering Division of the State Board of Health has worked for many weeks in helping reestablish safe and adequate public water supplies in numerous communities throughout eastern North Carolina. While individual county health departments have the primary responsibility for public health, the State Board of Health sent into the disaster area district engineers and district sanitarians to survey the dam-

ages and assist communities, counties, schools, and individuals in re-establishing a safe supply of drinking water. All available portable chlorinators and other equipment were rushed into the area for emergency use. Water samples were collected from a number of towns for bacteriological analyses. Serious sanitation problems were called to the attention of local officials as well as the public. Where contaminated water had been used, the State Laboratory of Hygiene had available supplies of typhoid vaccine for use in these areas.

The Small Business Administration moved into this area immediately following the hurricane and rendered assistance under its legal provisions for disaster relief. It has made 200 loans in our state as a result of Hurricane Hazel for a total amount of $1,600,000. I believe that the temporary offices of SBA in this area have now been closed, but its program is still available. Incidentally, the Small Business Administration was handicapped by a lack of personnel and the State of North Carolina provided temporary secretarial assistance at the three offices set up at Wilmington, Beaufort, and Raleigh. These young ladies contributed a total of sixty-nine working days in processing applications and loans for a federal agency which was striving to help our people.

As you know, crop damages as a result of the hurricane were severe in some areas. The Farmers Home Administration, a federal agency, had made a total of 380 loans in eastern North Carolina for a total amount of $525,255.

I have given all this information primarily to review a remarkable effort made by so many state and federal agencies in helping during a time of crisis. This could not have been achieved without teamwork and understanding on the part of many people. It is concrete evidence of the interest of the State of North Carolina in southeastern North Carolina. I know you appreciate what has been done. We, in state government, were only too happy to have this opportunity to give service.

Now let us look at this insurance situation. In a disaster of this size and scope, it is only natural that insurance and the settlement of insurance claims should be of primary importance and concern. As you know, I have indicated my deep interest in the prompt and equitable settlement of all claims under the terms of the individual contracts. Commissioner Charles F. Gold of the

Insurance Department and I have conferred a number of times about this situation in the last forty-eight hours. *Let's look at the facts.*

Approximately 150,000 insurance claims for hurricane losses have been filed with companies licensed to do business in North Carolina. The vast majority of these claims—between 85 to 90 per cent—were inland and they have been adjusted and payments made by the companies.

Practically all insurance companies, both stock and mutual, have assigned the adjustment of beach property losses to the General Adjustment Bureau which reported that it has been assigned 33,533 losses in North Carolina. Of this number, 28,819 have been closed and paid. *That is 89 per cent of these losses.*

The General Adjustment Bureau stated that it has received 2,700 losses involving so-called wave-wash. Of this number 1,160 have been closed and paid, with *1,540* still open. Of the 2,700 claims involving wave-wash, 1,083 were obliterated or complete losses and it is these cases that it is most difficult to adjust. We have reports that there are *600* outstanding cases of obliterations and 457 others, totaling 1,057, with the General Adjustment Bureau closing out approximately *forty* claims on an average each day.

In North Carolina we have a statutory fire policy to which the endorsement designated as "extended coverage" may be attached. This includes the peril of wind and does not include rising water or wave-wash even though windblown or driven. Because of the freakish nature of the hurricane damages in this area, there could be no uniformity or pattern set in adjusting losses.

Under the statutory fire insurance policy, the carrier has sixty days following submission of proof of loss before suit can be filed. The statute further provides that the carrier may extend time for filing proof of loss. Because of the volume of claims, it was impossible to process all of them within the sixty day period. With the approval of the Insurance Department, the adjustment bureaus announced an extension of time of sixty more days for submitting proofs of loss and have filed in the commissioner's office a written statement that the time for submitting proof of loss by insurers is to be extended to February 15, 1955, which is 120 days from the day of the hurricane, October 15, 1954.

We should remember that it is not within the province of the Insurance Department to say how much should be paid in the settlement of a loss. That is a matter between the insured and the insurer with final authority resting in the courts. The department does have authority to see that bona fide negotiations are made in an effort to bring about a settlement. Whenever the commissioner was of the opinion that proper attention was not being given to a claim, he acted as promptly as possible within the limits of his legal authority. We have stated publicly several times that adjustments should be honest, fair, and equitable and as prompt as possible. Whenever there is a doubt, it should be resolved in favor of the policy holder.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Jack Farrell, executive manager of your Southeastern North Carolina Beach Association, I was given a current report of the progress being made toward restoration of our beach resorts and fishing places.

Many of you will recall the special conference on hurricane relief and beach rehabilitation which I called in Raleigh on November 22. This conference served a useful purpose in reviewing our efforts to help our beach communities and in planning what needed to be done in the future. Colonel Hill of the Army Corps of Engineers, here with us, made a thoughtful and effective presentation of the need for long-range planning and sound engineering in the development of new beaches and restoration of our established beaches. We must protect our shoreline, our beaches, our inlets, our sounds, and every part of this beautiful and priceless area. We know that federal or state funds for this purpose will either not exist or be very difficult to obtain. *This means that the initiative for the planning must, of necessity, rest with county or town governments or leaders.* I urge you to work together to restore and protect this invaluable natural resource—our beaches. There is another unusual fact about our beach communities. As you know, beach property is owned by people all over North Carolina who retain a financial and personal interest in the future of their property, the beach community, and the problems which we all face in this area. So, in fact, the entire state shares your problems and wants to be helpful. We do not look upon this as a strictly regional difficulty.

What other lessons have we learned as a result of Hurricane Hazel? We can't change the path of a hurricane, but we can be better prepared next time. We learned, for example, to our sorrow that there is a real need for auxiliary power units and for auxiliary communication facilities.

It is my belief that Hurricane Hazel emphasized the need for a trained and well-organized Civil Defense organization in every community in our state. If each community in this area had a Civil Defense program organized in accordance with the recommendations of the state and federal Civil Defense plans, there would have been well-trained auxiliary policemen, firemen, and well-trained emergency welfare personnel who could have rendered invaluable aid in the emergency. These auxiliary police, in all probability, could have done the job which was assigned to our National Guard at a greater expense to our state. These police would have been immediately available, whereas, it took many hours to order out and mobilize the National Guard units after the storm struck. I urge all of you to look ahead to the future by planning now for a local Civil Defense organization.

As you know, Civil Defense is a two-fold organization—designed for *national emergencies* and *natural disasters.* Even a simple, voluntary Civil Defense organization can be invaluable in time of emergency.

I might point out that every state agency which was involved in disaster relief is now examining its past experience to see how it could do a better job next time.

Business is growing fast in southeastern North Carolina, according to our most recent reports. It is encouraging to learn that this area is gaining new businesses, new industries and new enterprises. Growth is, indeed, a natural and necessary thing. To make the most of your opportunities will require the wholehearted efforts of everyone—businessmen, professional people, workers, fishermen, housewives—all of us. Together, you can continue to make great strides. You can continue to increase the per capita income of this area, strengthen your tremendous tourist industry, encourage the settlement of new industry, and promote the development and expansion of more home industry.

I shall help in every way possible—but mostly you! Let's have faith, vision, and courage. God bless you.

ADDRESS DELIVERED OVER STATE-WIDE RADIO-TELEVISION NETWORK

March 2, 1955

[This address, delivered over a state-wide radio and television network, was in the nature of a "Report to the People" on problems facing the state and the General Assembly, in particular: highway needs, including the question of separating the prisons from the State Highway and Public Works Commission; water problems; segregation; and what should be included in the new tax program. The broadcast originated in the new television studio at North Carolina State College, with the Governor reading his speech from off-stage cue cards which were invisible to the television audience.

The Governor's Special Advisory Committee on Education, whose report is quoted on pp. 87-91, was appointed by Governor Umstead on August 4, 1954, and was continued in existence by Governor Hodges. It was composed of nineteen members with Thomas J. Pearsall as chairman. This committee should be distinguished from the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education created by the 1955 General Assembly. The latter committee was composed of seven members of which Pearsall was also the chairman. Both committees are indiscriminately referred to as the "Pearsall Committee," and both were created to study and make recommendations with reference to the problem posed by the United States Supreme Court's decisions on segregation. It was the later "Pearsall Committee" of seven that worked out the details of the so-called Pearsall plan, which was incorporated into an amendment to the state constitution and ratified by the people on September 8, 1956.]

Fellow Citizens:

Tonight I would like to discuss with you—the people of North Carolina—some of the problems and issues facing us at this time. The numerous messages I have received from you during the few months I have served as your governor leave no doubt in my mind that you are vitally interested in your state government. Those messages and the expressions of encouragement contained in them have been a great source of strength to me. For them, your prayers, and your good wishes, I am deeply grateful.

The senators and representatives whom you have sent to handle your affairs in the General Assembly are performing devoted service in the interest of our state. They are a dedicated serious-minded group determined to handle the state's business in a manner which will reflect your desires. However, when the issues are as important and as controversial as some of those now

before the General Assembly, it is difficult to know just what your desires are with respect to each particular issue.

In my budget and biennial message, delivered to the General Assembly on January 6, I discussed a number of the more important issues before the General Assembly this session. Some of these issues are already well on the way towards solution. A good start on the state primary highway program, for example, has been made, and we should go forward on an expanded program of primary road construction based on the needs of the state as a whole.

For the first time in many years any person in the state may, by simply looking at the appropriate issue of his newspaper, know exactly where primary highway construction projects will be started within the next year and within the next two years. This affords adequate notice to all who may be affected by any of these projects and gives them time to make their plans accordingly.

The projects are based on highway needs as determined by engineers both from outside and in the state and are approved by the chairman and all the members of the Highway Commission. The program is based on "pay-as-we-go" financing; and by planning in two-year stages full consideration can be given to factors such as the new federal highway program and how it will affect North Carolina. I have requested the General Assembly to provide a study commission to review thoroughly the organization and administration of our Highway Department during the next two years. Such a commission would be able to improve further our highway administration.

The prison separation problem is being handled by proposed legislation implementing the report of the Commission on Reorganization of State Government and in a fashion which I believe will meet with general approval. This legislation does just about everything that can be done at this time toward accomplishing separation of the prison system from the Highway Commission. It places real control of the prison system in the director of prisons and provides for studies and recommendations as to the feasibility of complete separation.

Members of the Commission of Reorganization of State Government have also proposed specific legislation which will help

modernize the operations of certain other areas of government, including the governor's office. Much remains to be done along these lines, but a good start has been made.

As I have stated on several occasions, what we are to do about making better use of our water resources is of vital importance to every citizen of our state. One of the bills now before the General Assembly is admittedly drastic when viewed in comparison with the kind of water regulation we have had in the past. However, it may be that we will very soon have to adopt this sort of far-reaching control of water. New situations are not always subject to solution by approaches which have worked in the past.

There is another bill concerning water control which is principally designed to provide an agency to coordinate and publicize what is known about our water resources and to establish a program for gathering new data on the subject. This bill also provides for emergency control of water whenever local governing bodies and the governor determine the need for emergency action in a particular locality. For the time being this may be as far as we can go on this problem.

In any event, I can report to you that every effort is being made to determine which approach is best, and to meet this situation in a manner consistent with the total interest of all of the state's citizens. This whole matter deserves your study and support.

The school segregation problem is, of course, difficult. Because of the widespread interest throughout the state in this problem, I would like to read to you in full the report of the special Advisory Committee on Education which was made after long and careful study of how best to approach this important issue. The report, as I have said previously, was a unanimous document of great significance and gave us a starting point from which the state might go forward to a solution of this problem. I sent the report to the General Assembly with the recommendation that it be adopted. I now quote from it:

"To the Governor of North Carolina: This committee was appointed by the Honorable William B. Umstead, late Governor of the State of North Carolina, on August 4, 1954, for the purpose of studying the effects of the decision of the Supreme Court

of the United States of May 17, 1954, dealing with racial segregation in the public schools, and to make recommendations to him as to how the problems arising therefrom might be met. After the death of Governor Umstead, and soon after you took the oath of office as Governor of North Carolina, you requested this committee to continue its work and report to you as originally instructed.

"Immediately upon its original appointment the committee began to study the problem, gathering information from every possible source. Every state in the Union which is materially affected by the Supreme Court's decision was contacted and reports, studies, briefs, legislative enactments, and all other available documents dealing with the subject were secured, distributed to, and studied by the committee. The committee and its sub-committees have met periodically. Members of the committee have discussed the problem with individuals, groups, school officials and authorities throughout North Carolina and have made every possible effort to ascertain the sentiment of the people of North Carolina and probable effects of the Court's decision and to find a satisfactory solution to the attendant problems.

"The committee is of the opinion that no other judicial decision or legislative enactment has ever so directly and drastically affected the public schools and, therefore, the lives of all the people of North Carolina as the decision of the Supreme Court of May 17, 1954. This decision makes a major change in our state school law. This new interpretation of our federal constitution threatens to disrupt our accustomed social order and disturb the peace within many school districts of the state. So, as the committee moves to perform the functions assigned to it, it does so with the following objectives in mind:

1. Preservation of public education in North Carolina.
2. Preservation of the peace throughout North Carolina.

"The committee approaches the accomplishment of the above objections with deep humility, knowing that the final answers are not with the committee but with the legislature and the people of this state. Now as never before in this generation North Carolinians are called upon to act cooly, exercise restraint, exhibit tolerance, and display wisdom. The committee recommends that members of all races in North Carolina approach this problem of unprecedented difficulty in that frame of mind.

"With the above thoughts and objectives in mind, the committee submits to you the following conclusions and recommendations:

"First: The committee is of the opinion that the mixing of the races forthwith in the public schools throughout the state cannot be accomplished and should not be attempted.

"The schools of our state are so intimately related to the customs and feelings of the people of each community that their effective operation is impossible except in conformity with community attitudes. The committee feels that the compulsory mixing of the races in our schools, on a state-wide basis and without regard to local conditions and assignment factors other than race, would alienate public support of the schools to such an extent that they could not be operated successfully.

"Second: The committee is of the opinion that the people of North Carolina look upon education as the foundation upon which our democratic institutions stand and are determined to provide education for all children within the limits of their financial ability. The committee feels that the people of North Carolina desire to solve the problems created by the Supreme Court's decision and provide education for our children within the framework of our present public school system, if possible. The committee shares that view and, therefore, recommends that North Carolina try to find means of meeting the requirements of the Supreme Court's decision within our present school system before consideration is given to abandoning or materially altering it. Only time will tell whether that is possible.

"Third: The committee is of the opinion that the enrollment and assignment of children in the schools is by its very nature a local matter and that complete authority over these matters should be vested in the county and city boards of education. With such authority local school boards could adopt such plans, rules, and procedures as their local conditions might require. The committee finds that public school problems differ widely throughout North Carolina and that there is even a wide variation of problems and conditions within counties themselves. As these problems unfold and develop from month to month and from year to year local school administrative units could move to meet each problem

as it arises if such units are given complete authority over the matters referred to above. We, therefore, recommend that the General Assembly of North Carolina enact the necessary legislation to transfer complete authority over enrollment and assignment of children in public schools and on school buses to the county and city boards of education throughout the state.

"Fourth: The committee feels that problems arising from the Supreme Court's decision will be with us for many years and will require continuous study, attention, and perhaps legislative action. We, therefore, recommend that the legislature create an advisory commission for that purpose and that the legislature be represented on such a commission.

"The committee, of course, is aware of the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States has not handed down its decree in the Virginia, South Carolina, Delaware, and Kansas cases, implementing its decision of last May in those cases, and is aware that additional legislation might be required immediately after that decree is issued, and from time to time thereafter. We do not think, however, that the legislation herein recommended is premature or that it will in any way adversely affect the welfare of the schools of North Carolina, regardless of the terms of the Court's final decree in those cases.

"The committee hopes it has been of service to you in the study of this important matter and it stands ready to render such additional service as it might be able to perform.

"Respectfully submitted this the thirtieth day of December, 1954.

Thomas J. Pearsall, attorney at law, Rocky Mount, *chairman*
F. D. Bluford, president, Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro
James H. Clark, banker and farmer, Elizabethtown
Ruth Current, home demonstration agent, North Carolina State College, Raleigh
Gordon Gray, president, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Fred B. Helms, attorney at law, Charlotte
Dallas Herring, businessman, Rose Hill
R. O. Huffman, industrialist, Morganton

William T. Joyner, attorney at law, Raleigh
Helen S. Kafer, hospital administrator, New Bern
James C. Manning, superintendent, Martin County Schools, Williamston
Holt McPherson, editor, *High Point Enterprise,* High Point
Hazel S. Parker, county home agent, Tarboro
Clarence Poe, editor, *The Progressive Farmer,* Raleigh
I. E. Ready, superintendent, Roanoke Rapids City Schools, Roanoke Rapids
Paul Reid, president, Western Carolina College, Cullowhee
J. W. Seabrook, president, Fayetteville State Teachers College, Fayetteville
L. R. Varser, attorney at law, Lumberton
Arthur E. Williams, chairman, Wilson County Commissioners, Wilson."

Legislation was introduced in the first days of the General Assembly to carry out the recommendations of this report. It seems to me that returning the enrollment powers to local school boards is a step in the right direction. After we hear further from the Supreme Court, it may be necessary to go further, but I think it unwise to take additional action at this time.

The matter of coordinating the programs and finances of our institutions of higher learning is being dealt with. Legislation is before the appropriate committees of both Houses which will implement the report filed by the Commission on Higher Education authorized by the 1953 General Assembly. This legislation would create a Board of Higher Education designed to coordinate the programs of institutions of higher learning and help plan for the future of these institutions. We now have twelve state-supported institutions of higher learning. Each is going its own way and we will spend on the twelve during the next two years around $30,000,000. Enrollment in the next fifteen years may double the present 25,000 college students, and this will mean still greater expenditures. We must avoid wasting state money through duplications and overlapping, and we should plan ahead.

In my opinion substantial economies can be effected in the future by the installation of more business-like administration in the many state agencies and departments. I also believe that by doing some long-range planning for the future, instead of being

content to think only in terms of one or two years ahead, our agencies and institutions can provide better programs for less money.

The people of this state have traditionally been willing to pay for the good government they want. At the same time, however, you who are paying have a right to expect full value for your money, and the officials who are spending have a duty to see that you get full value.

Sometime ago I met all agency and department heads and told them that their bosses were their conscience and their public and I wanted them to do a good, honest job as no governor could check on a hundred or more people. I shall continue to emphasize the need for more efficient administration, and more forward looking plans.

I can report only little progress on the redistricting of our state as required by the state constitution. Our House and Senate membership was required to be re-apportioned after the 1950 census figures were in. It was not done by the legislatures of 1951 or 1953. Bills have been introduced to have this done by the 1955 legislature, but I am afraid they have not been taken too seriously. Nor can I report much progress with reference to the abolition of the absentee ballot or the submitting of a liquor referendum. And it seems to be that proposals have been made which if adopted will seriously reduce the effectiveness of the state's highway safety program.

These proposals should be defeated, for I believe you agree with me that we must do everything proper and possible to cut down the loss of human lives. Our present program saved more than 100 lives last year. To paraphrase a well-known saying, "One of these lives may have been your own—or your wife's—or your husband's—or your child's."

One of the most important issues now facing the General Assembly has run into uncertainty. This issue involves the highly unpleasant task of deciding between objects to be taxed. Reduced to basic terms, the issue is whether to extend the sales tax to include items such as food, medicine, and other basic essentials or whether to place a consumer excise tax on the sale of items such as tobacco and soft drinks. Some members of the legislature believe that it will be less burdensome and easier to pass laws to

tax food and other essentials than it will be to tax the other items. Other members of the legislature agree with the recommendations of the governor and the Advisory Budget Commission that if the choice must be made, it will be less burdensome to most of the state's people if the tax is placed on items generally classified as non-essentials rather than on the more basic necessities of life.

At this point, I would like to review briefly for you the way in which the governor and the Advisory Budget Commission went about the task, as required by law, of preparing a budget for the state and formulating revenue recommendations to balance that budget as it was finally prepared. The men who compose the Advisory Budget Commission are: Mr. William B. Rodman, Jr., Mr. Kemp Doughton, Mr. John D. Larkins, Jr., Mr Claude Currie, Mr. Alonzo Edwards, and Mr. LeRoy Martin. These men are distinguished citizens, experienced in governmental affairs and known for their conservative approach to government spending. Beginning in July of last year, they and the late Governor Umstead began considering requests from the various state departments, agencies, and institutions concerning the need for funds with which to administer the programs and activities carried on by state government. This process went on for several months and included visits by the commission to the agencies and institutions. While time does not permit a review of the details of how the various requests were reduced to final form, you may rest assured that every cut was made that was felt could be made without destroying or seriously impairing the state's programs.

I call your attention to the fact that the financial needs for public education, including colleges, make up over 70 per cent of our recommended budget. These needs are always growing simply as a result of an ever-increasing number of school children. We have to spend in larger amounts to maintain even our present standards of education. Our children must not be made the victims of lowered standards. They are, after all, our most important resource first, last, and always.

After all possible reductions were made in the requests from the various agencies and institutions, the remaining essential expenditures exceeded the estimated revenue in the amount of

$26,000,000 each year. Thus, in the considered and careful judgment of the men comprising the Advisory Budget Commission and the governor it was necessary that provisions be made for new revenues in the amount of $26,000,000 annually or $52,000,000 for the coming 1955-57 biennium.

Since the Advisory Budget Commission made its recommendations for appropriations, the various state departments and institutions have asked of the legislative committees an additional $47,000,000 for operations and permanent improvements. I doubt if many of these requests will be granted.

For almost twenty years North Carolina has not had the necessity of levying new taxes. No one likes taxes. Certainly all of us are in agreement on that point. However, under the laws of this state, if the Advisory Budget Commission and the governor submit a budget to the General Assembly in which recommended appropriations exceed estimated revenues, they must also submit recommendations as to how the needed revenues should be secured; in other words, we must balance the budget. Therefore, at this point, the problem reduced itself to one of determining where new taxes could be levied so as to protect the best interests of the state as a whole and to be fair to those who must pay the taxes.

In searching for possible sources of revenue, it was found that North Carolina's corporate and individual income tax rates stand right at the top as among the forty-eight states. To raise them further would not be in the best interest of the state. It was also found that in spite of the fact that our sales tax *rate* is as high as that of any other state levying a general sales tax, the revenue received from the sales tax in our state is substantially less than that received from sales taxes in other states. The explanation is to be found in the numerous exemptions from our sales tax and the $15 limitation placed upon the purchase of a single article and on purchases made at wholesale by owners of a fleet of commercial vehicles. In examining the thirty-two separate items which could possibly be removed from the exempted list, it was seen that the list consisted of foods, medicine, fertilizer, seeds, and several other basic essentials. The taxation of these items by removing them from the presently exempted list would be felt most by the group composed of men and women who are trying to raise families on the income from small farms or from small wages or salaries. The

Hugh Haynie in Greensboro News, January 9, 1955

"Doctor Hodges" prescribes for North Carolina in his first message to the General Assembly.

News and Observer Photo

Governor Hodges and the Sir Walter Cabinet, January 11, 1955. *Left to right:* Mrs. Ralph Fisher, Mrs. James C. Little, Governor Hodges, Mrs. Edwin Pate, Mrs. George Long, and Mrs. Ralph Moody.

members of this group are the least able to pay additional taxes. The decision to recommend the removal of the single article limitation and the fleet owners exemption rather than to tax the basic essentials necessary to the bulk of the state's citizens was made.

The removal of the single article limitation and the fleet owners exemption will, if adopted by the General Assembly, produce only about one-fourth of the needed revenue, and so it was necessary to explore further. As is generally known, these explorations resulted in several different revenue recommendations. One of these was that the tax on liquor be increased. It was thought that so long as the price of liquor is not forced upward sufficiently to drive the consumer to the bootlegger, raising the liquor tax would be appropriate.

Another proposal was to increase slightly the fees for licenses of insurance agents and for commissions issued to justices of the peace and notaries public. This increase will not place these fees out of line with fees charged for similar licenses dealing with other occupations.

A consumer excise tax on soft drinks was another proposal. In line with the thought that if new taxes had to be levied they should be placed in accordance with ability to pay, it was decided that since soft drinks are generally classified as a luxury, they could be raised one cent a bottle if some method could be devised to prevent substantial injury to the bottling companies, especially the smaller bottlers. The method recommended to prevent this injury is to levy a tax in the amount of three-fourths of a cent, allowing the bottlers to keep the other one-fourth of a cent.

Finally, a recommendation was made which proposes a consumer excise tax on tobacco products. In a few moments I shall discuss this proposal in detail. What I would like to emphasize here is that throughout the process, every effort was made to avoid extending the sales tax to include the basic essentials which are necessary to the daily lives of our citizens.

The members of the Advisory Budget Commission and your governor faced exactly the same issue that is now before the General Assembly. We resolved the issue one way; there are others who believe it should be resolved the other way. We assumed from the outset that every recommendation that was made

would meet opposition from groups who are effectively organized, represented in Raleigh, and capable of presenting the opposing arguments in their own best interest. Our assumption has proved correct—to put it mildly! The organized groups have been heard from. Now it is time for you, the people, to advise your representatives in the General Assembly which way you believe is best. As I have said before and say again, I believe that if the people are told the facts, they will respond to this challenge as they have always responded.

I would like to talk particularly about the proposed consumer excise tax on tobacco products—not to indicate that we are insisting on the passage of this particular tax, but because we wish to clear up what may be some misapprehensions and misunderstandings. In the first place, the members of the Advisory Budget Commission and myself are all aware of the paramount importance of the tobacco industry to North Carolina. The growing and manufacturing of tobacco is one of our most valued industries. We grow two-thirds of the flue-cured tobacco grown in the United States. We manufacture 55 per cent of the cigarettes produced in the United States.

Our tobacco economy is not tied solely to the sale of tobacco products in North Carolina; it is tied to the sale of tobacco products all over the nation, and to a great degree to the sale of tobacco products all over the world. I would like to emphasize that the proposed tax is not on persons who grow tobacco; nor is it on companies that manufacture tobacco products. It is on the persons who consume tobacco. In this state, we have only 2.7 per cent of those persons in the United States who consume tobacco. This means that even if we were to make the ridiculous assumption that every person in North Carolina who used tobacco would stop using it completely, the effect on sales in the United States would be to reduce them only 2.7 per cent; and the percentage reduction in total world sales would be even less. Or, if we were to assume that tobacco consumption in North Carolina were reduced 10 per cent, the production of tobacco in North Carolina would be reduced by less than one-fourth of one per cent. Even if we had a 10 per cent reduction in tobacco consumption in North Carolina, it would reduce our farmers' tobacco production only around $1,000,000 per year. However, if the present sales tax were applied on food, as has been proposed, the

cost to North Carolina farmers will be around $4,000,000 per year. And if a 2 per cent sales tax is applied to food, seeds, and feeds, as has been proposed, the cost to North Carolina farmers will be around $4,666,000 per year.

What I have just said about the effect of reduced tobacco sales is based on the pure guess that a consumer excise tax would significantly reduce the retail sales of tobacco products. As a matter of fact, there is no convincing evidence that such a tax will cause such a result. Rather, the evidence is that it will not reduce sales. Tobacco sales increased consistently in the United States until 1953 when the introduction of the so-called cancer scare caused a drop everywhere. The last state to levy a consumer excise tax on tobacco did so in 1951, two years before any drop appeared in tobacco sales.

At present, forty-one states are levying a consumer excise tax on tobacco products. Major cities in four of the remaining seven states also levy such a tax. This means that tobacco excise taxes are now being levied in all but three of the forty-eight states. There is little or no danger of North Carolina tobacco retail prices being placed at a point which would cause its citizens to buy tobacco in other states or to cut down on sales at all.

Of the members of the Advisory Budget Commission, Mr. Claude Currie lives and works in Durham—a tobacco city if ever there was one. I am a native of Rockingham County, a tobacco center. Mr. John Larkins and Mr. William Rodman are both from eastern North Carolina, in the heart of tobaccoland. Mr. Alonzo Edwards is a prominent tobacco farmer from Greene County, also in the heart of tobaccoland. Mr. Kemp Doughton is from Alleghany County, a leading burley tobacco county. Mr. LeRoy Martin of Raleigh works for a bank whose headquarters are in Winston-Salem, a tobacco center. Can anyone seriously believe that any of us would recommend anything that we thought would be likely to endanger the welfare of the tobacco farmers or the tobacco manufacturers?

The important thing is not whether there shall be a consumer tax on a particular item. It is rather, whether we shall adopt a policy of placing additional taxes on specific products of a luxury or pleasure nature so as to collect from persons who can afford them, or whether we shall adopt a policy of placing taxes on

basic essentials so as to collect them from all citizens, many of whom cannot afford either a luxury or a tax, and in many instances can barely scrape together enough to buy the essentials. Our per capita income in North Carolina is forty-fourth in the nation, which means low income to many people.

Many people have written me and others that we wouldn't need new taxes if we would cut out waste and reduce state payrolls. I should like to point out that if we eliminate *all* general government expenses such as those of the governor's office, the General Assembly, the Supreme Court, the Superior Courts, the Budget Bureau, the Personnel Department, the Division of Purchase and Contract, the treasurer's office, the auditor's office, and the fourteen or fifteen other agencies that go to make up general government, the amount saved wouldn't equal the $52,000,000 needed.

A growing state requires more and more services. North Carolina is a leader in many fields and its people are proud of its leadership. They want it to continue to go forward in a common sense way, not with frills but with a proper regard for the fundamentals. We have been most fortunate for a score of years in having increased revenues without increasing taxes. Now we must have new sources of revenue.

Our state must not go backward. Its people are forward looking. Its government must also be forward looking. We feel confident our legislators will continue to recognize the responsibility of providing the needed funds to take care of our future.

Most of our expenditures are for education, welfare, hospitals, prisons, and highways. We shouldn't cut wages and salaries, and I believe the people want our basic services to continue and are willing to pay the necessary taxes. We should economize wherever possible, and I promise you to do what I can along this line. If you have specific suggestions as to how we can cut expenses, send them to me or your representative or senator.

Business has been improving for the last month or so, and the most recent income reports are encouraging. I am hopeful that some of our revenue needs will be taken care of by this improvement, but it will be some time before we know about this possibility.

Hearings by the Finance Committees are still in process and it

will probably be after the middle of March before all of the revenue proposals and various points of view are made known. We encouraged the General Assembly in our talk January 6 to explore all revenue sources before coming to a decision. It is of course the responsibility of the General Assembly to make the final decision.

By way of summary, I would like to make it clear that I am aware that opinions will differ as to what particular tax is to be levied. The opinions that differ with those of the Advisory Budget Commission and mine are, I am sure, as sincere and well-intentioned as ours. What we must have is a balanced budget and necessary funds for needed governmental services.

We have a great state, let's make it greater. We have a beautiful state, let's make it more beautiful. We have good citizens, let's become better citizens by taking even more interest in and taking part in our state government.

Thank you for listening.

REMARKS AT UMSTEAD MEMORIAL SERVICE

RALEIGH
March 15, 1955

[Memorial services for Governor Umstead were held in the Hall of the House of Representatives in the State Capitol. Admission was limited to members of the House and Senate, the Council of State, the Supreme Court, and members of the Umstead family and special guests. Others were admitted to the Rotunda and the Senate Chamber where the exercises were heard through a public address system. R. Percy Reade, formerly a law partner of Governor Umstead, also spoke.]

We are here tonight to honor the memory of William Bradley Umstead, fifty-eighth Governor of the State of North Carolina, who passed away on Sunday, November 7, 1954, after an illness which had beset him on his third day after taking office on January 8, 1953. It's an honor to have a part in this program.

As most of you realize, I did not know Governor Umstead intimately. I had been acquainted with him, of course, for many years but knew him primarily by his outstanding reputation as a lawyer, Congressman, United States Senator, active and effective Democrat, civic and church leader, and an outstanding American

citizen. Since succeeding to this office, through an act of God, I have learned more about William Bradley Umstead, in many ways, than I ever did through my limited knowledge while he was living.

When you follow in the footsteps of another governor, taking office at about mid-term of a four-year administration, you have a rare opportunity to view, judge, and appraise the actions of your predecessor. So, it was through this unusual relationship that I have had the privilege of viewing our late governor.

I have found that his approach to our basic state problems demonstrated a profound knowledge of our state—its people, its resources, its economy, its history, and its great potentialities. While an active participant in a number of state primary campaigns, William Umstead, as governor, immediately made it clear that he would put the best interest of the state ahead of the wishes of any individual or group of individuals. His decisions on many important issues, which arose during his twenty-two months in office, have stood the test of time and further study. And the basis of his decisions has, in many instances, been most helpful to me.

Although seriously ill, he faced the issues in the 1953 General Assembly with indomitable courage and foresight. Only a strong-willed man could have directed the program he did. The General Assembly recognized his leadership by approving the vast majority of the legislation which he recommended. Another test for every governor and another measuring rod of every administration revolves around his appointments. I have been impressed, generally speaking, with the caliber and type of men who accepted appointed positions in the Umstead administration. They have met the responsibilities given them and have reflected credit upon William Umstead.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States made its decision on the principle of segregation in our public schools, thus handing Governor Umstead the grave responsibility of dealing with one of the greatest problems we have ever faced in North Carolina. He met this issue calmly and wisely. Because of his leadership and his reasonable, thoughtful approach to this decision, North Carolina kept its equilibrium during what could have been a turbulent period.

It is always true that the moral tone of state government is established by its leaders. Mr. Umstead was a man of unquestioned integrity, character, and honor. His influence as governor was reflected throughout the state government organization.

I am grateful for this opportunity to pay this tribute to a man who dedicated himself to the service of his state and his people. His tenacity of purpose, his loyalty and devotion, and his sense of responsibility will never be forgotten. I know I speak for the people of North Carolina in recognizing what this man meant to our state as a citizen and as a governor. Those who follow him in this high office will strive to match his quality of leadership, the nobility of his spirit, and the depth of his love for North Carolina.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE NORTH CAROLINA CITIZENS ASSOCIATION

RALEIGH
March 23, 1955

[As a former businessman, Governor Hodges was a frequent and enthusiastic speaker before business, financial, and industrial groups. This appearance at the annual dinner meeting of the North Carolina Citizens Association, a business group interested in keeping an eye on taxes and state spending, afforded the Governor an opportunity to discuss the revenue problems then before the General Assembly and also to reiterate his concern over the state's low per capita income. The address was later printed in *We the People of North Carolina* (XII, [April, 1955], 2-5, 29), a magazine published by the Citizens Association.]

President Sims, Distinguished Guests, Members of the General Assembly, Members of the North Carolina Citizens Association, and Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am delighted to be with you on this the thirteenth Annual Dinner Meeting of your association. I am pleased to see and greet so many of my friends from all sections of North Carolina. The study by your association of state figures and state needs is helpful. I would encourage an even wider dissemination of information than is now done through your *We The People.*

Two years ago I was present on an occasion similar to this

and had the pleasure of introducing the principal speaker, the Honorable Lindsay Warren, then Comptroller General of the United States. I am glad that Lindsay is now retired from Washington, D. C., to Washington, N. C. He is a great person!

It is a wholesome thing for citizens from every section of the state to come together and discuss problems of common interest. I firmly believe in giving all the people the facts. You are all stockholders in the biggest business in North Carolina. Don't ever forget that! Our state government has experienced an almost unbelievable growth during the past twenty years.

Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina, told me recently that in 1917 his uncle, James A. Gray, was chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and he was literally struggling to find revenues of $6,000,000 to finance the General Fund which was just about all of the state's requirements. Thirty years later in 1947 Gordon Gray was chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, struggling to find $92,000,000 for the General Fund. I told Gordon that by 1967, a span of only twenty years, someone would be struggling to raise upwards of $292,000,000 for the General Fund unless there were some drastic changes in our needs and trends. Most of these increases come from growth in population and a tendency to have the state assume financial responsibility for our services. With a rapidly growing population and a corresponding demand for increasing public service, the General Assembly and the governor are kept quite busy these days in trying to chart the course of the state government during the next two years.

Tonight, I wish to discuss briefly with you some of the problems which are most outstanding at this time:

Probably the most discussed problem at this time is the lack of adequate revenue to carry on the public services at their present standards.

In 1933, when the present tax schedules were enacted, the state was in a period of national depression. The credit of the state, the counties, and the cities, was at a low ebb. The General Assembly of that year deemed it wise to increase existing schedules to their present levels by adding thereto a new tax to be known as the retail sales tax. The tax schedules enacted at that session have remained practically intact until today. Some exemptions

have been put in the sales tax, and beverage taxes have been added. With these exceptions, the revenue schedules of 1933, which produced $24,000,000 in the first year of operation, produced $184,000,000 last year.

In the meantime the General Fund appropriations of $24,000,000 in fiscal 1934 have been increased by each succeeding General Assembly until the state spent $190,000,000 during the past fiscal year. In fact, the appropriations have outstripped the revenue, and we will have spent during the biennium ending June 30 the surplus of $32,000,000 we had two years ago.

The requests for General Fund revenue for the coming biennium are in excess of anticipated revenue by $52,000,000, being $26,000,000 for each of the two years.

I am hopeful that this $52,000,000 of new taxes requested may be reduced when revised estimates of revenue are given us in a day or so. Present estimates were made up last September when sales tax receipts were looking gloomy, but this particular tax has been improving in recent months, and the future begins to look better for our corporate income tax, especially in the textile industry. Some weeks ago at a state-wide press conference, I expressed the hope that revenues would be increased by a minimum of $2,000,000 for this current year and for each two years of the coming biennium. From preliminary reports, we should do substantially better than this. Even though it would be helpful to have a "cushion" or surplus, I feel that under the conditions, it will be better if we have a tight budget and not ask the General Assembly to raise any more taxes than absolutely necessary.

The Advisory Budget Commission and I have made our recommendations to the General Assembly as to how taxes should be provided. In these recommendations we were unanimous. This great state is made up of many fine people of divergent views as to what is best for the economy of the state. All of these views are reflected here in Raleigh, and considerable amount of time and discussion is required for a meeting of the minds of a majority of the members of the General Assembly. I have great faith in the integrity and patriotism of this General Assembly. I know that in due time and in a proper manner they will come to a wise decision in this matter. I am confident the people of North Carolina will receive this decision with approval.

I think I should remind all here that the governor of North Carolina occupies a most unique position with respect to legislation. This is the only state in the Union where the governor does not have the veto power, nor is the governor required to approve legislation by his signature for ratification. The constitution provides only that the governor can recommend legislation. On the other hand, the General Assembly is charged with the sole responsibility for the laws it passes. Thus, however a governor of North Carolina may feel about his legislative recommendations concerning revenue or any other matter, he cannot in the final analysis exercise any formal power as to what laws are finally adopted. This seems to have worked remarkably well during the past fifty years, for truly the state has made great strides of progress during this half century beginning with Governor Aycock. He set the state on its course of providing educational opportunities for every child in North Carolina. We have come a long way since that time and I firmly believe that most of our economic progress has been the result of our educational system. We must not let this progress be interfered with.

The next problem is concerning the highways.

We have an ever increasing number of motor vehicles. The registration is around 1,500,000 vehicles in North Carolina. This state supports around 68,000 miles of highways—the largest mileage of any state in the Union. Our Highway Commission recently had a survey made of our primary system, and the report showed that in ten years we should spend $1,464,000,000 on these highways. But the encouraging part of the report was the estimate of revenue which totaled $1,442,000,000 based on a most conservative figure.

A great deal of additional study must be given to highway matters prior to the meeting of the next General Assembly so that the work of the commission can be integrated with the other work of the state.

Among our highway problems is the prison system.

The General Fund is at present in no position to finance the cost of the prison system. Nor is the Highway Fund in a position to support the prison system unless in return prison labor can be used in the maintenance of the highways. This General Assembly has passed legislation relieving the Highway Commission of direct

responsibility for the operation of the prisons and placing this responsibility in the hands of the director of prisons. This may prove to be a step toward the solution of the ever-present problem of what to do with our prison population and its rehabilitation.

The lack of adequate funds both in the General Fund and in the Highway Fund to meet the pressing requirements of both funds arises from two causes:

First, North Carolina, since 1931, has undertaken the complete maintenance and construction cost of all the roads in the state. In most of the other states, the state is responsible for the primary road program only.

Again, in the services supported by the General Fund, North Carolina is the only state in the South, and one of only three in the nation, which supports its public school system on a state-wide basis.

The second cause of lack of adequate funds is the low per capita income experienced by the people of North Carolina.

Since the turn of the century, North Carolina has had a slowly rising economy. With the exception of the depression, the per capita income has been upward. However, despite this trend, we find ourselves in no better relative position than we were thirty years ago. This is a cause for real concern. Here are the facts:

Of the eleven Southeastern states, the national ranking for per capita income is as follows: (based on U. S. Department of Commerce figures):

	1929-Rank	*1953-Rank*
Alabama	$305 - 46	$1043 - 46
Arkansas	305 - 45	939 - 47
Florida	484 - 38	1368 - 38
Georgia	329 - 43	1184 - 42
Kentucky	371 - 41	1167 - 43
Louisiana	415 - 40	1249 - 40
Mississippi	273 - 47	834 - 48
North Carolina	*309 - 44*	*1097 - 44*
South Carolina	252 - 48	1095 - 45
Tennessee	349 - 42	1196 - 41
Virginia	422 - 39	1361 - 39

During none of these years has the per capita income in North Carolina equalled the average income for the Southeastern district,

which was $344 in 1929 and $1,159 in 1953. When we take into consideration that the Southeastern average was the lowest for any district in the nation, then we can understand why North Carolina ranks forty-fourth among the forty-eight states.

While our income has increased from the very low of $309 in 1929 to $1,097 in 1953, we have failed to increase our relative standing among the states, for in 1929 our rating was forty-fourth, just as it is today.

Naturally, we have made a lot of progress in the last twenty-five years, but so have our neighbors. We have had to make a lot of progress just to stand still. The per capita income of North Carolina is just about two-thirds of the national average which in 1953 was $1,709.

Recently figures were published which compared Trenton, New Jersey, and Greensboro, North Carolina, on per capita income. Trenton was $1,672; Greensboro was $1,685. On the other hand New Jersey was $1,731, while North Carolina was $1,091; and Ocean County, New Jersey, was $912, while Franklin County, North Carolina, was $580. The difference is in the rural income. We must improve our rural income in North Carolina.

Minimum wage legislation in the state calling for fifty-five cents an hour with liberal exemptions will still have difficulty in getting through. This shouldn't be so. We must be more liberal and understanding in our thinking and action. It will cost you and me more in taxes if we fail to get the money through better income for our people.

The lowest income states of the nation are the fastest growing in population and have the heaviest percentage of Negro population. Also, these states are great agricultural states.

It is also interesting to note the sources from which North Carolina receives its income:

	N. C.	*Southeastern District Average*
1. Agriculture	17.4%	13.1%
2. Government Income Payments	16.3%	19.9%
3. Manufacturing Payrolls	24.8%	17.5%
4. Trade & Service income	21.9%	24.8%
5. All other	19.6%	24.7%

Thus, North Carolina has a higher income from agriculture and manufacturing than the Southeastern average. Also we have a lower income from government income payments than the average.

It is significant that Arkansas and Mississippi, the two lowest per capita income states of the nation, have the highest percentage of income from agriculture, and that North Carolina and South Carolina have the highest percentage of their income from manufacturing.

It is highly significant that Virginia, which ranks five states above us in per capita income, namely thirty-ninth, receives only 8.7 per cent of income from agriculture, yet received 26.3 per cent from government income payments, the highest among the Southeastern states, and receives only 16.7 per cent from manufacturing payrolls.

North Carolina ranks fifteenth among all the states in its per capita income from manufacturing. It is the unprecedented business of our factories during the past ten years which has enabled us to hold our place of forty-fourth among the states. For the year 1954 we find the average monthly employment to be 728,918 employees, receiving a payroll of $2,044,702,169 for the highest wages ever paid in the state. A high percentage of this employment was in manufacturing.

However, we have a peculiar condition existing in the distribution of our manufacturing plants. We have 50.3 per cent of the employment and 53.9 per cent of the payroll in the state located in just ten counties of the state:

	Employment	*Wages*
Mecklenburg	9.6%	11.3%
Guilford	9.0%	9.9%
Forsyth	6.8%	7.6%
Gaston	5.0%	4.9%
Cabarrus	3.7%	3.6%
Durham	3.4%	3.6%
Wake	3.7%	3.9%
Buncombe	3.1%	3.3%
Alamance	3.0%	3.2%
Catawba	3.0%	2.6%
	50.3%	53.9%

Eight of these ten counties are found in Piedmont North Carolina and, outside of the tobacco and furniture industries, are primarily engaged in the textile business. Thus, the remaining 49.7 per cent of the employment is scattered throughout the remaining ninety counties of the state.

So it is easy to reach the conclusion that what is badly needed in North Carolina is more industry in the other ninety counties of the state, and in particular does this hold true for the counties east of Raleigh.

The state needs increasingly larger amounts for our public schools. Our rapidly rising revenue has enabled us to increase the state support of public schools from $16,000,000 in 1934 to $119,000,000 as of June 30, 1954.

It is interesting to note here that although we rank forty-fourth among the states in per capita income, we rank thirtieth among the states in public school support. Thus we have made a greater effort in support of public schools in accordance with our ability to pay, than many other states with much greater wealth.

Some students of our state government finances have decided that in order to support adequately our public services, we must have, not higher taxes, but more taxpayers. In short, we must increase our per capita income. There needs to be more year-round employment. There needs to be born a number of young industries and the expansion of old industries, so that the annual payroll will exceed $2,000,000,000, with more than 1,000,000 industrial employees. We need new jobs which our fine young men and women can have when they finish school or are no longer needed on the farm, so that we can keep them here in North Carolina. We need to get to the place where we can sell more North Carolina products under North Carolina labels and thus secure a greater return for our productivity.

We must not only have industry of a diversified nature in North Carolina, but we must improve our agricultural methods through further mechanization and diversity. As more acreage is diverted from tobacco, cotton, etc., work must be found for farm laborers released and much can be done by processing the products of our fields and forests and our waters. We do too little of merchandising now of the things we produce. We don't process and package or advertise. We raise corn and ship it away. We raise

beef cattle and send it away. We should feed our corn to our cattle, do our own fattening and selling. We need to increase our very low per capita income and we can! And we need your help—you bankers and other businessmen.

A recent release from Cherry Point showed their purchase of seafood products from thirty sources in four states, but not a dollar's worth bought in North Carolina, and yet we have as great a variety and quality of seafood as can be found anywhere.

A week ago the Department of Conservation and Development helped promote a clam bake to advertise North Carolina clams. Half of the audience, including legislators, didn't even know we had clams in North Carolina waters. One man who sells 10,000,000 clams per year said no one in North Carolina was interested. This needs attention. Won't you get in and learn the problem and help us solve it?

In order to assist in this much needed program, the Department of Conservation and Development has been making a determined drive to attract outside capital to North Carolina. I am glad to report that considerable success has attended their efforts. In the field of electronics, we have new plants by General Electric, Westinghouse, Western Electric, and others. Also, there have been many new plants established in the textile group. As a result of these new industries, our employment has increased considerably, and our payrolls for covered employment are now in excess of $2,000,000,000 per year. We are definitely on the road to a higher per capita income, but so are other states. We need your help.

Some of you, in the early weeks of my administration last fall, expressed the hope we could cut down on our expenditures and not have to raise taxes. I was most sympathetic with the viewpoint, but I tried to explain that it wasn't that easy. As I have already said, our extra needs are occasioned by increased population and the spending of our reserves or surplus.

You'll be startled when I tell you that if we cut out entirely all general government from the governor's office through the constitutional departments, the courts, the General Assembly, the Departments of Revenue, Tax Research, etc., etc., it would amount to only 4 per cent of the budget or $15,500,000.

Further, you'll be pleased to know North Carolina is the third

best state in the nation in the number of government employees (state and local) it has per citizen. Further, that we are thirty-ninth in the nation in the taxes taken from the people—in other words, thirty-eight states take more taxes from the people per capita than does North Carolina. Ours is $144.53 per capita. The national average is $196.00. The highest—Nevada—is $307.00, and the lowest—Arkansas—is $101.00.

I have told all department and agency heads, whom I called together two weeks ago, that the people of the state were willing to pay the extra $52,000,000 or the total of $637,000,000 for the next two years provided the people feel everyone pays his part of the taxes, and that all department and agency heads do a good job.

The state government needs reorganizing and consolidating as do governments in other states and the federal government. The leaders in the Assembly and state government are realizing this and plan to continue their work. We are a conservative people who move slowly, but are making some progress.

I believe in North Carolina. I have faith in our people. We are destined to have here one of the outstanding states of the nation. The remarkable progress made during the first half of this century will be greatly surpassed in the second half of the century. We are just now standing on the threshold of this new era.

I've tried to look ahead for the next ten years and that is only a guess. In keeping with the estimates of a gross national product of $500,000,000,000, our state will also move forward. Our population should be 5,000,000 or more. Our public school enrollment will be around 1,500,000. We should spend by then upwards of $500,000,000 for school buildings, presumably on local levels, and probably $200,000,000 for other state buildings at a state level. In highways—we will spend around $1,500,000,000. Our state income should reach five and one-half to six billion dollars. How much of our expenditures will remain on a state level, I do not know. I know we have much to think about, much to do, and I know it's going to take the best men we know how to find and elect to do the job in government and an increasing number of volunteers to help us in state programs, as some of your membership and other devoted citizens are now doing.

North Carolina as a whole has a most interesting tax structure.

Governor Hodges and Governor Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia at the High Point Furniture Exposition, January 17, 1955. *Left to right:* Governor Stanley, Governor Hodges, Mrs. Hodges, and Kenneth C. Royall, Jr.

Photo by Art Newton

Governor Hodges observing beach repair work, necessitated by the ravages of Hurricane Hazel, at Long Beach in Brunswick County, January 22, 1955. Others in the picture include Brigadier General Edward F. Griffin *(extreme left)*, Colonel Raymond L. Hill *(in uniform)*, Edward L. Rankin, Jr. *(second from right)*, and C. Heide Trask *(extreme right)*.

On a rising economy such as we have had for twenty years, we have gotten along pretty well and on the same revenue act have raised enough money without raising taxes. We have evidently reached a plateau in revenue but not in services demanded or in population increases.

Our so-called business or industry taxes are high, including income taxes. Our per capita collection of sales taxes and other consumer taxes is still comparatively low.

We pay in North Carolina 72 per cent of our taxes at a *state* level primarily because of our support of schools and roads on a state basis. Our local tax bill is the fourth lowest in the nation—being 28 per cent. In contrast, in New Jersey it is 74 per cent. In Massachusetts, 60 per cent. This is most significant.

As we look ahead we must do several apparent things. We must study our whole tax structure for modernization and clarity. We must realize that to raise revenues for the future, we should have a fair combination of sales and luxury or pleasure taxes and raise or lower business and other taxes where inequities exist. Also, we must be realistic about the need for more local taxes, if we are to meet even partly the needs for public school buildings and operation. And, ladies and gentlemen, we must do these things with a minimum of selfishness and politics.

We have done well in this state. We have been willing to spend a greater ratio of our income for the finer things than have some of our neighbors. I think that is good. Soon we will open what is to be one of the first *state* art galleries in the nation. The high quality of this selection of paintings will cause Raleigh and the state to have a tremendous increase of visitors. Our symphony, our out-door dramas, and our planetarium are illustrative of these extra things our state has, the support of which is only in part paid for from state funds. Most of it is from private funds.

We must all do a good job in making our towns and cities more attractive to our visting friends. Our seashore and mountain parks and our other resorts will annually attract an increasing number of visitors.

We must have good stores, selling quality goods at popular prices. We need modern and progressive bankers and businessmen. We must set goals for ourselves including the goal of good government. The speed and the degree to which we obtain these

forward goals depend on the cooperation of our citizens. My friends, you can have considerable influence in helping North Carolina attain its proper destiny. May we have the vision and the daring to push forward with energy.

Thank you for your attention!

ADDRESS AT THE FIFTH ANNUAL FARMER'S DAY

FARMVILLE
April 20, 1955

[An estimated 20,000 people attended this celebration, which also included a two-mile long parade, at Farmville in Pitt County. The Governor's address, directed to farmers and their problems, was typical of a number of speeches which he made on similar occasions during his administration.]

Thank you for this opportunity to participate in the Fifth Annual Farmville Farmer's Day. This community and Pitt County deserve a great deal of credit for promoting such a worthwhile event. The great success of the Farmer's Day program is proof enough that it is appreciated by the rural people of Pitt and surrounding counties.

I would also like to pay tribute to your legislative representatives from Pitt County who are working diligently in the 1955 General Assembly. Dr. Paul Jones, your senator from Pitt, is president pro tem of the Senate and we are proud of his record of service and his leadership. Walter Jones and Sam Worthington are respected and hard-working members of the House of Representatives. Senator Carl Hicks of Greene County, who lives a short distance from here at Walstonburg, is also present. Senator Hicks, as you know, is one of the outstanding farm leaders in the General Assembly and in North Carolina. These men have a tremendous responsibility in dealing with the challenging problems facing the General Assembly today. They deserve your understanding and active support in serving the best interests of our state.

I would like to discuss briefly some of these problems now before the General Assembly. The biggest single item, of course, is money. Our General Fund appropriation in the fiscal year 1934

amounted to $24,000,000. By steady increases since that time, General Fund appropriations have risen to the astonishing total of $190,000,000 during the past fiscal year. In 1952 revenues began to level off, while expenditures—the cost of government—continued upward. We are now spending more than we are taking in. There is no surplus to take up the slack and we are facing the coming biennium, 1955-57, with requests for General Fund revenue exceeding anticipated revenue by about $37,000,000.

So we see the legislature is faced with the necessity of levying new taxes for the first time in almost twenty years. It is not a pleasant task. No one likes taxes. Certainly all of us are in agreement on that point. However, we have a growing state requiring major expenditures for education, public welfare and health, mental hospitals, retirement system and pension fund, and general government services. These functions alone account for over 90 per cent of General Fund appropriations. At the same time, the needs in those various areas continue to grow. For example, it is estimated that additional education needs alone will require $18,700,000 more for the next biennium at the same teacher load and at the same salary level. We have reached the point where we no longer have a revenue surplus to tide us over from year to year. If we are to maintain state services, it will require a combination of additional revenue, economy, and efficiency.

Under the laws of this state, we must operate under a balanced budget. Therefore, at this point, the General Assembly is wrestling with the problem of determining where new taxes can be levied so as to protect the best interests of the state as a whole and to be fair to those who must pay the taxes. This great state is made up of many fine people of divergent views as to what is best for the economy of the state. All these views are reflected in Raleigh and it takes considerable time and discussion for a meeting of the minds of a majority of the members of the General Assembly. As I have said before, I am not pessimistic about this situation, and I have great faith in the integrity and patriotism of our legislators. They will find a solution and I believe that the people of North Carolina will receive their decisions with approval.

Contrary to what may be popular belief, the job of governor of our great state has its compensations, as well as its troubles.

One of the rewards is to be able to get around our state—to be able to visit your farms, your farming communities, and occasionally, to meet with groups such as we have here. It is always a pleasure to meet with farmers, with people interested in agriculture and in promoting agriculture's progress. I don't believe I could come to a better place to talk about putting our land to work than here in Farmville, the heart of the flue-cured tobacco producing area. Farmers around here really put their land to work.

We all know that North Carolina owes a vast amount of its economic strength to agriculture. A strong agriculture means a strong state! It's going to take work on our part, though, to keep our agriculture and our state strong. In spite of its strength, our agriculture is vulnerable—just how vulnerable has been ably demonstrated by hurricane, forest fires, and spring freezes. If we don't take anything else home with us today, I hope we can all leave here with the realization that our agricultural industry is vulnerable and that we must work together, for the common good of all of us—for the good of agriculture.

The average farmer in our state and elsewhere has to put up with conditions that other businesses would just not stand for. The farmer is the only producer who is at the mercy of the elements for what he produces; and having produced it, is at the complete mercy of the market, unless he has efficiently planned to protect himself or benefits from marketing controls. The farmer must continue to produce, because if the farmers go out of business, all our people face famine. Food, moreover, is the indispensable ammunition to win wars and preserve peace. Yet the farmer's rewards have a way of vanishing with dizzying speed; while his costs continue to mount, he continues to feed the community and even to pile up surpluses of food to protect its future.

It is encouraging to note how our farmers are realizing the need for closer cooperation with each other, and with our proven farm programs. Also, it is apparent that in these big agricultural areas our townfolk are increasingly aware of how close their well-being is tied in with the well-being of the farmers. A majority of our people in North Carolina, even though they may wear white collars, or work in a textile plant and never touch a hoe or ride a tractor, are dependent upon a prosperous farm economy.

Let me go a little further along that line and demonstrate a little more clearly how dependent our whole economy is upon the basic industry of agriculture. Throughout the nation, the yearly requirements of our farmers call for 7,000,000 tons of finished steel, 50,000,000 tons of chemical material, 16,500,000,000 gallons of crude petroleum, 320,000,000 pounds of raw rubber and 15,000,000,000 KWH of electrical power. These are impressive facts! Further evidence, too, of how closely our national economy is tied in with our agricultural economy.

Directly or indirectly, every person in the United States is deeply affected by the economic tides affecting the farmers. Dropping farm income invariably is an indication of coming economic storm for the country. Every depression that has plagued the history of our nation has made its first appearance on the farm. Back in the early thirties, if we had heeded warnings "down on the farm," say when the tobacco here in Farmville was selling for ten cents a pound, and cotton further south or west was selling for six cents a pound, we might have been able to change history. It is easy to look back in the past and say what we could have done; it is harder though to learn the lessons from the past, and profit by them in the future. This is especially true when many of our young people are too young to remember conditions during the "terrible thirties."

To show that the barometer of agriculture is still accurately predicting storms, last year's recession when unemployment in our nation reached its highest peak since 1950 was forecast well in advance by falling farm prices throughout the nation. Farm prices are still down over the nation. In fact, the national farm income dropped more than 4.5 per cent from 1953 to 1954. This amounted to a $1,300,000,000 cut in money for farmers. However, at the same time the national farm income was dropping, farm income in our state was steadily increasing. From 1953 to 1954, the state's farm income increased 2.5 per cent, increasing our farmers' income by $25,500,000. While this is encouraging, we should take warning from the national trend. We can't just sit back and expect our agriculture to remain strong. It will only remain strong through a concerted effort on the part of our farmers and all of us. North Carolina's rank among the other states

in total farm receipts is thirteenth, and we rank fourth among the states of the nation in cash crop receipts.

To realize what it means when we say North Carolina is fourth from the top in total cash farm income, we must consider the fact that our state has the largest farm population of any state in the Union. From this, we should be *first* in total farm income, not fourth. However, when we divide this income by the persons dependent upon that income for their well-being, we come out with *a pitifully low per capita farm income.*

To meet this challenge we must do many things. We must put our land to work and plan our operations carefully. We must produce more and more for the market. If necessary, we must plan additional markets, either at home or abroad. It is not enough for us farmers merely to farm our land as our ancestors farmed it.

We must not put all of our eggs in one basket even here in eastern Carolina, the largest tobacco producing area in the nation. We can't depend just on that crop. Greater diversification is a must in this state! Agricultural research, fostered by our own State College in Raleigh, is daily discovering ways and means by which farmers can improve their plight by improving their farming practices and by going into production of additional crops for which there is a more ready market. The most immediate benefit in the way of diversification will be realized by farmers who offset declining farm prices by producing more of their food requirements at home.

Among the things we need to do in North Carolina is to create more local capital and more actual individual interest in local processing plants to handle the products of our farms and fields.

North Carolina has never realized anywhere near the benefit that is readily available from grassland farming. We now need more pasture and grain for feeding our present livestock, and we could profitably produce more livestock in the state.

Our farmers here in North Carolina are the best in the nation, and I am proud of what they have accomplished. But we must work together to reach our rightful position among the nation's farmers in the way of living standards and income. In spite of the vulnerability of agriculture, efficient and diversified farming can take most of the gamble out of farming. To reach this goal we

must continue to cooperate with our agricultural agencies, farm organizations, and farm programs. I believe that we have representatives here today from our own North Carolina Department of Agriculture, from the Farmers Home Administration, Vocational Agriculture, Department of Conservation and Development, the Soil Conservation Service, Extension Service, and the AEC. These organizations have a definite place in the economy of our state. Their programs deserve your wholehearted study, understanding, and support.

Much work remains to be done, of course, but it is most encouraging to realize that we do have the people, the programs, and the ability to maintain and increase our agricultural economy.

Let's all put our shoulders to the wheel and put our land to work to produce a better state through agriculture.

PUBLIC EDUCATION—THE FOUNDATION OF NORTH CAROLINA'S PROGRESS

AN ADDRESS TO A JOINT MEETING OF THE CIVIC CLUBS OF CHARLOTTE

April 23, 1955

[For lack of time and also to avoid the appearance of favoritism toward any one group, Governor Hodges usually declined to speak before the regular meetings of individual civic clubs, but he occasionally accepted an invitation to address a joint meeting of the combined civic clubs in some particular city or locality. This address, heard by about 350 civic leaders in Charlotte and devoted primarily to the subject of education, was made at a time of considerable uncertainty, just after the state's case in regard to school segregation had been argued before the United States Supreme Court but before the Court had announced its decision. The Governor's call for calmness, courage, and prayer is illustrative of the efforts he was making at this time to meet the crisis which seemed to be threatening the state in connection with the segregation issue.]

It is a privilege and a pleasure to meet with this wonderful group tonight representing so many outstanding civic organizations. Your organizations stand for an important principle—service above self and service to your communities. I congratulate you and each club you represent for what your organizations have

contributed toward a better life for Charlotte, Mecklenburg County and its people.

Fifty years ago, in February 1905, the first of the civic clubs (Rotary) was organized. It started because a lonely man wanted friends whom he could call by their first names and with whom he could serve his community. The birth and growth of the civic clubs in America are significant developments in this country's history and philosophy. We have extended our horizons of interest and service, and Rotary, Kiwanis, Civitan, and other service clubs have had much to do with our charity and neighborliness toward people less fortunate than ourselves. Keep up your good work. Take advantage of the remarkable opportunity for service and growth as a member of your civic club. Forthright, high minded, energetic, and honest civic club members can make a tremendous difference in the progress of any community.

We are proud, of course, of your Queen City of Charlotte, which has grown in such a short time from a county seat of a prosperous county into our largest metropolis of business and industry. We, in North Carolina, are proud of Charlotte and its people, and the many contributions they make to the life and economy of our state. Charlotte demonstrates an initiative and drive which can only result in bigger and better things for all. I salute the progress that has been made here, and I predict continued growth and development in the months and years ahead.

As you know, the 1955 session of the General Assembly of North Carolina is now in its sixteenth week. Your legislative representatives, Senator Jack Blythe, and Representatives Arthur Goodman, Jack Love, Ed O'Herron, and James Vogler are hard at work on some of the big problems now facing our state. All these men are hard-working, respected legislators who are making a real sacrifice to devote so much time and effort to representing you in the legislative business of state government. They deserve your understanding and active support in serving the best interests of our state. I hope you follow their work and give them encouragement.

The most important decision facing the General Assembly today is the subject of new taxes. In 1933, when the present tax schedules were enacted, our state was in a period of national depression. The credit of North Carolina, its counties and cities,

was at low ebb. The General Assembly of that year deemed it wise to increase existing schedules to the present levels by adding a new tax to be known as retail sales tax. The tax schedules enacted at that session during depression days have remained practically intact until today. Some exemptions have been put in the sales tax, and beverage taxes have been added. With these exceptions, the revenue schedules of 1933 which produced $24,000,000 the first year of operation, produced the astonishing amount of $184,000,000 during the last year.

In the meantime, the General Fund appropriations of $24,000,000 in fiscal 1934 has been increased by each succeeding General Assembly until the state spent $190,000,000 during the past fiscal year. In fact, appropriations have outstripped revenues, and we have spent during the biennium ending June 30 the surplus of $32,000,000 which we had two years ago. Meanwhile, requests for General Fund revenue now exceed anticipated revenues by about $37,000,000.

Taking into consideration the careful screening given all requests for appropriations by the Advisory Budget Commission, as well as the Joint Appropriations Committee, which included many reductions, there is no doubt that new taxes will be necessary to meet the growing need for state services.

As required by law, the Advisory Budget Commission and I have made our recommendations to the General Assembly as to how these taxes should be provided. In these recommendations we were unanimous. As you know, the General Assembly has been devoting many long weeks of study and discussion to our recommendations and to other proposals which have originated within the General Assembly. As I have emphasized before, this is entirely proper and fair. Our great state is made up of many fine people with divergent views as to what is best for the economy of our state. As you might expect, all are reflected in Raleigh and a considerable amount of time and discussion is required for a meeting of the minds of a majority of the members of the General Assembly. I am not discouraged about the situation and have great faith in the integrity and patriotism of this General Assembly. I know that in due time and in the proper manner they will come to a wise decision in this matter. They have made much progress in the last few days.

The chairmen and committees of your General Assembly are hard working and in general a dedicated group of men. Yet at times they act and vote as if they were looking after themselves or a single county instead of a growing state; but each Assembly makes progress and I am definitely encouraged. Compared to some other states and government groups, I think our people are outstanding.

We are gradually changing from a local, selfish interest to one of greater patriotism and service. We need to do even more—our politicians are learning that people expect them to speak out courageously for the things they think are right without continually thinking of how many people can I please.

In North Carolina we have advanced with giant strides. I believe we can truly say that this is due to one factor more than to any other. We have completely sold ourselves on the idea that in order to be prosperous our people must have universal public education. Ignorant people cannot lift themselves very far in their scale of living. At the beginning of the present century we had a great governor, a man who believed with his whole soul in education for all our people, of whatever race, creed, or condition. During his term as governor and during the brief years of his life that followed, he never gave up the crusade for universal education. He pushed and steered us along the broad highway to light and truth and knowledge. Thank God we have kept the faith. We have followed in the footsteps of Charles Brantley Aycock and have not turned back.

Long before the time of Aycock our people had shown an active interest in education. Even before the Revolution we had established a number of academies, and among the leaders in this movement were the independent, self-reliant Scotch Irish who, coming southward from Pennsylvania through the Valley of Virginia, settled in Mecklenburg and adjoining counties of the two Carolinas. One of these academies they established right here in Charlotte—Queens Museum, as it was first called, but during the Revolution, when we wanted to do away with British ways and names, it was renamed Liberty Hall Academy.

Our first state constitution, adopted in the beginning year of the Revolution, contained the provision "That a school or schools shall be established by the Legislature for the Convenient Instruc-

tion of Youth, with such salaries to the Masters paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct at low prices; and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities." We still instruct at comparatively "low prices." Not many years later, in 1789, our state university was chartered, three years later its cornerstone was laid, and in 1795 its doors were opened to students. Thus today the University of North Carolina is the oldest state university in the nation in point of actual operation.

During the decades following the first war with Britain, large numbers of academies were opened in all parts of the state and many of these, under able teachers, provided sound training in the fundamentals. Various religious denominations played a leading part in this movement, and in the 1830's in Wake County the Baptists established Wake Forest College and here in Mecklenburg County the Presbyterians founded Davidson, while in Randolph County the institution that was later to become Trinity College and still later Duke University was also founded.

A little earlier Archibald D. Murphey and other leaders had worked for the establishment of a system of tax-supported public schools, but it was not until the year 1839 that the General Assembly, making use of the surplus funds that had been paid to the state by the federal government two years before, passed a bill that made it possible for the people in each school district to vote a tax for schools, with the amount to be matched by an equal sum from the state. Under this law a number of districts set up public schools, but there was nothing mandatory about the system and most of the districts failed to do so. No central coordinating agency was provided, and in order to remedy this defect a new bill was enacted in 1852, establishing the position of superintendent of common schools. To this new position was appointed a young attorney and newspaper man, Calvin H. Wiley; and although he lacked experience in educational administration, a better man for the place could hardly have been found. He put his heart and soul into the work, and by 1860 North Carolina was recognized as having one of the best systems of public schools in the entire South.

Then came war and Reconstruction; the South was overrun by hostile armies, and our social and economic system largely

collapsed. In the general ruin, down came the educational structure that we had so laboriously erected. The University was forced to close its doors, and so likewise did our private colleges—or else they became mere shadows of their former selves. In a few disastrous years we had lost most of the gains we had previously made.

And yet in the midst of that dark period there was a ray of hope. Whatever we may think of the carpetbaggers of that day, we have to admit that they gave us a good state constitution—modelled, as it were, largely after that of Ohio. We must think it is pretty good because even today (with a number of amendments) we are still using it. That constitution, framed and adopted in 1868, required the General Assembly to provide for a system of public schools with a minimum term of four months each year and compulsory attendance for each child between the ages of six and eighteen years up to a total attendance of sixteen months or four years. These provisions seem to have been better than those of the period before the war, in that they included a general tax for the public schools, the education of the Negro, a minimum school term, and compulsory attendance. So, to give the devil his due, the carpetbagger and the scalawag gave us a firm constitutional basis for a good system of public schools.

Unfortunately, during the years that followed these provisions were not adequately carried out. The schools and their problems became involved in the bitter political struggles of the Reconstruction period, and even when home rule was returned to the state in 1877, our people were so poor that they could not adequately support a strong system of public schools. The University, reopened after being closed for five years, and the denominational colleges managed to struggle along with the few students who attended, some of the old academies continued to operate and new ones were established, and the public schools were kept in operation after a fashion.

But it was a time of such poverty and necessary penny-pinching as seems almost unbelievable to us today. We think at the present time of one of our modern school plants as being worth hundreds of thousands or even millions of dollars. Do you know what, just three-quarters of a century ago, in 1880, the superintendent of public instruction reported as the average value of a schoolhouse

in the state? The amount was exactly $47.67. Let me repeat—not $470,000, not $47,000, not $4,700, not even $470. The total average value of one of our North Carolina schoolhouses seventy-five years ago was exactly $47.67.

And what about teachers' salaries? We think in terms of so many hundreds of dollars per month and of so many thousands per year. But at that time the average monthly pay of white teachers was just $24.11 per month and for Negro teachers $19.93. With an average term of less than three months, the total annual pay of a white teacher was under $75 and of a Negro teacher less than $60. Can we wonder that the quality of teaching was often low and that in illiteracy our state was among the worst in the nation?

As the years passed, we made some improvement, but the panic of 1893 hit our state very hard; cotton dropped to five cents a pound, and other products of our farms sold at equally low prices. At the turn of the century our people were still very poor, and we did not yet have sufficient resources to maintain an adequate system of public schools. Along with our sister Southern states, we ranked at the bottom in the nation.

Then came our great educational governor, Charles B. Aycock. Under his able and dynamic leadership, our state literally lifted itself by its own bootstraps. With Aycock we began a march of progress that has never since been halted.

In his campaign of 1900, Aycock had repeatedly championed the cause of universal education, and no doubt this won him a great many votes. Now that he had been elected governor, however, a number of his friends and associates thought perhaps he would soft-pedal the matter of education for Negroes. Instead, however, he refused to compromise. He insisted that when he had campaigned for education for all the people he had meant exactly that—*all the people,* all races, all creeds, everyone without exception. As Aycock was later to say—in the last speech he ever made: "I believe in universal education. Did you hear what I said? You see, I am not a scary man. I believe in universal education; I believe in educating everybody." The last word that ever crossed his lips, just before he fell dead while delivering an address in Birmingham, Alabama, was "education." And in an address that he had prepared for delivery but that his untimely

death prevented his making, he spoke thus: *"Equal!* That is the word! On that word I plant myself and my party—the equal right of every child born on earth to have the opportunity to burgeon out all there is within him."

Universal education, as had been indicated, included education for the Negro, and on that issue Aycock was willing to stake his entire career. When certain politicians made the proposal that the school funds be divided among the two races in proportion to the amount of taxes paid by each, Aycock stated that if such action were taken it would be a violation of the party's campaign pledge and that in protest he would even resign as governor and return to private life. In spite of strong opposition within his own party, he won his fight and after a few years no one seriously raised the issue.

Aycock believed strongly that a civilization could never go forward to the fullest extent where one class or group sought to hold down another. In his inaugural address as governor, he had said:

> There has grown up an idea . . . that only the strong are to be considered and benefited; that the poor and the weak are the burden-bearers who deserve no aid and are weak because of their follies. A great state can never act on this theory, but will always recognize that the strong can care for themselves while the true aim of the state is to provide equal and just laws, giving to the weak opportunity to grow strong and restraining the powerful from oppressing the less fortunate. It will be a glorious day for us if our people in the hour of their prosperity and wonderful growth and development can realize that men can never grow higher and better by rising on the weakness and ignorance of their fellows, but only by aiding their fellowmen and lifting them to the same high plane which they themselves occupy.

May I add the thought that America today must also keep this in mind. We live in a world where the poor and weak need help, and our federal government has been generous in the past with its aid and assistance to millions of underprivileged people across the world.

Aycock has been called a crusader for universal education. He sought larger appropriations for that purpose from the General Assembly. He spoke at every opportunity in favor of education. He organized the forces of education to go into the counties and local communities of the state to win the people to the cause.

And he was notably successful. Speaking in 1910, he could report: "There is not a man in North Carolina today, be he Democrat or Republican, who is not proud of the progress which has been made . . . We have been building a schoolhouse every day during the year, including Sundays. We are spending today three times as much money on the education of the children of North Carolina as we were spending the day I was inaugurated governor."

Since the time of Aycock we have never ceased to go forward in public education. We believe it has been the basis of our economic progress. The funds available for the purpose have increased with the years. Teachers' salaries have been raised, and raised again; most of the former small inadequate schools have been consolidated into larger units and replaced by what may almost be called palaces of education. Our state transports to and from school more children than does any other. Our most courageous step of the past half century was what we did near the bottom of the great depression of the 1930's. When many of our local governmental units were defaulting on their bonds, when many of our teachers were unpaid, when numbers of our schools were threatened with closing, instead of retreating and giving way to despair, we actually resolved upon and carried through a most courageous move by which our state government took over the operation and maintenance of all the public schools and went so far as to guarantee an eight-months term in every school district of the state. A people who can have such courage and vision can be counted upon to face and solve any problems, present or future.

Further progress was later made in the equalization of the pay scale for teachers of the two races, in the addition of the ninth month to the school term, and in the further addition of the twelfth grade.

North Carolina now employs as many Negro teachers as do the seven states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, California, and Indiana, all put together. We have more than five Negro teachers for each one in New York. In the seventeen Southern states and the District of Columbia, one out of every five teachers is a Negro. In thirty-one Northern and Western states, one out of every seventy-three is a Negro.

Indeed, we have come so far since the turn of the century that were Aycock to return to life today, even he, with all his far-seeing vision, could hardly fail to rub his eyes in amazement. From 1900 to 1954, the total value of school property has grown in round figures from $1,098,000 to $425,000,000; total current school expenditures from $1,062,000 to $149,000,000; the average annual salary of teachers from $83 to $3,200; average school term in days from 71 to 180; and number of children transported to and from school from zero to 465,000. We have in truth come a long, long way.

I had Charles B. Aycock, Jr., for lunch recently and he had a suggestion for improvement of our schools—his was the practical, modern approach, whereas his great father had the crusader approach.

And in the realm of higher education we have likewise come forward very rapidly. Especially within recent years we have spent tens of millions of dollars in building programs at our state supported university and colleges, maintenance appropriations have doubled and doubled again, student bodies have increased rapidly, and (of great significance) the course of study has been notably broadened, with the addition of professional and technical training in many fields. Likewise, our private and church related institutions of higher learning have moved forward. As governor of the state, with some knowledge and appreciation of the problems of raising revenues, making appropriations, and seeking to balance the budget, I wish to speak a word of gratitude to these private institutions. They are doing a wonderful job of educating our young men and women, of developing leadership. Were these institutions not doing the job that they are, and should the state undertake to do it, the annual budget of the state would have to be increased by many millions of dollars and our lawmakers would have to search for still further sources of revenue.

We have indeed come a long way in the field of education. Our record, especially in the twentieth century, is one of which we may well be proud. And yet there still remain problems to be solved. One problem is the flood of students that is already beginning to descend upon our schools and colleges. Reliable estimates indicate that, as a result of the greatly increased birthrate

during and since World War II, the number of students in our elementary and high schools will rise by the year 1970, *in just fifteen years,* from 968,000 to 1,200,000; and that the number of students in our colleges and universities will increase from 45,000 to not far from double that number. If we are to do the job effectively, it will call for greatly increased expenditures for buildings, for salaries, and for everything else connected with our educational system. It is a problem that calls for a high degree of courage and wisdom on the part of all of us. To civic club members who are almost universally good citizens, this is indeed a challenge.

Charles B. Aycock, Jr., to whom I have just referred talked with me about the future of our public schools in view of the statement made in recent months that our state and counties would possibly have to spend $500,000,000 for school building construction in the next ten years. He (as are many, many other people) was concerned as to how we would pay for them and how we could better utilize our buildings, whether on a double shift basis, on a year round basis, or in some way to reduce capital costs.

In this connection we must think of the use of our buildings, for community or junior colleges. Although we can hardly take care of college enrollments now, North Carolina stands about the bottom of the list in the percentage of our boys and girls who go to college. Of more interest to you here assembled is that this county, rich as it is, sends a very low percentage of its high school graduates to college. You rank far below comparable counties.

Some of you in this audience and elsewhere are working on the problem of securing more college facilities of a state nature in this section. Keep up your work but don't wait for state aid—do all you can for yourself. It is the opinion of many of our higher education leaders that entrance standards at many of our colleges and the University should be raised and that we should take care of others by junior and technical schools and colleges.

As you know and have endorsed, North Carolina's first "Youth Appreciation Day" program originated here in Charlotte recently when Earl Yarborough, Harold Smoak, Kays Gary, and others decided that we need a more positive approach to our adult-youth relationship. In typical American fashion, they didn't sit back and wait on someone else to do the job. They outlined their

objectives and went to work. As a result of their initiative, Sunday, May 22, will be observed throughout our state as "Youth Appreciation Day" to honor and to permit us, as adults, to rededicate ourselves to the responsibilities of parenthood.

I understand that this program has been endorsed by the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Parent-Teacher Association and by most of the civic clubs represented in every community in our state. It is a fine idea to recognize our youth for their accomplishments and contributions to a better state. I commend Mr. Yarborough, Mr. Smoak, Mr. Gary, and all the other public-spirited citizens who are supporting this worthwhile program. Our young people represent the hope of the future. It will be their job to carry forward our heritage of freedom and justice under a democratic government.

The primary responsibility for guiding our youth rests, of course, with each parent. We cannot avoid this responsibility or shift it to someone else. The importance of home and family relationships cannot be overemphasized. In this fast-moving world today, it seems that we have learned to give our youth everything but ourselves.

Another problem that I will mention here is the one resulting from the May, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court of the United States relating to desegregation in the schools. There is not time, and this is not the place, for a detailed discussion of the various aspects and implications of that decision. One point, however, I wish to emphasize to you as worthy of the careful thought and consideration of all our people. The marked progress that our state has made in the twentieth century has been due in large measure to education. The great Aycock understood and taught us that by means of education we could lift ourselves from the mire and slough of ignorance and poverty to a more bountiful, broader, and more meaningful existence. Since his time we have carried the torch. We have erected a great edifice of learning for all our people. We have not failed.

And now, faced by a crisis in our life, again we must not fail. Our people have come through many periods when they could not see the sun for the clouds. In the dark days of the Revolution our ancestors defeated the forces of King George III at Moores Creek and at Kings Mountain. In the struggle for Southern

independence our men were "First at Bethel, farthest to the front at Gettysburg . . . and last at Appomattox." In World War I they stopped the enemy at Chateau Thierry and stormed the Hindenburg Line. In World War II they did their full part on the beaches of Normandy, in the Battle of the Bulge, at Guadalcanal, at Okinawa, at Iwo Jima. We have been through drought and fire, through flood and hurricane, and spring freezes. We have refused to give in to the forces of defeat and pessimism. We must not give in now.

It will not be easy. May I relate very briefly what we have done in this matter of segregation so far as the State of North Carolina is concerned. Following the decision of the Supreme Court in 1954, in which decision it was held that separation of school children solely on the basis of race is unconstitutional, a meeting of the State Board of Education was held. At this meeting the board decided, unanimously, that it would maintain segregated schools for the year 1954-55, as before.

Within a few weeks thereafter, the late Governor Umstead appointed a committee, called the "Governor's Special Advisory Committee on Education," composed of nineteen men and women representing every phase of North Carolina life and from all parts of the state and including three Negro members. This distinguished committee studied the problem tendered by the Supreme Court decision for many months. Following Governor Umstead's death and my succession to the governor's office, I asked the committee to continue its work and make the report as soon as convenient. The report was given to us just about the time the General Assembly began its 1955 session. The report recommended legislation which transferred from the state to local school boards the assignment and enrollment of school children. It further recommended the appointment of a permanent commission to continue study of this problem.

The legislation was passed some weeks ago, and the General Assembly further passed unanimously, in recent days, a resolution which declared the state's policy with regard to the segregation problem and approved the brief filed in the Supreme Court by the attorney general. It also praised the report of the governor's committee and stated in the resolution "That mixing of the races in the public schools within the state cannot be accomplished

and if attempted would alienate public support of the schools to such an extent that they could not be operated successfully." The resolution also authorized the appointment of the permanent committee.

This past week North Carolina sent to Washington the attorney general and two assistants, and our case was presented to the High Court by Dr. Beverly Lake, assistant attorney general. He did a magnificent job and showed in his presentation calmness, courtesy, and courage. A writer of one of the metropolitan papers told me in my office that North Carolina's case was better presented than that of any other state before the Court.

We do not know what the future has in store for us. Feelings run understandably strong in a matter of this kind. Emotions are stronger and more powerful than thought and reason.

There are many people who do not understand the reaction of the average Southerner in this particular problem. His reaction is natural and is born of history and tradition. He feels so strongly that he may not properly evaluate the problems which have any relation to the matter of segregation. Some weeks ago there was a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina. The Executive Committee of the board had practically unanimously recommended to the full board that short courses in agriculture extension work be given at State College for both white and Negro persons during the summer months.

There was to be no mixing of races for meals and lodgings, but only in classes. Differences developed in the trustees' meeting because certain of the trustees felt strongly that to allow such a practice was opening a wedge to integration or mixing of the races. Two of the trustees who led the fight to support the recommendation of the Executive Committee were Dr. Clarence Poe and Major L. P. McLendon. They voted to allow the mixed classes.

Significantly, these two men, who are among the most prominent on the Board of Trustees, were dropped from the board at the recent election of trustees by the General Assembly. I tell the story, not to suggest that anyone voted against them because of the action they had taken, but to show the emotion and feeling that arise in this connection. It is an interesting commentary that

the Messrs. Poe and McLendon are sons-in-law of the famous education governor, Charles Brantley Aycock, who is the subject of our speech tonight.

As we face problems relating to segregation, we need calmness and courage. We need prayer more than publicity and professionals.

In conclusion, let me say that I believe in North Carolina. I have great faith in our people. We are destined to have here one of the truly outstanding states in the nation. The remarkable progress we have made during the first half of this century will be greatly surpassed in the second half of the century. We are just now standing on the threshold of a new and challenging era.

Let us join together in the worthy task of building a greater, better, and more beautiful North Carolina. With your unselfish devotion to what is best for all our people, we will conquer the problems that face us. Trust, knowledge, and hard work—undergirded by our fundamentals of Christianity—will always defeat intolerance, ignorance, apathy, and selfishness. It will take the best efforts of all our people. I know that you will do your share.

Thank you.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE NORTH CAROLINA BANKERS ASSOCIATION

PINEHURST
May 9, 1955

[Delivered while the 1955 General Assembly was still in session and addressed to a gathering of more than 600 bankers, this speech was appropriately concerned with the financial problems then before the Assembly and with the state's general economic situation. It was also significant as an occasion when the Governor announced his plan to form a development corporation for the purpose of promoting small industry in North Carolina, a plan to which he was later to give a great deal of attention. Next day the Bankers Association passed a resolution approving the small business proposal "in principle," but reserved judgment as to legislation effecting it until further study should be made. (See *News and Observer,* May 11, 1955).]

Thank you for inviting me to your annual convention. I am greatly pleased that President Pate and Jesse Helms were able to re-arrange your program so that I could be here today instead of

tomorrow. I must return to Raleigh this afternoon. It is always a pleasure to meet with representative groups like this composed of busy, hard working North Carolinians who are not only interested in making money for themselves but who generally are interesting in seeing their state make more money.

I understand that the North Carolina Bankers Association was first organized in Morehead City in 1897 with about twenty-five bankers present. The Bankers Association and the banking business have come a long way since those days. Today I understand your association has a 100 per cent membership for the 528 banks, branches, and teller windows in North Carolina and approximately 15,000 people are actively employed in its banks.

Banking today is a vital part of our economy, and the work of your association is reflected in the life and times of our people. I would like to challenge you today to assume even greater leadership. Your association's program dealing with better training and instruction for bank personnel, active participation in farm affairs, encouragement and training for young bankers is good, but a sincere interest in providing better banking service to the public is your chief responsibility. Your program should stay modern, should be geared to community service, and in this way you will serve our growing state.

As you know, I have been making a limited number of speeches around the state when time and the opportunity permitted. I would like to do more, of course, but the requirements of the governor's office and the General Assembly prevent it. I like to meet with groups like this, however, because it gives me an opportunity to obtain "grass root" reaction from you about how things are going in your own communities and how you feel about our state's economy and our state government. You, as bankers, certainly ought to know what is going on in local communities. I can tell you frankly that these visits are helpful because I return to Raleigh refreshed and encouraged by our people's faith and firm belief in the future of North Carolina. We who are public servants need to keep in constant touch with those whom we serve. I find that the people are way ahead of the politicians.

As you probably know, the 1955 session of the General Assembly of North Carolina is now headed toward a record-breaking session in many respects—certainly in terms of length. This is

indicative of the seriousness of the many problems which confront our legislators. For the past eighteen weeks our legislators have been wrestling with a wide variety of legislative problems, but the big one can be simply described as *money*. The growth in state services during the past twenty years and the cost of these services have skyrocketed. For example, as some of you will remember, our General Fund appropriation in the fiscal year 1934 amounted to $24,000,000. By steady increases since that time, General Fund appropriations have risen to the amazing total of $190,000,000 during the past fiscal year. I hasten to point out that much of the increases in governmental cost are simply reflected from the tremendous growth which North Carolina has experienced in the past twenty years. At the same time, much of the cost of governmental services stems from the simple fact that our people wanted these services and were willing to pay for them—they still want them and are still willing to pay. Fortunately, during recent years, North Carolina experienced a steadily increasing amount of tax revenues as business in North Carolina and the nation continued to grow and expand. Our Revenue Act, which has remained virtually unchanged since 1933, brought in greater amounts of revenue each year, and General Assemblies of North Carolina were faced with the problem of what to do with surplus revenues, rather than a deficit. About 1952, for the first time in nearly twenty years, tax revenues began to level off while governmental costs continued to rise. The surplus of $32,000,000 which we had two years ago has been spent during the biennium ending last June 30.

As I look ahead for the next two years, I can tell you practical businessmen and bankers that we will need many millions to take care of growing services and increases in population. It will take courage and determination as well as good planning and economical administration of state affairs if we are going to carry out the necessary programs. We ought to be very careful not to make these expenditures on an expedient or shortsighted basis.

I shall not attempt to review all that has taken place in the struggle with fiscal problems during this session of the General Assembly. I would like to point out, however, that raising new revenues is a new experience for the General Assembly and it makes their responsibilities twice as hard since they must not

only appropriate the money, but raise the necessary revenues to meet increased needs.

After I was catapulted into office following the death of Governor Umstead, the best—in fact, the only—estimates available then showed that requests for General Fund revenue for the coming biennium 1955-57 would be in excess of anticipated revenue by about $52,000,000. The monthly collection picture was rather dark, and there was definitely more of a pessimistic outlook on our economic situation. Acting on that basis, the Advisory Budget Commission and the governor reported to the General Assembly that $52,000,000 in new money would be required.

During the first two months of the General Assembly, it soon became evident that the business picture had improved considerably and that a new revenue estimate was needed. By March this showed that the revenue requirements could be dropped to $37,000,000. All of this was good news, of course, since the General Assembly should not be asked to raise any more taxes than absolutely necessary. Since that time there has been a continuing study by the state tax officials, legislative leaders, and myself to get the best possible and most accurate report on our actual fiscal situation. Monthly collections have continued to improve and it was my pleasure to report in the message to the General Assembly on Thursday that the new revenue needs had now dropped to approximately $20,000,000 for the biennium. This is now the basis for the General Assembly's consideration of the new tax needs, and I am hopeful that some reasonable solution will soon be found.

As I have tried to explain in the last day or so, the improved economic conditions have not entirely of themselves reduced the needs of the state from $52,000,000 to $20,000,000 in new taxes, but these improved economic conditions have caused a reduction of $22,000,000 in our estimates. The other $10,000,000 comes from a desire and determination on the part of your state administration to assume its rightful share of the burden without recourse to new taxes. Of this $10,000,000 about $4,000,000 is from savings which we could announce after the first of April and the addition $6,000,000 is from better tax collections which we hope to achieve.

I would like to say to you in this distinguished group that you

can be most helpful to the state in making suggestions either as a body or as individual citizens as to how we can best collect taxes from people who are not now paying—whether they are wage earners, farmers, or whatever group they may be. We are literally losing millions of dollars in North Carolina because of our failure to collect taxes. This is probably not confined to North Carolina, but this is the state in which we are interested. I said last fall, before the legislature came to town, when I was trying to alert the people of the state to the need for new taxes, that the people generally did not mind paying these taxes if they were sure of two things: first, that other people were paying their part of the taxes, and secondly, that department heads and government employees generally were rendering good service for the money they received. I still feel that is everlastingly true. You and I accept with less resentment the payment of taxes assessed us by the federal government, which we all know is wasteful at its very best, because we believe that everybody else is being treated the same way, regardless of how shamefully or how heavily he may be taxed. We also feel that people generally will be taken care of if they fail to report taxes or try to evade federal taxes. I have had person after person—lawyers, legislators, and others—to say to me that thousands of people in North Carolina do not take seriously the filing of a North Carolina return. Public sentiment should prevent this. Further, our Revenue Department and other state agencies involved should see that we do the best job possible in the way of enforcement and collection.

As you probably have noticed in the press, I have frequently voiced my optimistic viewpoint on the efforts of the General Assembly to balance the budget. This great state is made up of many fine people of divergent views as to what is best for the economy of North Carolina. All of these views are reflected in Raleigh, and it is only natural that considerable time and discussion will be necessary for a meeting of the minds of a majority of the members of the General Assembly. Most of our legislative representatives are men of integrity and honor. They are making many sacrifices to serve you in the General Assembly and they deserve your warm understanding, constant interest, and active support for what is best for North Carolina.

While I am talking about state government, I would like to

tell you of my recent experiences in meeting briefly with the various state boards, commissions, and other groups largely composed of private citizens who serve on a part-time basis. I have made a practice of meeting with each board or commission at one of its regular called meetings in Raleigh and have talked with them briefly about their state government and the opportunities and responsibilities which they have. I have thanked them for their public service and asked them if they have ever questioned the practices and policies of the administration under which they serve. You may be surprised to learn that very few have ever indicated that they questioned anything! Most of these good people considered it an honor and privilege to serve and were grateful for the appointment. Frankly, I consider this a great waste of human energy, human talents, and human resources. There are are many strong men and women serving on these boards and agencies who could make a real contribution to better government if they would only ask some questions and get some answers. This is not necessarily a reflection upon the full-time administrators, of course, and most of them are doing a good job. There is no monopoly on ideas or sound administrative practices, however, and we should use the best of what we have in these outstanding citizens who are performing a voluntary service to their state.

A very patriotic and hard working chairman of one of our more important boards of the state has made a practice the last four to six years of personally visiting each month the various institutions that his board is supposed to look after. Not only that, but he has small committee groups from his board to visit institutions once every ninety days. Institutions do not know when these visitors will come and you may be sure that these unannounced inspections help keep personnel on their toes. There is much better administration of these particular institutions than would normally be the case.

Incidentally, I have not had the pleasure or privilege of meeting with the State Banking Commission. Because of conflicting dates, there have been several meetings of the Banking Commission in Raleigh which I have missed. I am greatly interested in the Banking Commission and its work, and shall endeavor to meet with its members at my first opportunity. I am not in a

position at this time to discuss intelligently the record of service of the present Banking Commission. You have heard, of course, some discussion for or against the decisions rendered by the present Banking Commission. I am sure there are some who say that the commission is too conservative. While I do not know the facts involved, it would seem to me that each case or matter brought before the Banking Commission would have to be judged on its own merits. And it will be judged on the basis of the commission's interpretation of its responsibilities under the present law.

I should like to talk to you for a few minutes about a situation that has bothered me for a long time, and that is our per capita income and our desperate need for doing something about it. We are a great state and we are trying to do great things. Contrary to theories which have existed during some recent years past, we cannot "spend ourselves into prosperity." We must gain our prosperity as we attempt to move forward. We can do it, but it will take sincere interest and a lot of hard work. Time will not permit our going into a thorough analysis of this whole matter; many of you know more about it than I do. I simply want to say to you as representatives of business and industry through your banking institutions in hundreds of localities throughout North Carolina that you are in a peculiarly good position to do something about the problem which I have mentioned.

You doubtless know that I am using a substantial gift from a private donor to conduct an experiment in area development in the state. Despite the fact that North Carolina has made remarkable economic progress in recent years, we remain the forty-fourth state in per capita income. We have held that lowly position through many years. I repeat to you what I have said elsewhere that I do not believe the statistic is fully representative of North Carolina's status. More than other states, our people depend on farming, and we all know that the statistician does not and cannot hold a mirror to reflect the condition of the people as accurately under these circumstances as in a state where the farm dependence is less. In our agricultural economy we have some values which do not go into the reports.

But we must recognize, nevertheless, that we have a challenging problem in our low-income situation. I believe we must find ways

and means to process and market more of our production and our raw materials which are being wasted now or exported to other states for processing. We need job opportunities for many of our people who are eking out a living. We greatly need, also, to hold in North Carolina a larger percentage of our talented young men who are going out of state to what appear to be greener pastures. All of us have a duty to stand our ground and build up our own state. Through two centuries and more we have lost too many of our best to other states.

The frontier of 1955 is at our doorstep. I am convinced that we need principally to inspire our younger citizens with a vision of the dramatic possibilities at home to hold them and to effect a great economic improvement. May I interject the observation that the best tax relief we may hope for is through the increase of both the taxables and the ability of the people to pay taxes.

The success of any movement to build up small industries in the state must depend largely on the inspiration of every ambitious young citizen to look about him and consider what commodity he can make in his community that can have a profitable market. If we can induce both young and old to adopt that approach to our problem throughout the state we can further enrich the rich areas and build up the waste places. Of that I am so confident that the prime objective of our small industries project will be to spread this inspiration.

We have found allies for the movement. The North Carolina Press Association, acting through its executive committee, has endorsed the project and offered free advertising space where it may be used to advantage in promoting it. I am delighted to hear that the Junior Chamber of Commerce may adopt the movement as a state-wide project. That organization has enough human dynamite in it to blast North Carolina out of any mood of inaction it may have in any quarter. I am relying heavily on its vigorous young men to help find the way to great practical accomplishment.

We must arouse general interest and get help from all quarters if the movement is to succeed. It must succeed if we are to lift ourselves in economic rank.

You know my personal experience well enough to know that I believe in big business and that I want the state to be hospitable

to all such business we can induce to come in our borders from elsewhere. But I also believe in small business. We must not permit conditions to arise under which small enterprises cannot be started and operated successfully. If such condition should arise they might stifle the basic urge upon which all business, big and little, must depend.

It is needless to tell you that I want your help in this movement, and I solicit support from you in a very special way.

The small industry is at a disadvantage when it needs money either to get started or to expand. The investment bankers' services are available for the big operator but not for the little one. On the other hand, the commercial bank rarely is able to do much in the field of venture capital. There are, happily, some exceptions, but generally the small industry has hard sledding.

I propose the formation of a development credit corporation as a facility for promotion of small industry in North Carolina. The corporation, if it comes into being, will be fashioned on the same lines as those specified in enabling statutes already adopted by all the New England states and recently recommended by Governor Harriman for New York State. Those states, witnessing the dwindling of some industry under the force of Southern competition, have resorted to this device to encourage and help new industries to arise.

I hope most of you are familiar with the prototypes of the corporation I am proposing because it is necessary for me to have your approval and active cooperation to make such a device successful.

The corporation would have to be in reality largely your agency. It would be set up as a private corporation, possibly tax-exempt for some years, but without other state aid. There would be no pledging of state money or credit and the corporation would have to be operated on a strictly business basis. All it would add to our economic equipment would be a source of possible long-term credit for an approved small business venture.

You bankers, the insurance companies, building and loan associations, and other financial institutions who would go in the movement would direct it, because you would be "members" of the corporation even if not stockholders, and you would supply

a majority of the directors. It would be your money pooled in the corporation that would enable it to serve its purpose.

The development credit corporation would be in no way a competitor of the banks. It would accept no deposits and make no loan that any bank in the state wanted. What loans it did make through careful management could be and probably would be turned over to a commercial bank to service. The corporation would come under supervision and control by the State Banking Commission.

In brief, this is my proposal and I think the corporation could be helpful to the small industries movement and a beneficial adjunct to the regular banking houses of the state.

I hope you will endorse the plan and work with me in it. I would be very grateful if that endorsement could be given during this convention.

It has been a great honor and privilege to be with you and talk about some of the state's problems. From the day I took office, and I hope it will be true until I leave the office, I have asked people all over the state, regardless of political affiliations affecting parties or fractions, to give me the benefit of their thinking as to what is best for North Carolina. I do not claim any credit for this being anything unusual; I think it is a natural and honest thing to do. I repeat it to you because you are in a position to help out. I urge and challenge you in your respective communities, and as a part of an effective state-wide organization, to think more and more in terms of the common good and of the state's interest which in the long run will benefit your own particular or personal interest. Give me your suggestions, keeping in mind that I am endeavoring in every way possible to see the thing as a whole. Although we may not always agree, I feel that we will always work out our differences in a fashion which will result in the common good. Thank you.

REMARKS AT DINNER HONORING MR. E. B. JEFFRESS

GREENSBORO
May 27, 1955

[The dinner honoring Mr. Jeffress was held at the Greensboro Country Club and was attended by approximately 150 persons. Mr. Jeffress received the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce Distinguished Service Award, thus becoming the first person to be so honored. In addition to that of the Governor, there were speeches by the Honorable Capus Waynick of High Point, former Ambassador to Nicaragua and Colombia, and by D. Hiden Ramsey, newspaper executive of Asheville.]

Thank you for this opportunity to participate in this tribute to E. B. Jeffress. He deserves everything that has been said about him here tonight and I heartily approve of this idea of giving proper credit while the man to be honored is still around so that he may know how his friends and neighbors feel about him.

Mr. Jeffress has had a long and full life since he was born in the beautiful mountains of Haywood County sixty-eight years ago this twenty-ninth of May. Raised on his family's farm outside Canton, Mr. Jeffress inherited and developed many of the finer characteristics of our mountain people—courage, vigor, determination, ambition to overcome all abstacles, honesty, and a fervent desire to help his fellowman. Fresh from the University of North Carolina in 1907, he entered business and became editor and publisher of the Canton *Observer*. His ability soon brought him to the attention of the Greensboro *Daily News,* and it sent him to Raleigh in 1911 as its Raleigh correspondent. In 1918 he had been returned to Greensboro and was made president of the Greensboro Daily News Company where he nourished and developed this great newspaper and used its influence in the best interest of North Carolina. I am happy to say that the Greensboro *Daily News* has continued this tradition of honest and constructive discussion and criticism of the state government, state affairs, and life in general in North Carolina. Despite his heavy editorial responsibilities, he found time to be mayor of Greensboro in the years 1925-29 and served in the General Assembly in the sessions of 1929 and 1931. So we see that E. B. Jeffress made an outstanding contribution to the state on the community level, as well as the state level.

On May 1, 1931, Governor Gardner called on Mr. Jeffress to become highway chairman and carry out the plans for reorganization of the Highway Commission. It was here that I had an opportunity to serve on the Highway Commission with Mr. Jeffress as chairman. I shall never forget his leadership, his earnest and sincere interest in better highways, and the fine friendship which developed between us during those years. As you will recall, in 1933 he was also given the responsibility for the prisons as a result of action taken by Governor Ehringhaus.

The record which E. B. Jeffress made during his years of service on the Highway Commission speaks for itself. He left his individual stamp of greatness on this great state organization. As a result of his farsighted vision and his cooperative spirit, the great Blue Ridge Parkway project was begun. Only recently Mr. Jeffress had an opportunity to render another great service to the state in behalf of the Blue Ridge Parkway. You will recall that the Department of the Interior had announced its plans to begin a plan of toll charges for the use of the Blue Ridge Parkway. Besides being impractical, the idea of levying tolls on the parkway was in direct violation of every understanding which had been made in the early days of the parkway construction and planning. Mr. Jeffress kindly traveled to Washington on his own volition to appear at the hearing before Secretary of Interior McKay.

I want you to know that his brief, personal, and effective presentation of what actually took place during those early days in the planning of the Blue Ridge Parkway was the most telling blow struck during this tense meeting. When he sat down, we all breathed a sigh of relief because it was obvious that here was substantial evidence from a man who had negotiated with the Interior Department and the federal government when the whole tremendous project was begun. The truth and simplicity of his views were tremendously helpful.

After being catapulted into the office of governor, following the death of my predecessor, I took the opportunity one day of asking Mr. Jeffress to come over for a discussion of state highway problems. We had a long talk and I was greatly impressed with his grasp of basic highway information and basic highway needs in North Carolina and the nation. He has never lost his love and affection for the highway business. Even today, he is an expert in

the field and travels widely to keep abreast of the latest developments in highway design and highway construction.

E. B. Jeffress is a great North Carolinian whose contributions to the progress and growth of this state are difficult to measure. It is a real honor for me to have this opportunity to extend my best wishes to him at this great moment in his life. He deserves our tribute, our affection, our love, and our undying respect. Mr. Jeffress, thank you for what you have done for North Carolina and I wish you many more years of happiness and constructive effort.

ADDRESS OVER STATE-WIDE RADIO-TELEVISION NETWORK

June 6, 1955

[In this "Report to the People" the Governor reviewed and analyzed the accomplishments of the 1955 General Assembly with reference to the problems outlined in his budget and biennial message on January 6 (see pp. 3-19) and in his state-wide radio and television address of March 2 (see pp. 85-99). He also expressed his continuing concern for highway safety and for improving the state's low per capita income and commented at some length upon his attitude toward the U. S. Supreme Court's May 31 decision on school segregation. The broadcast originated in the studios of WUNC-TV at Chapel Hill, following the Governor's attendance at the University of North Carolina commencement exercises.]

Fellow Citizens:

I deeply appreciate this opportunity to report to you—the people of North Carolina—on the accomplishments of the 1955 General Assembly and our plans and program for the months ahead. My remarks are directed primarily at keeping you informed about your state government, its problems and its future.

The necessity of keeping informed is tremendously important to you as citizens and taxpayers. In the busy and complicated world in which we live, it is increasingly difficult to keep up with the latest developments in your own community, with your state, the nation, and the world. However, as Americans with a democratic form of government, the final, basic decisions rest in your hands, and it is essential that you have all the facts upon which to make these decisions.

We are well blessed in North Carolina with good and alert newspapers, radio, and television stations. We welcome their constructive efforts to keep you informed about your state government. An informed electorate is one of the best guarantees that our government will be responsive to the will of the people.

The adjournment of a session of the General Assembly of North Carolina is naturally a time for review, analysis, and looking ahead. The members of the 1955 General Assembly came to Raleigh in January faced with many difficult state issues. Each General Assembly has its own problems, of course, but this session faced some issues which had not been confronted in North Carolina in many years. For example, the legislators had to deal with the need for new revenues. For the first time in twenty-two years this became a major factor in the legislative program and marked a drastic change of course from recent sessions of the General Assembly which came to Raleigh to decide what to do with the surplus of revenue funds which had piled up in the preceding two-year period.

As the weeks and months passed, our General Assembly made every effort to find some solution to the financial problems and to other major legislative questions which were before them. We should remember that a matter of this grave concern to the state takes plenty of study because, after all, the General Assembly, being elected representatives of our people, represents every shade of political and economic philosophy in North Carolina. Therefore, it takes time to resolve these differences before any final decision can be made.

As you know, the legislature finally enacted a budget revenue bill which raised some $20,000,000 in new revenues to balance the largest budget in the history of the state, which was necessary to continue essential state services on existing levels. I shall not attempt to go into details about the specific revenue legislation which was passed, but we all realize that having to increase state taxes is not a pleasant job for anyone. Shifting economic tides and changing revenue estimates did not make the legislators' jobs any easier. As a new governor, I sympathize with the legislators as they struggled to learn in a very brief time the exact facts about our huge and complicated state government.

Despite criticism from some quarters, in my judgment the 1955

"MIND IF I LOOK UNDER THE HOOD FIRST?"
DONT TEST DRIVE IT BUY IT
WHIZ AWAY!!! The Graham Way
JUST OUT THE GRAHAMCRACKER 8 BALL
A REAL "STEAL" AT $160,000,000.00
BILL OF SALE
GRAHAM
GOV. HODGES
PROPOSED N.C. ROAD PROGRAM
HUGH HAYNIE

Hugh Haynie in Greensboro News, January 19, 1955

A contemporary cartoonist views the disagreement between Governor Hodges and the State Highway Commission over the proposed road program.

Hugh Haynie in Greensboro News, January 30, 1955

"Sir Luther the Lionheart" attacks "ye olde Highway Commission castle."

legislature did accomplish some very worthwhile legislation. Let us look at the record. The General Assembly passed legislation to place the responsibility for enrolling pupils in the hands of local school boards. This was in keeping with recommendations of the Pearsall Report and the wisdom of this action is now shown by the recent decision made by the Supreme Court with further reference to segregation in our public schools. Legislation which grew out of the Folger Report also placed with the local school boards authority over transportation of school children. Another step forward was the recodification of all the laws governing North Carolina's public schools.

One major accomplishment was the successful redistricting of the North Carolina judicial system which created thirty judicial districts in the place of the twenty-one former districts. Leaders of the bench and bar and in particular the Judicial Council, headed by Chief Justice Barnhill, have worked for a long time to secure this kind of legislation which increases by approximately one-third the number of Superior Court judges elected by you, the people, and likewise decreases the number of judges who are selected by each governor and who are not subject to your approval or disapproval at the polls.

The effect of this legislation, insofar as my duties of appointment are concerned, is that I must appoint eleven regular judges who next year will run for election, and up to four special judges who will serve for terms of four years.

Having to appoint at one time more than one-third of the total number of the state's Superior Court judges is a grave responsibility. I am not a lawyer, but my experiences as a businessman and as a citizen have taught me to value highly the importance of having judges who meet the highest standards of the bench and the bar. I have not been unaware of the possible lasting effect of these appointments on the tone and quality of our judicial system. I have read carefully every letter that has been sent to me recommending particular persons. I have listened at length to delegations of citizens who have come in support of particular candidates. I have also felt justified and even anxious to consult with the leaders of the legal profession and to discuss the qualities which go to make up good judges.

It was quite natural that in my desire to consider these matters with leaders of the bench and bar, I should spend some time in discussion with the chief justice and the associate justices of the Supreme Court of this state. These are the men who have gone through periods of service as attorneys at the bar, and for the most part as trial judges, and have been elevated to the very top of their profession to become members of our highest judicial body. To them I have turned for additional guidance—not with respect to particular persons, but in an attempt to learn for myself the qualities which they, in their experience, have come to recognize as indispensable in a first-rate judge. For their help I am grateful, but I hasten to add that the selections of the particular people are my own. For the appointments or reappointments which have already been announced and for those yet to be announced, I assume full responsibility. I may add here that in measuring possible candidates as against the standards sought to be applied, the final choice between particular individuals has been most difficult.

To date, the following appointments have been announced:

For the resident judge of the Second Judicial District, which is composed of Beaufort, Hyde, Martin, Tyrrell, and Washington Counties, I have appointed the Honorable Malcolm Carlyle Paul of Washington, who has been serving as a special judge of the Superior Court.

For the resident judge of the Fourteenth Judicial District, which is Durham County, I have appointed the Honorable C. W. Hall of Durham, who has been serving as a special judge of the Superior Court.

For the resident judge of the Sixteenth Judicial District, which is composed of Robeson and Scotland Counties, I have appointed the Honorable Malcolm Seawell of Lumberton who has been serving as solicitor of the present Ninth Judicial District.

For resident judge of the Twenty-Second Judicial District, which is composed of Alexander, Davidson, Davie, and Iredell Counties, I have appointed the Honorable Hubert Olive, who served as a special judge of the Superior Court for ten years.

For resident judge of the Twenty-Fourth Judicial District, composed of Avery, Madison, Mitchell, Watauga, and Yancey Coun-

ties, I have appointed the Honorable J. Frank Huskins of Burnsville, who has been serving a a special judge of the Superior Court.

For one of the resident judges of the Twenty-Sixth Judicial District, which is Mecklenburg County (and which has two resident judges), I have appointed the Honorable Hugh Campbell of Charlotte, who is a prominent attorney and civic leader of that city.

As two of the possible four special judges, I have appointed the Honorable Susie Sharp of Reidsville and the Honorable George Fountain of Tarboro, both of whom have been serving as special judges of the Superior Court. I shall not appoint any other special judges until I receive a report being prepared by the office of Chief Justice Barnhill which will inform me as to the need for more special judges.

In passing, I would at this time like to pay tribute to the judicial officials of our state. We are indeed fortunate in having had this highly important segment of our government in such capable and dedicated hands.

After two extremely dry summers, our legislators came to Raleigh with the full realization that something had to be done about conserving our water resources. To meet this problem, a full-time Water Commission was created with powers to coordinate our efforts in conservation of water resources and to prepare and disseminate information gathered from research about our water problems. Also the commission is given emergency powers which may be invoked during periods of drastic water shortages. This is another progressive step forward in the solution of a tremendous and long-term problem. It is encouraging to note that North Carolina is probably the only Southern state to date that has been able to make any concrete state-wide approach to the over-all problem of water shortage.

Like many states, North Carolina has a growing system of higher education which has expanded with leaps and bounds through individual institutions with little over-all planning. A bill was passed which created a State Board of Higher Education with powers which will enable it to minimize expensive duplication and overlapping among the state's twelve institutions of higher learning. The creation of this board is a landmark in North Carolina's educational history and progress.

There were other important bills passed but time does not permit mention of them all. One of the most significant of these, however, involved an act which authorized the creation of a Tax Study Commission to make full review of North Carolina's tax structure, and to make recommendations equalizing the tax burden and modernizing our revenue laws. Exhaustive study by members of the General Assembly revealed the inadequacies of our Revenue Act which have grown up over the years without overall planning or modifications to meet many of our needs in a growing and expanding state. This commission will have the opportunity of re-examining our fundamental tax philosophies and tax policies with a view to making recommendations to the 1957 General Assembly. I consider this a most important assignment and shall do everything in my power to cooperate with the work of this commission.

For some time, I have been saying that one of our major needs is to raise our per capita income and thereby give us more citizens who are financially able to help share the fiscal needs of the state. My comments and inquiries about the need for more information, more planning and more action in the per capita problem have brought encouraging results. Through funds provided by a private foundation, I have been able to start a Small Industries Plan under the guidance and leadership of the Honorable Capus Waynick of High Point, a former ambassador and a pioneer of Point Four Program experience. Designed to encourage the growth of small industries and other small businesses, this program has already received the wholehearted endorsement of the Junior Chambers of Commerce of North Carolina. The State Bankers Association has indicated its interest in helping wherever possible. I am pleased to report that the General Assembly passed a bill authorizing the creation of a Business Development Corporation which will make loans to deserving businesses that wish to expand or to persons who wish to begin new industries in North Carolina. Funds for this corporation will be provided by our banking and financial institutions. Several firms have indicated their interest in buying stock. We hope to see North Carolina humming with new business activities in the not too distant future. We have the people and materials to accomplish

this. All we have been missing is planning and financing. These we are working toward securing.

It has been my pleasure to assist in the formation of a Research Triangle Plan which we hope will encourage the growth of industrial research organizations in the general triangular area outlined by North Carolina State College in Raleigh, Duke University at Durham, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. We firmly believe that the area enclosed by this triangle of great institutions of higher learning is a fertile field for the location and development of industrial research laboratories and similar organizations. I have named a council to head up this program, and a working committee consisting of members of the faculties of the three institutions will be at work shortly. Industrial research in itself is a major industry in America today. We have at State, Duke, and Carolina the facilities, the personnel, and the talent capable of rendering great service to industrial research. This program should also result in bringing new and higher paid citizens to North Carolina and in raising our per capita possibilities.

The necessity of finding new sources of revenue during the 1955 session of the legislature raised the natural question as to whether or not our present Revenue Act was being properly administered and whether or not better compliance and increased collections could not be made by the State Department of Revenue. These questions met with my wholehearted interest because I believe that North Carolinians generally are willing and ready to pay their fair share of the cost of the services they desire if they feel that everyone else is paying his or her fair share also. When we see others who do not file state returns or pay state taxes, we can expect resentment, dismay, and a general loss of understanding and cooperation on the part of those taxpayers who do comply. For this reason, and to make our Revenue Act produce within its full capacity, we have worked with the commissioner of revenue and his department on plans to improve collections and obtain better compliance.

I shall not attempt to discuss in detail the plans which the Department of Revenue has made in this regard. However, I can say that we hope by improved administration to distribute the cost of our government so that all will pay their fair share.

As a means of getting this program into action immediately, there will be training courses for auditors and field agents as well as for stenographic and clerical workers and business machine operators. Arrangements have been made with the Institute of Government at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to conduct a training program for new employees as soon as they have been appointed. At the same time, there will be a similar course of instruction in the nature of a refresher course for the auditors and deputies presently assigned to our field division. Experience has shown that the state should be able to collect at least ten dollars in additional revenue for every one dollar spent for this improved field audit program.

May I emphasize to you that this program of better compliance and enforcement of our Revenue Act is definitely in the best interest of the State of North Carolina. It is sound administration which will help us all.

There will also be increased attention given to the expenditure of your tax dollars to see that our state government operates as efficiently as possible, providing the best service possible for the money available. I have been encouraged by the response of many department heads who have become increasingly aware of the financial problems facing our state. I know that most of our state employees also understand the need for economy and will do their individual part toward sounder, more efficient administration.

To provide better information about the fiscal condition of our state, we are planning to institute a schedule of regular revenue estimates which will be made between sessions of the General Assembly for the information of all concerned. I believe that this procedure will provide a better source of information and will serve as a useful barometer of the economic situation.

At this time, I should like to mention our large scale, state-wide traffic safety campaign which is now in process. North Carolina has been making great strides in dealing with the serious problem of motor vehicle accidents. Just the other day the National Safety Council announced that our state safety program last year was, next to Virginia, the best in the entire South. We are encouraged by this progress of course, but it is still safer to drive a car in thirty-five other states than in North Carolina, We need this

traffic safety campaign because the motor vehicle is North Carolina's number one killer of young people. Did you know that it kills more people under the age of twenty-four than polio, cancer, and heart disease combined? We need better traffic safety because every eight hours someone is killed in a traffic accident in North Carolina and every twenty-four minutes someone is injured. We need it because last year 991 people were killed by motor vehicles and 15,000 injured with a staggering economic loss to our state of nearly $95,000,000.

These are sobering facts which affect the lives, health, and well-being of every person listening this evening. We can change this situation if we will. We can save lives by taking the problem seriously and by always driving and walking cautiously. I am hopeful that the traffic safety campaign now under way in North Carolina will have your wholehearted cooperation and will save many lives. May I at this time pay tribute to the press, radio, and television, and to the moving picture theatres throughout the state for the magnificent job they are doing in bringing this campaign to the attention of our people. I would like to commend Commissioner Scheidt and the members of his department, including the Highway Patrol, for their dedicated efforts in connection with this campaign. And to thank Mr. Kay Kyser of Chapel Hill and the members of the Governor's Traffic Safety Council for their devoted volunteer help in the program.

At the press conference held last Friday in Raleigh, I commented upon the recent segregation decision handed down by the Supreme Court on May 31. My comment was that there seems to be more to the Court's opinion than the newspaper headlines have indicated. I also said I would discuss the matter further tonight. I may add at this time that headlines in some papers since I made that comment have perhaps overemphasized my concern.

The purpose of this discussion tonight will be to explain what I believe to be in the Court's decision that has not yet been made sufficiently clear, and to inform you of my present feelings about the situation.

The factors that seem to have led many persons to believe that the Court, in its decision, made substantial concessions to the South's traditional position in this controversy are these: first, no specific calendar date was set for full compliance with the decision;

second, time was extended in which to complete full compliance; third, the determination of what is "good faith" compliance within the meaning of the decision was left to the local federal district judges.

What appears to have generally escaped attention, however, is that the Court, in speaking to the parties involved in the cases (who were the school boards from Virginia, South Carolina, and other states) requires "that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance." The requirement of a "prompt" start would seem to mean that the date upon which a law suit may be brought to determine whether a start toward full compliance has been made by any particular school board is the date when school opens. And when a decision has been rendered in such a suit, if the Court finds that no start toward full compliance has been made at that time, the school board being sued may be ordered to admit the applicant involved to the school he has requested to enter. Thus, the absence of a specific calendar date for full compliance may be of little comfort to the states that had asked and hoped for extended time in which to consider local conditions before having to start toward full compliance.

Furthermore, there is little comfort in the Court's requirement that the required prompt start must be made before the local federal judges can grant any extention of time on the basis of matters such as problems related to physical condition of the school plant, the school transportation system, revision of school districts, et cetera.

In other words, what the Supreme Court has indirectly told the states that have separate schools for the races is this: Unless you want your school boards, as a result of legal action, to have to admit children of either race who apply for admission to schools traditionally attended by the other race, your school boards must make a start toward complying with the decision. This is the effect of the decision which I have felt it is my duty to point out to you.

And now looking at the other side of the picture, many responsible people have freely predicted that considerable time must pass and a number of test cases must be decided before the full effects of this opinion can be known. The decision of the Supreme Court is technically binding only on the parties involved in those

suits, and no North Carolina school board was involved. In addition, a dual system of schools in which the children of each race voluntarily attend separate schools is not forbidden by the decision. The Court has said that no individual child can be denied admission to a school on the ground of race; the Court has never said that any state must set up a single school system, mixing the children of both races. These factors provide some possible hope for time in which to work out the state's plans.

The thoughts which have been expressed should be sufficient to explain why we are concerned. At the same time, you can see why we do not believe we should take any hasty action at this time. Several members of the North Carolina legislature who have expressed themselves seem to believe that no special session of the General Assembly will be necessary. In my opinion, no purpose could be served by calling a special session at this time. I feel that whatever could be accomplished, if a special session should be necessary, could be accomplished as well or better after we have had further time to consider the problem. I have conferred at length with our attorney general and he agrees with this conclusion. If it later seems that a special session is necessary, I will not hesitate to call it.

As already mentioned, the General Assembly fortunately has placed enrollment and administrative powers in local school units which will allow them to deal with their special problems as they see fit. The General Assembly also provided for the setting up of a seven-member Advisory Committee on Education which is directed by the statute to make a continuing study of the problems which may arise as a result of the segregation decision and to provide counsel and advice to the governor, the General Assembly, the State Board of Education, and the county and local school boards throughout the state. Under the statute, I am to appoint two members of the committee from the Senate, two from the House, and three from the public at large, and to designate the chairman. I shall announce the membership of this committee within a very short time and request them to begin their work immediately. This committee will endeavor to stay in touch with all developments of this problem and will from time to time make known such recommendations as it believes necessary.

In a matter of such significance to our state and our people,

we must, of necessity, move with great care. This is our intention and we will try to protect at all times the best interests of the state and its schools.

In closing let me say that I deem it both a duty and a privilege to make this report to you. I hope, from time to time, to make other reports on the activities of state government so that you may be advised as to the progress that is being made. I hope that you will always feel free to let us, in Raleigh, know just how you feel on special questions, for no public servant is wise enough to act without benefit of the advice, wisdom, and good common sense of the people he serves. After all, this state government belongs to you—the people of North Carolina—and we who hold public office are only trying to interpret your will, to work as best we can for your welfare and happiness.

REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF MINERALS MUSEUM OF NORTH CAROLINA

GILLESPIE GAP
June 17, 1955

[Although North Carolina is not generally thought of as a mining state, more than 300 different minerals are known to exist within its borders. Specimens of every one of these are displayed in the Minerals Museum erected by the state at Gillespie Gap, near Spruce Pine, and presented to the federal government in 1955. Following the Governor's remarks on this occasion, the museum was accepted by Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park Service of the U. S. Department of the Interior.]

The opportunity to join with you here today in the dedication of this beautiful museum of North Carolina minerals is one I deeply appreciate.

This museum will truly mark another significant milestone in our long and continuing efforts to develop the great potentials of our mineral industry.

Located as it is in the very heart of the greatest concentration of our mineral deposits and made accessible to the thousands of people who travel over our majestic mountains and over the beautiful and scenic Blue Ridge Parkway, this museum will, I

hope, be a "must" to all North Carolinians as well as residents of other states and countries who visit with us.

The need for a museum to show specimens of our approximately 300 known rocks and minerals has long been felt by those who work and strive for further development of mining in North Carolina.

For several years the Department of Conservation and Development has worked hand in hand with the National Park Service and interested citizens for a museum in which could be displayed the various types of minerals found in our state. These agencies and the people who have worked with them to make this museum of North Carolina minerals possible are to be highly commended for the successful efforts they have made.

Not only should the opening of this museum serve to stimulate interest generally in the further development of our minerals industry, but it will also prove to be an outstanding attraction for the tens of thousands of tourists who come to this wonderful section of our state to gaze upon the marvelous scenery we have to offer.

To Scroop Enloe, chairman of the Minerals Committee of the State Board of Conservation and Development, and his associates; to Ben Douglas, director of the Department of Conservation and Development, and his predecessors in that office; to Conrad Wirth, director of the National Park Service, and his aides; and to all others who have had a hand in the building of this museum the State of North Carolina may well give a vote of thanks and a hearty "well done."

The late Governor William B. Umstead, who did much for conservation and development of our natural resources, was prominently identified in the ultimate construction of this museum. It was he who gave final and vitally needed impetus to the project.

As we celebrate the opening of this museum, it is well, I think, that we take a rather long look at what has been done in the past to further the development of our mineral industry and to take stock of what is being done at the present time.

Long research by the Division of Minerals of our Department of Conservation and Development and by others interested over the years in the development of mining in North Carolina has turned up some interesting information concerning the long and

valiant efforts to make the mining and processing of our minerals a profitable business.

We find that mining in North Carolina dates from prehistoric times. Since colonial days it has become an increasingly important factor in the economy of our state.

In the early days when North Carolina was still a colony subject to the dictation of England, the primary interest in minerals was centered largely in the search for base and precious metals.

An iron industry, consisting of numerous small furnaces located in the western and central parts of the state, flourished to a considerable extent during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and was considered an important element in stabilizing the early development of North Carolina.

Copper, lead, silver, and coal were also mined. Gold was mined in some localities, and this state was a leading producer of this precious metal until the startling discoveries were made in California and some other Western states. Very few people in North Carolina realize that as early as 1831-57, in Rutherford County, there was a Christopher Bechtler who coined gold into denominations of $1.00, $1.50 and $5.00. He put his name on one side and Rutherford County's name on the other.

Clays, mica, and various types of stone were among the most important non-metalic materials produced.

A lack of readily available reserves and discovery of larger deposits elsewhere led to a decline in metal mining in North Carolina. But with the changing economy in the latter part of the last century the production of non-metallic or industrial minerals in North Carolina began to show a marked increase. So much so, in fact, that the production of these industrial minerals now dominates the mining industry in our state.

A noticeable and pleasing revival of still further interest in metals has been noted in recent years by the discovery of commercial deposits of tungsten and ilmenite.

It is gratifying to hear from Dr. Jasper Stuckey, our longtime state geologist, and others, that a more thorough appraisal of our mineral resources has been underway since the end of World War II.

At the present time, the mineral industry in North Carolina is a highly diversified one, and many critical and strategic min-

AP Wire Photo

Governor Hodges with Mrs. Fred W. Morrison (*left*) and Mrs. Hodges (*right*) at a reception in Washington following the Governor's speech before the Woman's National Democratic Club, January 28, 1955.

News and Observer Photo

Local and state leaders of the Crusade for Freedom confer with Governor Hodges, February 11, 1955. The Governor is holding a piece of barbed wire taken from an actual "iron curtain" in East Germany. *Left to right:* Staton Inscoe, Emmett Kerr, J. Harold Lineberger, Holt McPherson, and Governor Hodges.

erals needed and necessary in the continual planning of our national defense are produced here. These types of minerals as well as others are also finding increasing uses in the manufacture of goods and commodities which industry is producing to make our way of life easier and more enjoyable.

North Carolina is a leading producer of tungsten and lithium ores, sheet and flake mica, feldspar, pyrophyllite, and primary kaoline or china clay. Crushed and dimension stone, sand and gravel, talc, pyrophyllite, structural clays and shales, olivine, and other materials are mined in quantity.

I was out near Clay County and saw an historical marker calling attention to the fact that the famous Wedgwood Company of England over 200 years ago took some china clay from our Clay County to make some of the famous Wedgwood china. Incidentally, we are to have in the museum that we are dedicating today an historical piece of Wedgwood given us by the English firm.

In the Spruce Pine area we have the state's largest commercial deposits of mica, kaolin, and feldspar. At Spruce Pine, where there lives and works Mr. S. T. Henry, newspaper editor and publisher, and great and good friend of the mining industry in North Carolina, the federal government has its largest mica-buying depot. In this area we also find a variety of gemstones, such as garnets, aquamarines, beryl, and others. This same section was once the home of the only emerald mine in the United States. There are on the grounds today several women with beautiful bracelets and pins made from the precious gems mined in North Carolina.

In the Bessemer City and Kings Mountain areas in the Piedmont, there is a growing development in the mining and processing of lithium ores. Some of the finest brick made in the nation are being manufactured at Salisbury and Sanford. These brick are so good in all-around quality that they are in demand by builders in various sections of our country.

Near Henderson, in Vance County, we have the largest tungsten mine in the United States. It is second in production of this strategic mineral in the Western Hemisphere.

It is most gratifying to know that stone quarried in the beautiful Linville area was used in the construction of the building housing the minerals displayed here. Use of this native stone is

a further indication of the important store of natural resources we have and which we can by dint of continued planning and hard work still develop to their greatest potentials.

I have touched upon relatively few of our minerals, but as we plan for the continued development of our mineral industry we can readily see where we have, in a sense, only scratched the surface of the wealth of mineral resources we have and which may be still further developed to our profit and to the benefit of mankind.

It is a matter of considerable interest to me—and I feel it is equally interesting to you—to learn that the total value of minerals produced in North Carolina increased from almost $15,000,000 in 1945 to more than $38,500,000 in 1953. This is an increase during that eight-year period of about 157 per cent and speaks well for the efforts being made to make profitable use of our mineral resources.

North Carolina was the first state in the Union to sponsor a geological survey in an effort to find out something more about its mineral resources. This survey was authorized by the General Assembly of 1823, after Professor Denison Olmsted of the University of North Carolina in 1821 had followed up earlier attempts by others to get a geological survey.

A persistent man, Professor Olmsted finally saw his efforts rewarded in 1823. The legislature was apparently impressed by Professor Olmsted's suggestion that all he wanted was the expenses he incurred while making geological studies at various places in the state during his summer vacations. It passed an act at its 1823 session authorizing the State Board of Agriculture to have a geological survey made, and appropriated the sum of $250 annually for four years to defray its cost.

Professor Olmsted was retained to make the survey. He carried out his assignments, but relinquished his duties in 1825 when he transferred to Yale University. The heroic and courageous Dr. Elisha Mitchell, also a faculty member at the University of North Carolina, was named to succeed Professor Olmsted.

Professor Olmsted published reports on his findings in 1824 and 1825. Dr. Mitchell, who was to lose his life later in exploring the magnificent mountain we know today as Mount Mitchell, issued reports in 1826 and 1827. Professor Olmsted actually pre-

pared a geologic map of the state, but it was apparently never published. These publications were the first of their kind in the country.

Appropriations for these state-sponsored geological studies were apparently stopped in 1829. But, obviously dedicated to public service, Dr. Mitchell carried on his investigations. He summarized his geological findings in a textbook published in 1842. This book contained the first published geological map of the state.

Studies of various kinds were carried on somewhat intermittently until 1891, when the General Assembly created the North Carolina Geological Survey. In 1905, it became the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, covering such wide fields of study as minerals, forests, water, road-building materials, soils, finfish and shellfish.

Dr. Joseph Hyde Pratt was named state geologist and director of the newly authorized survey in October, 1906. Dr. Pratt, who rendered a great service to the state, held this position until March, 1924.

The 1925 General Assembly, acting at the insistence of Governor A. W. McLean and others, reorganized the Geological and Economic Survey as the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, enlarging and clarifying its many varied responsibilities and duties in conserving, developing, and promoting wiser use of the state's natural resources.

It gives me pleasure to remind you that the 1955 General Assembly, bothered as it was in raising sufficient tax revenues to carry on the needed and necessary services the state renders its people, provided sufficient funds to the Department of Conservation and Development to expand its field studies of the mineral resources of North Carolina.

I have given you a rather brief account of the efforts made since colonial days to the present to develop our mineral resources.

As you and I learn more of the early struggles of Professor Olmsted, Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Pratt, and a host of others to develop the wealth that is on the ground and under the ground in North Carolina, we can be sure their efforts were not made in vain.

The development of our mineral resources is progressing. Dr. Stuckey, our state geologist, and his assistants are, I am glad to

note, receiving wholehearted cooperation from mining interests and, last but far from being the least, from those eager private citizens who explore various areas of the state with Geiger counters and other instruments in the hope of finding uranium or other kinds of minerals that would well repay them for their time and efforts.

We must do more than produce raw material in North Carolina. We must process and distribute it. If we continue letting other people make money off of our raw materials by processing and distributing, we will be eternally silly. It is a known fact that the people who put materials in their final form, process and market them, are the ones who make the real money. We need a higher per capita income in this state. We can't get it by paying the lowest wages, by taking stuff out of the ground and giving it away to people who are no smarter than we are.

Suppose we had continued to raise raw cotton and have an occasional mill for coarse-grade cottons or coarse yarn. We would be much further down the ladder than we are. Our textile people, as did our furniture people, learned to process and finish and sell quality merchandise in tremendous quantities. They have promptly become the backbone of our country's industry because of their imagination and determination.

Should it be any different in minerals? Why shouldn't we have factories making glassware, chinaware, et cetera, here in this state?

Our farms are being mechanized constantly. This releases more and more people for work in industry. We must have the work for our young people. We must stop exporting both our raw materials and our young people.

Before dedicating this museum and offering it to the federal government, I would like to observe that I hope that it will be seen by hundreds of thousands of people in this state and all parts of the world, and I hope, furthermore, Mr. Wirth, that it will always be a free museum—that there will be no charges for its services. North Carolina is happy to furnish the building and grounds, as well as help collect the exhibits.

And now, on behalf of the people of North Carolina, I would like to thank Director Conrad Wirth of the National Park Service, Sam Weems, superintendent of the Blue Ridge Parkway, their

aides, Scroop Enloe and his fellow members of the mineral committee of the State Board of Conservation and Development, and all others who continue to make every effort they can toward the ultimate development and utilization of our mineral resources.

I now dedicate and present to the Interior Department of the federal government, through Mr. Conrad Wirth, director of the Park Service, this beautiful minerals museum.

REMARKS AT ROAN MOUNTAIN RHODODENDRON FESTIVAL

June 18, 1955

[A crowd estimated at 5,000 persons, including state and federal leaders and government officials, attended this opening of the annual two-day Rhododendron Festival on Roan Mountain, a 6,286-foot-high peak astride the North Carolina-Tennessee border. The Governor shared the spotlight with two "Rhododendron Queens," crowned respectively by North Carolina and Tennessee.]

It is a real pleasure and a happy privilege to be with you here today to take part in the Ninth Annual Roan Mountain Rhododendron Festival.

It is good to know that beautiful rhododendron grows in such profusion in this section of our state that you proudly proclaim you have "the world's largest rhododendron gardens."

We are gathered here today to pay tribute to the rhododendron at the height of its picturesque loveliness. Although it is in bloom for only a rather short period of time, the memory of it lingers on and on for those who are privileged to see it in all its glory on our mountainsides and in other places in North Carolina where it grows and blooms to a lesser extent than here on the Roan!

But as I stand here today to join with you in paying tribute to the rhododendron, I wonder if we stop often enough or long enough to thank the Creator of us all for the flowers, the trees, and the numerous other things God has given us.

The more I travel over North Carolina—and I have seen much of our good state in recent weeks and months, and I was in the

west all this week—I become more and more convinced that God has truly blessed us in many ways.

Here in North Carolina we have an abundance of the finest natural resources. We have an ideal climate—not too hot in summer, not too cold in winter. We have adequate water if properly conserved, productive soils, a great forest area, and an ample supply of some of the best productive workers to be found anywhere. I am proud to say that in North Carolina the majority of us believe in giving a day's work for a day's pay, and that's an attraction.

In coming here today, I was greatly impressed by this mile-high Roan Mountain. Like all the other mountain areas in our great Blue Ridge vacationlands, it is a wonderful attraction for tourists who like to view from the tops of these majestic handiworks of Mother Nature some of the finest scenery found on the North American continent.

I understand there is some mystery about how Roan Mountain acquired its name. Some people think the mountain got its name "Roan" because its meadows, when the rhodondendron is blooming, give it a mingled crimson and green color. This, I understand, stems from the fact that the word roan, when used to describe a color, means a mingling of red, grey, or black with another color. Another version is that Roan Mountain got its name during the winter when the pink of sunset or sunrise reflected on the mountain's snow-covered meadows.

I shall not enter any debate here or elsewhere as to how this mountain acquired its name. After all, does it really matter? You have "Roan."

But while we pause briefly to discuss some of the numerous legends that surround this and other mountains in the great chain that traverses the western part of our state, it is well to mention a legend as to how the rhododendron's flamboyant color originated.

There was the time, according to this legend, when the Catawba Indians inhabited this area. At least three bloody battles were said to have been fought atop this mountain on which we are gathered today. After these battles, the flowers that bloom so profusely turned crimson and it is said the Indians believe these roan-colored flowers were nourished by the blood of their slain warriors.

I cannot, of course, vouch for the truth of this. I do not know, but we do know the Catawba rhododendron is the correct name for the variety of rhododendron which produces the flowers of purplish red which we are privileged to see at this time.

I am further reminded by historians of this section of the time when the now vanished Cloudland Hotel played a most important part in the history of Roan Mountain.

It was in 1877 that General John Thomas Wilder, a former Union Army commander, returned to the Southern Appalachians after the War Between the States. He built a twenty-room lodge on top of this mountain, and in 1885 he replaced it with the 166-room Cloudland Hotel.

Then, as now, the mountains of western North Carolina were famous for their healthful climate, their matchless scenery, and for numerous other attractions that truly made them a mecca for those who sought ideal vacation areas or for those who sought to regain their health.

The Old Cloudland Hotel naturally became famous. It was visited by people from various parts of the country. Some stayed for several weeks or the entire summer.

This hotel flourished for about twenty-five years. An advertising booklet it published and distributed in 1905 had this to say, and I quote:

"There are no snakes; no mosquitoes, none of the little pests that crawl in the night and fly in the noonday. Cloudland is the paradise of hay fever victims, and that dread disease disappears with the breathing of mountain air and the drinking of ice-cold water, so lavishly furnished by the mountain springs."

What a wonderful tribute to the climate and other health-giving qualities of this area. General Wilder and his associates were, of course, interested in making money in their hotel operation, but his guests learned then as thousands upon thousands of people are learning today that vacations in the mountains of western North Carolina are healthy vacations.

General Wilder was undoubtedly impressed with the summertime beauty of the rhododendron and other flowers that bloom in this area. He saw the possibilities of this mountain section and he capitalized upon them.

We must continue to develop and capitalize upon the

opportunities offered us in North Carolina. The various sections of our state have much to offer. There are still numerous untapped and undeveloped areas that can be made to pay off even as General Wilder found when he returned as a former member of a conquering force in 1877 to seek fame and fortune in these majestic mountains of North Carolina.

It is fitting, I think, to remind you that General Wilder was an imaginative man. He had the foresight to build his Cloudland Hotel so that the line dividing North Carolina from Tennessee ran through the center of his big dining room and was marked on its polished maple floor so that all could see. He must have used this as a selling point in his bid for guests at his hotel.

I am glad to hear that the thirty-four mile route from Gillespie Gap, where yesterday we dedicated the new Minerals Museum of North Carolina on the Blue Ridge Parkway, via State Highway 26 through Spruce Pine and Bakersville, and Highway 261 to Carver's Gap, is being beautified. Local citizens are doing the job and they have properly named their project as "Crimson Laurel Way." Crimson laurel, as I understand it, is the name the good citizens apply to Catawba rhododendron.

Rhododendron root stocks for this project and for the beautification of Spruce Pine and Bakersville were obtained through the U. S. Forest Service when right-of-ways were cut for new roads up the Roan and through its rhododendron gardens. Some 700 landowners, who live along Crimson Laurel Way, came to this mountain on a Saturday in 1954 and dug some 15,000 plantings of rootstocks from the right of way for the loop road.

I should like to pay tribute to the U. S. Forest Service for what it has done, and is doing to beautify and develop this mountain since the federal government acquired the land from General Wilder's heirs.

For some years before the land atop Roan Mountain was acquired by the Forest Service, the rhododendron on the mountain was depleted to supply nurseries. But with proper care and supervision of this flower the rhododendron has come back to become more beautiful than ever before. Let's keep it!

A good example of enterprise on part of the Forest Service is seen in the increase of spruce and balsam in the Christmas tree forests and in the mountain's population of Carolina juncos, ruffed grouse, and other species of wildlife.

The development of this area containing such marvelous scenery and the opening of new roads are resulting in the construction of new facilities for visitors at nearby Spruce Pine, Bakersville, and Burnsville. Visitors find a good selection of motor courts, hotels, and restaurants, and box lunches are available for picnics on the Roan.

As I said at the beginning, I am glad to pay tribute to the rhododendron. I deem it an honor and a privilege to be with you here today to join in the festivities that relieve, if only for a time, the problems that confront us and the pressure on us from day to day, and to marvel again and again over the beauty of the rhododendron and the loveliness of these young ladies competing for the title of Rhododendron Queens from our state and from Tennessee.

ADDRESS AT ANNUAL MEETING OF ROANOKE RIVER BASIN ASSOCIATION

DANVILLE, VIRGINIA
June 24, 1955

[Conservation and proper utilization of water resources, a favorite theme of Governor Hodges, was the subject of this address before the Roanoke River Basin Association, an organization devoted to the promotion of measures for the development of that river. About 100 of the Association's 1,000 members heard the speech at a luncheon session of their eighth annual meeting in Danville, Virginia. The quotation from Will Rogers (p. 167) was an indication of the Governor's intention to avoid taking sides in a controversy then going on between the Carolina Power and Light Company and the Tar Heel Electric Membership Corporation, involving many claims and counterclaims, over the question of wheeling electric power from the Kerr Dam to various distributing cooperatives in North Carolina.]

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Roanoke River Basin Association:

It is indeed a pleasure to have the opportunity to address an organization such as this, composed of the citizens of Virginia and North Carolina who have organized themselves for the purpose of planning worthwhile objectives for this area. I understand you have a membership in the Roanoke Valley of Virginia and North Carolina of about 1,000, equally divided between the two states,

and that your association memberships are strictly on a voluntary basis, and you have no paid officers or directors but those who do the work give freely of their time as a matter of public service.

I think this is fine. It is the American tradition which has made this nation what it is today. You may well be proud of the results of your efforts during the past fourteen years beginning with the time when the Roanoke River Flood Control Committee was organized in North Carolina to seek protection from the devasting floods which occurred periodically. The much stronger organization which was founded three years later by merging the interests of Virginia and North Carolina into the Roanoke River Basin Association is a tribute to the cooperative spirit of the people up and down the valley of the Roanoke and its tributaries. They united in their efforts for a common cause which would be beneficial to both states.

When you look at the magnificent John H. Kerr Dam at Buggs Island and the Philpott Dam on the Smith River above Martinsville, you see the remarkable results that have been accomplished. Floods are a thing of the past in the area of Virginia and North Carolina southeast of Buggs Island, and industry and agriculture may now move right up to the river banks, secure in the feeling that development may be planned without the fear of disaster. Above the dam there is a magnificent lake of some 60,000 acres with an 800 mile shoreline which is furnishing recreation and healthful exercise in the form of boating, fishing, and camping. The advantages of this area lie not alone in the enjoyment of the lake by those adjacent to its shores but by the added equal benefits which are furnished hundreds of thousands of visitors each year. I understand that last year more than 1,000,000 people utilized the advantages of Kerr Reservoir, or as it is known in Virginia, the Buggs Island Reservoir, of whom more than 200,000 came in from the North Carolina side and the remainder from the Virginia side. You may be interested in knowing that statistics reveal that only two recreation areas in either North Carolina or Virginia attracted more visitors, these being the Great Smoky Mountains and the Blue Ridge Parkway.

Added to these advantages presently enjoyed is the power development at Kerr Dam which was required by the federal government to make the project self-liquidating. This is supplying a

huge amount of electrical energy to Virginia at the present time, and after the proper contracts have been worked out North Carolina should get its share. As most of you know, there has been some controversy between the Carolina Power and Light Company and the Tar Heel Electric Membership Corporation about these contracts. Like Will Rogers used to say, "All I know about this is what I read in the newspapers." But it is a matter of great concern to the consumers, the communities, industries, and others who are affected in the areas to be served. This whole matter should be settled promptly and fairly in the best interest of the area to be served.

Then there is the Philpott Dam and Reservoir. While not comparable to the one at Buggs Island in size, it is serving effectively in protecting the highly industrialized Smith River Valley from flash floods which have done so much damage in the past. Further, the operations of the power plant are now making available additional electrical energy for the development of the area, and the lake behind the dam presents a fine place for recreation.

You have proved through careful planning, coperative action, inspiration, and hard work what can be achieved when people in any area work together toward the solution of their mutual problems. As independent, voluntary workers, you have made a great start toward reaching your eventual goals for better control of your major water resources in the Roanoke River Basin. It was obvious that you had "grass roots" support, and this has a powerful influence, especially when dealing with the Congress.

Now I would like to talk with you briefly about the importance of water resources generally and the urgent need for proper utilization of these resources. While I speak primarily from our experiences in North Carolina, I am sure that Virginia faces basically the same set of problems.

Water, to most of us, is so commonplace that we pay little attention to it. Yet, next to the air we breathe, it is the most essential material we use. It directly sustains all plant and animal life and is hardly less imporant in many other uses. Man can exist for a month without food, but not for a week without water. We must have water for the production of food, for sanitation, for manufacturing, for fire protection, for recreation, and for many other purposes. Water is one of the few absolute essentials for

which there is no substitute. It is the largest single raw material used by American factories.

So it is clear that water is one of the most important natural resources of the state. The quantity and quality of available water may be the dominant factor in establishment and expansion of industries. Together with the soil, water resources represent the real wealth of a nation or of a state. If we squander or mishandle these resources, we can bankrupt a civilization. Soil in itself, without water, is unproductive. As you know, deserts having soils rich in plant foods are unproductive because of the lack of water.

Because of its mobility, water presents legal aspects not common to land. It falls as rain on one man's land and immediately begins to move by various means to another man's land; entering the soil it becomes underground water. We in North Carolina are just beginning to explore the possibilities of the legal aspects of water. This is an old and often bitter story in many of our western states, where litigation over water and water rights can become very complicated. I shall have more to say about this later.

The many and varied uses of water stagger the imagination. For example, a large paper mill may use 50,000,000 gallons of water a day—more than the total used by the five largest cities in North Carolina. Manufacturing a pound of cotton goods requires eight to forty gallons of water; a pound of rayon, 90 to 200 gallons. And a steam generating plant needs about 200,000 gallons for each ton of coal used.

Farm crops are tremendous users of water. The demand is highly seasonal, intensifying the shortages as the peak demand comes during the hot summer months when most other demands are also at their peak. Our farm experts tell us that it takes about 100 gallons of water to produce one ear of corn, 21 inches of rainfall to get a yield of 100 bushels of corn to the acre, and more than 7,000 gallons for a bushel of oats. With high acreage yield in all crops and with the recent summer droughts, our North Carolina farmers are turning to irrigation in ever increasing numbers.

The municipal use of water in North Carolina and throughout the South is steadily expanding, because of population increases and expanding use of water—such as air conditioning of buildings and factories. We are all very pleased with the tremendous growth

of new and native industry in our states. All of us realize the vital necessity of having good water as one of the basic requirements in establishing new industries.

The recreational aspects of water are tremendous. Swimming, boating, and fishing—as so clearly demonstrated in this area—are becoming increasingly popular with our people. As a fisherman myself, I am certainly interested in this situation.

The soil is really a reservoir which stores water between the soil particles. Most of our rainfall can be stored by soil particles or used by our forests and other vegetation. Some rainfall emerges as cool springs—as "leaks" in the huge reservoir. If the rainfall runs off the land, instead of soaking in, the soil reservoir gradually loses its water. There is less moisture for the trees and other plants, and the flow of springs diminishes or stops entirely. Except during periods of rain, or fast melting snow, the streams receive all of their flow from the "leaks" in the ground water reservoir. If the springs go dry, the streams go dry too. Fish cannot live in a dry stream bed. Their food cannot grow in a dry stream bed either. So we see that the proper care of our forests is of major importance since they actually act as a sponge to absorb rainfall and help store it for future use.

This is nature's way of insuring continuous stream flow and a high water table. Destruction of forests by fire, insects, or stripping helps produce a high run-off, floods, and erosion.

As you know, we have just survived two extremely dry summers which stunned many of our people who were accustomed to just taking water supply for granted. Summer droughts caused great dollar losses in agriculture. A number of our towns and cities were faced, for the first time in many years, with a serious water supply problem. During the past two summers, we had as many as six municipalities at one time desperately scrambling to pump water into their storage reservoirs from auxiliary supplies. In one unusual case last summer, one community found its water supply, which came from a large creek, actually vanished over night. It was necessary for the governor's office to call for assistance from the Third Army and the Federal Civil Defense Administration to provide drinking water for the people of that community until additional pumping facilities could be arranged to restore the minimum requirements for those people.

For the growth of our population, our communities, and our industries, water in increasing amounts is greatly needed. Plans for the future development of municipal and industrial water supply must be based on an accurate knowledge of water rights. These were some of the factors which faced the 1955 General Assembly when they came to Raleigh with the first full realization that something had to be done about this problem. A complete water law, patterned somewhat after the Western states, was first introduced in the General Assembly, but after much study and discussion it was abandoned as too extreme for the present.

The final result was the creation of a full-time Water Commission, with powers to coordinate our efforts in conservation of water resources and to prepare and disseminate information gathered from research about our water problems. The commission is also given emergency powers which may be invoked during periods of drastic water shortages. In my opinion, this is a progressive step in the solution of a tremendous and long-term problem. Without appearing boastful, I believe that North Carolina is probably the only Southern state today that has been able to make such a concrete state-wide approach to the over-all problem of water shortage.

I believe that this is a time of decision for North Carolina, Virginia, and the other states in this area. We must make provision for the beneficial use of the waters of the state for all the people through some modern water policy. At the same time, we must increase the total supply of useable water through an intensive educational program which should result in stepping up so-called conservation practices and the reduction of pollution. Here in Virginia I believe you embarked on one phase of such a program by setting out to control pollution with the cooperation of existing manufacturing enterprises. I understand that substantial progress has been made along this line although there is still much to be done before deleterious substances are completely removed from polluted water discharged by industrial plants and municipalities. In North Carolina, we created in 1951 a State Stream Sanitation Committee and charged it with the responsibility for protecting the water requirements for health, recreation, fishing, agriculture, industry, and animal life. Its duties were set forth as the development and adoption of classification of state waters, the

survey of all waters so that a classification could be given to each identified water, and to hold public hearings regarding assigned classifications. A good start has been made on the classification of the major streams in our state but we are still a long way from the completion of this big job. However, we have neglected and abused our precious water resources for generations and cannot expect to clean them up over night.

Our stream pollution program has completed about 13 per cent of the classifications necessary in the state. Comprehensive reports are under preparation covering another 20 per cent of the area of the state. It is my hope that with the cooperation of existing industries and the municipalities we may voluntarily move ahead with plans for better pollution control. Frankly, the pressure for conservation of our water resources and the need for pure water will not leave any choice in the future for industries, communities, or anyone else. Any user of water may have the right of use, but that water basically is public wealth and it must be left in the condition which will not prevent good uses while the water is in transit. Everything we do must point toward a balanced use of water, which will serve all of our people. I believe that our philosophy should be one of sharing an *abundance* of water—not a *shortage of water.* The trend of the times in water needs is clear. We must adapt our thinking to meet these modern requirements.

An example of what an aroused citizenry will do when the solution to stream pollution problems are delayed too long may be found in the legislation having to do with Haw River which was passed during the last meeting of the General Assembly. This legislation is drastic but apparently was felt necessary. The effect of it is to make the discharge of raw sewage or industrial waste or other harmful substances into the Haw River a public nuisance, which action may be made subject to injunction by the Superior Court. The discharge of these materials into the Haw River is also made a crime; and, in addition, the one guilty of this offense may be sued in a civil action for damages. The drastic nature of the provisions of this act made it imperative that the persons who are presently polluting the Haw River be given some period during which they can correct their practices. Therefore, the effective date of the action was set at January 1, 1960. Thus, it may seem that when over-all policies do not do the job,

affected citizens will—in the final analysis—do it themselves, however drastic an action may be required.

Most of you are aware of the fact that we have had serious problems in the Roanoke River below the Kerr Reservoir with reference to our striped bass spawning season. The striped bass is a valuable natural resource in that section of the Roanoke River Basin and we are seriously concerned about the pollution and lack of adequate water during the spawning season to protect this highly valuable fishery. Our Stream Sanitation Committee is hard at work on field and laboratory studies which have been completed for that portion of the river below the John H. Kerr Reservoir. The preparation of the comprehensive River Basin report, the holding of public hearings, and the assignment of stream classifications to the basin waters must be completed prior to beginning a basin-wide pollution abatement program. We hope that the report, public hearings, and classifications of the streams in the basin will be completed during this calendar year.

Under the law before it was changed by the 1955 General Assembly, the Stream Sanitation Committee was severely hampered in its power to deal with stream pollution. To explain: If, after classifying the waters in a particular watershed, orders were issued to comply with the pollution abatement requirements of the particular classifications and one municipality was found who could not comply, then none had to comply. You may be sure there was practically always one who could not comply.

Under the new law, this loophole is removed and when water is classified there must be compliance. Municipalities can issue revenue bonds or general obligation bonds within the general constitutional limitations for purposes of meeting these requirements.

Legislation also passed in 1955 provides that companies who purchase equipment or engage in construction designed to abate stream pollution will, when such construction or equipment has been approved by the Stream Sanitation Committee, be given three tax advantages: (1) They can depreciate the property in five years, regardless of the actual life of the property; (2) They can exclude the value of the property in paying franchise taxes; (3) The property is excluded for purposes of local ad valorem taxes.

This should help materially in encouraging industries to install proper pollution abatement equipment and construction.

All of these water resource problems deserve your careful attention and interest. They touch the lives of each of us and we cannot evade the responsibility of finding a solution which will serve the best interests of our people. Such organizations as the Roanoke River Basin Association can be of inestimable value in creating sentiment for wise conservation of water in full consideration of the right of all in dealing with water resources. There is nothing comparable to the organized efforts of public-minded, unselfish citizens who are bent upon constructive measures for the good of their states. I urge you to give full consideration to the matters which I have brought to your attention here today.

It is always a privilege and a pleasure to appear before you and I wish you every success in your program during the months and years ahead. Thank you.

ADDRESS TO JUDGES' MEETING

STATE CAPITOL, RALEIGH
July 1, 1955

[The 1955 General Assembly provided for eleven additional Superior Court judges and for four special judges, all to be appointed by the governor to serve until the next general election. For the swearing in of these fifteen appointees there assembled at the State Capitol nearly all of the incumbent Superior Court judges and six of the seven Supreme Court judges. This was the largest number of judges ever sworn in at one time in the history of the state and was probably the first time that so large a number of the judges had ever assembled together.]

Members of the Judiciary, Presidents of the Bar Groups, and Other Guests:

I am indeed happy that we have such a large attendance at this ceremony today. This is a somewhat historic occasion, since never before, I am informed, has there been an official gathering of all of the state judges and justices—at least, not one with the executive branch also present.

It is to be hoped that this intermingling of the judicial and executive branches—taking place, by the way, in the sanctum of

the legislative branch—does not violate the constitutional mandate that the three branches of government be kept forever separate and distinct from each other. Complaint has been heard from time to time that that branch of government which biennally occupies this chamber, and the one across the hall, has displayed but little regard for certain constitutional mandates having to do with redistricting and reapportionment. Be that as it may, you and I would not want it said that we were playing fast and loose with the doctrine of separation of powers.

Seriously speaking, I have just a few brief remarks I would like to make to you distinguished members of the judiciary at this time. I hope you will not think it presumptuous of me, a layman, to attempt to talk to you today about administration of our courts. As a layman, I have great respect for the judiciary. I consider the responsibility of appointing fifteen Superior Court judges one of the most important responsibilities I have had since I have been in office. The courts, as you well know, are the bedrock upon which good government must be built. In spite of my own high regard for the judiciary of this state, however, I cannot help but say to you that I am convinced that, generally speaking, whether it is correct or not, the courts do not now occupy the same high place in the minds of the average citizen that they once did. Justly or unjustly, it is often remarked that courts are too technical, too slow, and too expensive, and that the decisions which are made are in too many instances dependent upon the skill or oratory, or popularity, of the lawyers, and too little dependent on the merits of the case.

I believe that anyone who will take the trouble to look into the background and the history of our courts and our judicial system, will realize that criticisms such as I have just mentioned are, at most, only partially justified. Most people do not realize that the judiciary of English-speaking countries has been designed for hundreds of years primarily for the protection of our most precious freedoms and rights. Most people are too quick to say that since everything else in society is changing and this is a time of specialization and efficiency, our courts are to be criticized because they have changed but little and, thus, have not kept pace with a fast-moving world. What these people do not realize sufficiently well is that however fast our techniques, machinery, et cetera, may

Photo by Miles Hughey

The Governor congratulates Benjamin F. Swalin, conductor of the North Carolina Symphony Orchestra (*left*), and Mrs. Swalin (*center*) following a concert given by the orchestra before the General Assembly, February 15, 1955.

Hugh Haynie in Greensboro News, March 4, 1955

"Sir Luther the Lion-Heart" fights a proposed sales tax on necessities.

change, human nature has changed little, if any, and our courts have been and are designed to deal with human nature and the problems that grow out of its imperfections. The average man does not stop to think that the basic philosophy of our judicial system is that it is better that many guilty persons go free than it is that one innocent one be convicted. And so I think it can honestly be said that a great deal of this criticism that we hear directed at our courts is unthinking and unjustified. Nevertheless, this does not fully explain the dissatisfaction with the courts which has become recognized even by the bench and the bar.

In reading the headlines reporting the activities of the recent convention of the North Carolina Bar Association held in Asheville, I noticed with interest that much of the program seemed to be devoted to speeches and remarks concerned with the development of administrative tribunals and procedures of arbitration. Evidently, the bar itself recognizes these instrumentalities as very real symbols of the reluctance or inability of the courts in some respects to keep pace with the demands of an ever more complicated and changing society. The administrative tribunal and the arbitration panel, where oftentimes issues are decided by laymen and cases are pleaded by laymen, are simply the outgrowth of the demand on the part of the people for some method of settling their disputes expeditiously and without great cost. As Judge John J. Parker is reported to have said to the Bar Association, "In every case where a man puts his name to a contract with a compulsory arbitration provision, he indicates that he has more faith in a lay tribunal than he has in the courts." He added: "Lawyers have got to introduce efficiency into the administration of justice, if the trend is to be stopped."

I hope that the Bar Association members, in discussing these devices, did so with an eye towards self-analysis as well as towards self-preservation. Believe me, only by self-analysis and correction can the courts and the bar hope to hold the respect and confidence of our people and, as you know, it is of fundamental importance to a free society that the courts and the bar do hold this respect and confidence.

I, for one, believe that you can do it by installing better procedures, by de-emphasizing unnecessary technicalities, by refusing to put up with dilatory tactics, causing cases to remain on dockets

for months and sometimes years, and by always keeping in mind the fact that the State of North Carolina is an interested party in every lawsuit and its interest demands expeditious settlement of every case.

I also believe that an improved system of public relations, in which you inform the public that many of your procedures are absolutely necessary in the interest of the protection of human freedoms, will do much to help the people to understand and appreciate the courts. Furthermore, it would help if the public understood that oftentimes when judges close a term of court during the middle of the week, it is the result of unexpected circumstances which are the fault of no one. For example, you all know of instances in which several days on the court calendar set weeks ahead have been allocated for the trial of a particular suit, and then, for some reason, the suit will be settled in one or two days. This, of course, means that there are extra days for which nothing has been scheduled and of course means that the judge must close the term in the middle of the week. People who do not understand this are quick to criticize and say that the judge has refused to work a full week. Another thing that would help the people to appreciate the nature of the court's work would be an understanding of the extent to which judges must devote time to duties discharged in chambers, such as the signing of orders, et cetera. If all of these factors could be explained to the people, it is my opinion that they would not be nearly so quick to criticize the courts. Of course, there may be a few judges who do, without cause, refuse to work as much as they should, but these are not representative of our judiciary. However, their conduct reflects on the entire bench.

The enactment of the legislation which created the new districts and added new judges is but a step toward what must be done to improve the administration of our judicial system. A few weeks ago I requested the president of the North Carolina Bar Association to appoint a special study committee to make recommendations to the governor and the chief justice as the methods for further improvements in the administration of the Superior Court system. I am delighted that that committee has been appointed and I would like to give you the names of the members as they have been furnished us by the president of the association.

J. Spencer Bell, an attorney of Charlotte and a past president of the Bar Association, has been named chairman of the committee. Other members—all attorneys—are:

Joel B. Adams of Asheville
David Clark of Lincolnton
Shearon Harris of Albemarle
Francis J. Heazel of Asheville
Howard Hubbard of Clinton
Thomas H. Leath of Rockingham
Wallace Murchison of Wilmington
William B. McGuire, Jr., of Charlotte
James M. Poyner of Raleigh
John C. Rodman of Washington
Beverly S. Royster, Jr., of Oxford
William L. Thorpe of Rocky Mount
William F. Womble of Winston-Salem

I know this committee will be most helpful to the chief justice and to the legislature in helping you deal with problems of court administration. As you know, the General Assembly passed the Redistricting Act and authorized the appointment of four special judges because it was thought that this was necessary in order that court dockets could be brought up to date and that administration of justice could be had without delay, as is required by our constitution. I think it is most important that all of you connected with the judiciary should keep faith with the General Assembly and with the people, by seeing that in the immediate future these dockets are brought up to date and that, henceforth, cases will be heard and decided speedily and efficiently. If you do not do this, you must not be surprised if the General Assembly takes a dim view of any further proposals on your part, or if you get further criticism from the people. It is imperative that by the time the General Assembly comes back in session, we shall be able to tell them that court dockets are up to date and are being kept up to date. It is your responsibility, as judges, to prevent lawyers who are so inclined from allowing the dockets to become cluttered up and cases to become bogged down.

I know that you have a chief justice who will do everything in his power to help you accomplish this improvement in court administration. He is a wonderful person whose lifelong ambition,

I am told, is to see our courts functioning in a way in which you and the people of this state can be proud. I know that we have as fine a group of trial judges as any state could have, and that you too will want a smoothly working Superior Court system. I assure you and the chief justice of my utmost cooperation in your joint efforts to accomplish this. Working together, I don't see how you can miss.

I hope and believe that this getting together to welcome the new members to your group will get you off on a good start toward accomplishing what the legislature, the governor, the chief justice and the people are expecting of you. Thank you.

REMARKS AT FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION

BELHAVEN
July 4, 1955

[According to his own statement (p. 182), this was the first Fourth of July speech ever made by Governor Hodges. It was delivered at the Belhaven Community Center in Beaufort County after a parade led by the Governor and an outdoor fish fry attended by an estimated 8,000 people.]

Thank you for this opportunity to participate in your Fourth of July Celebration here at Belhaven. I appreciate this opportunity to visit with you in historic Beaufort County, whose fine citizens down through the years have played such an active part in the growth and progress of North Carolina. In the beginning of our state, this area now encompassed by Beaufort County was part of the heartland of the colony and later of the state. It has contributed many great men to North Carolina and to the nation. The Honorable Lindsay Warren is one of the outstanding citizens of the whole country. On Saturday, June 25, it was my sad duty to attend the funeral in this county of the Honorable Harry McMullan, beloved attorney general of North Carolina whose passing we all mourn. Harry McMullan was typical of the public spirited, honest, and able public servants and state leaders whose roots began in this section of North Carolina.

I commend Dr. W. T. Ralph, the mayor, and the Belhaven Chamber of Commerce for having a public celebration of the Fourth of July. This is a truly historic and monumental date in the history of our nation and our state and it deserves the atten-

tion of every citizen. To understand fully the importance of the Fourth of July and the Declaration of Independence, we must look back at the turbulent period in our history when this great document was adopted and proclaimed to the world. By 1775, the growing differences between the American colonies and the British Crown had become so serious that there was a growing sentiment for independence and constitutional self-government among the colonies. This sentiment was probably stirring in the minds of bold and forthright individuals long before it was ever voiced by the political leaders in the colonies. I have often said that our politicians are usually way behind the real thinking of the people.

At local meetings held in the various counties, to elect delegates to the Provincial Congress, candidates were required to take a firm stand for the constitutional rights of the colonies. At that time, however, political sentiment had not reached the point where there was a complete break in the allegiance to the King. The efforts and utterances then made were based upon the contention that in return for allegiance the British monarch owed protection to the people and that if either the people or the King violated the "Civil Compact" between them the other would be released from all obligations to maintain it.

In early 1775, the British Parliament presented an address to the King declaring the colonies in rebellion and assured the King of their determination to support him if his efforts to suppress this rebellion. The King returned his thanks for their loyal support and called for an increase in land and naval forces to be used against the colonies, if necessary. A few months later it was learned that the British were hiring Hessians for service against the Americans.

Relations between the two countries continued to deteriorate. Colonists loyal to the King, and there were many of them, lost more ground when the King proclaimed in October, 1775, that Americans were out of his protection and demanded his armies and navies to levy war against the colonies. Our three delegates to the Continental Congress, William Hooper, John Penn, and Joseph Hewes, spoke out strongly for a fight to the finish. The battle at Moores Creek Bridge and the defeat of the Loyalists

gave further impetus to the move toward independence and self-government.

In April, 1776, the Fourth Provincial Congress of North Carolina met at Halifax, and "Independence seems to be the word," wrote General Robert Howe at that time. In answer to the public desire that North Carolina give formal and public expression to these sentiments, the Provincial Congress named a committee and on April 12, unanimously adopted the famous Halifax Resolves which stated, in part, that "the delegates for this colony in the Continental Congress be empowered to concur with the delegates of other colonies in declaring independency, and forming foreign alliances, reserving to this colony the sole and exclusive right of forming a constitution and laws for this colony." Thus, North Carolina struck out in favor of independence when the colonies from New England to Virginia were not yet ready to move. Our historians tell us that resolute action on the part of our colonial convention had a profound effect upon the Continental Congress which was then in session at Philadelphia.

A copy of the resolution was immediately dispatched to Joseph Hewes at Philadelphia to be laid before the Congress. On May 15, Virginia followed North Carolina's lead and instructed the Virginia delegates actually to propose independence rather than just emplower her delegates to concur with other colonies in declaring independence. Thus it was that Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, and not Joseph Hewes of North Carolina, won the distinction in the Continental Congress of moving "that these United States are and of a right ought to be free and independent states." While Lee's motion was made on June 7, actually no vote was taken until July 1. Then followed a series of lively debates before the actual declaration was approved on July 2 and the final draft laid before the Congress on *July 4* and formally adopted.

The declaration proclaimed to the world our reasons for declaring independence. In this great document of and by free men, our colonies laid before the world the causes which made it necessary to separate from Great Britain. In this document, the colonies recited the bad record of the British Crown and indicted him for deliberate and evil intention. These grievances, of course, were against kings in general and presented a

theory of government and a general political philosophy upon which the case of the colonies could rest. This was a bold and brave act for a small group of men representing a divergent group of colonies which were far from being completely united to a common cause. Yet under these trying circumstances, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston drafted this immortal document in language which will live forever.

The welcome news that the Continental Congress had adopted a Declaration of Independence did not reach our leaders at Halifax until July 22. There was great rejoicing because our people were no longer rebellious subjects in arms against their sovereign but were now free people in a struggle for constitutional self-government. The North Carolina Council of Safety ordered the Declaration proclaimed in the most public manner. It adopted a resolution requiring the people to take a loyalty oath in which they were to declare that "they do absolutely believe" in independence, recognize no English authority, and promise to obey the Continental Congress.

At a meeting in Halifax on August 1, the Declaration was officially proclaimed to the state and there was a tremendous crowd present to hear the Declaration read. It was not until 1778 that Congress gave official recognition to the day, and the first celebration in North Carolina under this authorization was held at New Bern the same year. Governor Martin of North Carolina issued a proclamation in 1783 and joined with the legislature in declaring the *Fourth of July* as an anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence and as a day of solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God.

Since those early years, the Fourth of July has been a great and widely observed patriotic holiday. It has been observed, in some fashion, in every city, town, and hamlet throughout our nation. By mid-nineteenth century, the orations of Fourth of July speakers had become so hackneyed and timeworn that one orator, the Rev. Mr. Moore of Virginia, had this to say:

> The situation of a Fourth of July orator now is like that of a man at the third table of a public dinner, who has left to him little more than scraps and empty dishes. All the rhetoric and logic of the occasion have been used up, and there is really not a respectable metaphor left.

> The American Eagle—a very respectable bird in its way—has been so plucked and handled that it has become as tame as a barnyard fowl. The British Lion has been so belabored and becudgeled by an indignant eloquence that he roars as gently as a suckling dove. The Stars and Stripes have been so vehemently flourished above admiring crowds of patriotic citizens that there is hardly a rhetorical shred left of them, and even that is somewhat the worse for handling.

Until today, I have refused through the years to make a "Fourth" speech!

Despite the passage of years, the significance of July Fourth remains unchanged because America today still stands for the principles which were expressed so clearly by our forefathers in the Declaration of Independence. We have come a long way from a group of backwoods colonies to a world leader in an atomic and hydrogen era. The Fourth of July, however, reminds us that nations may grow and prosper and world conditions may change but the principles of freedom, justice, and self-government can and must go on forever.

Since 1900 America has come of age at such an unbelievable pace that it is difficult to conceive. In 1898, my own birth year, we won our war with Spain and freed Cuba. More important, we became of age then for the first time in international affairs. Later we made international history in our "Open Door" policy in China. As we came into World War I, we flexed our muscles as a rising giant but did not know our real strength then. We returned to what a U. S. President called "normalcy" instead of courageously assuming leadership. We went out for money and got it—then lost it in the 1929 crash and the depression that followed.

America grew in industrial strength in the 1930's and I feel we also grew in moral strength; and we had another glorious victory in World War II—preserving for ourselves and our children our independence and freedom we think we love and respect. I sometimes wonder how much we value what our forefathers left us in tradition and precept—in discipline and dignity. And I wonder how much we will leave to our children that will carry them through the difficulties and problems yet ahead.

These are questions we all should answer. Do we practice thrift and honesty? Do we have courage and vision? Are we willing to sacrifice—can we take it? Communities like this, states

like ours, do not just happen. They have to be built. You who live in these communities have a responsibility to make and keep them attractive and a good place to live. You may be surprised to know how little things, such as litter on the highways, mean so much in a traveler's opinion of a community or of a state. I was embarrassed the other day to hear from a tourist about how our littered highways compared with other states through which he traveled.

Let us be good citizens and good parents. Let us take part in our government in all levels and teach our children to do likewise. Let us build in our state and in our towns a spirit of service and of courage. Let us show the world that here in eastern North Carolina we will be aggressive, full of imagination and that we have the ability to build in this part of the world a wonderful place in which to live, work, and play under the guidance of God, who has been so good to all of us. Thank you.

REMARKS BEFORE LINCOLN COUNTY KIWANIS AND FARMERS CLUBS

LINCOLNTON
July 19, 1955

[Dr. Beverly Lake, a member of the attorney-general's staff, but speaking as a private citizen or at least attempting to do so, had advised communities to close their schools rather than submit to the U. S. Supreme Court's decision on segregation. Lake was thus giving advice which none of his superiors had given and was going beyond the position which had been taken at this time by the Governor, the Attorney-General, and the Advisory Committee on Education, which had been set up to deal with the matter; and there were indications that the Governor and the Attorney-General were not pleased with Lake's statement. At this juncture the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People overplayed its hand by requesting that the Governor remove Lake from office. The Governor's reaction to the NAACP's request was forcefully stated in this excerpt from a speech he made before two civic groups at Lincolnton.]

Within the past few weeks many ideas and suggestions have been proposed as to how the state can best deal with the problems growing out of the Supreme Court's decision on segregation. I have devoted a great deal of time and study to these ideas and so has the Advisory Committee on Education created by the

1955 General Assembly for the express purpose of considering this sort of thing and for advising the governor, the attorney general, the State Board of Education and local school boards on how they may best meet these perplexing issues. This is the committee headed by the Honorable Thomas J. Pearsall of Rocky Mount.

Sometime ago I made an address to the people in which I reviewed the May 31 decision with considerable concern but at the same time, I pointed to the fact that the decision was not technically binding on North Carolina, and that it appeared that it would be some time before the full effect could be determined. I also observed that the decision did not require any state to mix races in the schools. I might add that a statement recently made by Federal Judge John J. Parker during the hearings in South Carolina confirms this analysis.

Since the date of the last decision of the Supreme Court, the Advisory Committee on Education has moved as fast as its members thought conditions would permit. Within the past two weeks the committee recommended that all local school boards appoint study committees and that they continue to operate the schools on the same basis of enrollment as was used during the past year. I joined in both of these recommendations. During the last week Dr. Beverly Lake of the attorney general's staff has made the suggestion in a public speech that preparation be made for the operation of schools by private corporations. He spoke, of course, as a private citizen and not in an official capacity. Dr. Lake, as you know, has been the state's principal lawyer in affairs having to do with segregation and has, with the fine aid of other members of the attorney general's staff, done an excellent job in his task.

Since the first segregation decision was handed down in May, 1954, other Southern states have been considering and discussing the possibility of operating schools through private corporations leasing state-owned buildings, although it has not been previously suggested for North Carolina. Proposals of this kind assume the abandonment of our public school system, and even if they have legal validity—a matter about which I am informed there is considerable difference of opinion—I do not believe we are yet at a point where we must seriously consider such pro-

posals. The abandonment of our public school system is a course of action which is and has always been available as *a last resort* if it should be decided that that is a proper step to take.

It has been our hope, that is, the hope of the leaders of the General Assembly, the leaders in the field of education, and our state officials, including those gallant men who have gone before us, William B. Umstead and Harry McMullan, that a way could be found to preserve our public schools within our Southern tradition. Our school system is the product of the work, the hopes, and the dreams of several generations of devoted North Carolinians; it represents an investment of over $400,000,000; it touches the lives of approximately 30,000 school teachers and around 1,000,000 school children. We have, therefore, in North Carolina proceeded with caution because, after all, there is so much at stake. We welcome and encourage suggestions and recommendations from all who are interested, hoping and praying that out of this free discussion and study we can evolve a policy that will provide a solution satisfactory to the thinking of our people.

As you know, the NAACP recently requested me to use my official position to remove Dr. Lake from office for having expressed some views with which they disagree. I believe most of you are familiar with my answer to this request.

As long as I am governor of North Carolina, I do not propose to be forced around by pressure groups. Such authority as is vested in the chief executive shall be independently exercised by me in the light of what I believe to be right and just, and with the benefit of the best advice and counsel I can obtain. I will probably make mistakes, but these mistakes will be honest mistakes and my own; they will not be errors into which I have been pushed by extremists.

We in North Carolina have remained calm and restrained during this extremely difficult period, and I believe the explanation of this calmness lies in the fact that we have approached our problems not as two races, antagonistic to each other, but as one citizenry determined to do what is best for both races. If we can keep this attitude we will come through this situation with our public school system intact. It is my intention to expend every effort I am capable of toward seeing that this happens.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOUTHERN GARMENT MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
July 19, 1955

[A characteristic feature of Governor Hodges' administration was the facility with which, by using airplanes, he was able to appear and speak at widely separated points on the same day. Following his remarks at Lincolnton on July 19 (pp. 183-185), he flew to Memphis, Tennessee, and later that day addressed a meeting of the Southern Garment Manufacturers Association. In this speech, the substance of which he was to repeat on several occasions he outlined his conception of what a state should expect of a new industry locating within its borders and what such an industry should expect from the state. His remarks on the tariff question reflected the attitude of North Carolina's two billion dollar textile industry toward a lowering of U. S. duties on Japanese cotton goods which was scheduled to take place about this time.]

I welcome this opportunity to participate in this splendid meeting of the Southern Garment Manufacturers here in Memphis. You represent an important segment of our industrial economy, and I want to commend you for what you have accomplished here in the South and in my good State of North Carolina. During the past fifteen years, garment manufacturing has developed at a phenomenal rate in the South. I understand the number of establishments producing apparel in the fifteen Southern states has risen from 1,336 to over 3,000, and that these plants employ approximately 285,000 people as against a work-force of 120,000 in 1939. At the same time, the annual value of garments made in Southern apparel plants skyrocketed from less than $400,000,000 in 1939 to over $1,900,000,000 in 1953. This increase of 395 per cent compares with a gain of only 190.5 per cent in apparel output for the rest of the country.

As a Southern governor, I want to say that we are just as proud of your accomplishments and this outstanding growth and progress as you are. While North Carolina does not lead the South in garment manufacturing, we are immensely pleased with the steady growth of the apparel industry in our own state, and I am happy to report that about half of our 100 counties now have some apparel manufacturing. We have about 200 apparel plants, employing nearly 20,000 workers, with an annual output of around

$124,000,000 in goods. Most of these new plants are locating in our small rural communities and I am delighted to see this trend. I shall have more to say about this later.

As a man who spent thirty years of his life in the textile business, I know from firsthand experience the importance of the textile industry in the economy of the South. In more recent years the swift movement of textile manufacturing into the South has been one of the great economic trends of our nation's history. Since the turn of the century, however, textile manufacturing has been the pioneer industrial undertaking which strengthened and undergirded our dominant agricultural economy of the South. We who live in the South and have worked in the textile industry can fully appreciate the great contribution that the textile industry has made to our great Southland. For example, in North Carolina, the value of textile products increased from $28,300,000 in 1900 to $2,400,000,000 in 1954.

The amazing growth of the chemical industry, its synthetic fibers, and the tremendous growth of textile manufacturing from these new fibers is another great story in itself. The swing to man-made fibers throughout the South has made textile history, and many of the big fiber producers have located plants in the South also. In more recent years, the wool industry has joined the parade to the South and we are pleased and proud to have woolen and worsted industries, as well as dying and finishing industries for woolens and worsteds, located in North Carolina and in other Southern states. As we all search for better fabrics for better garments, the search seems to lead more and more towards blends which include both natural and man-made fibers. King Cotton, however, still reigns!

North Carolina is a state of small places—523 of them, of which 416 communities have less than 2,500 population. Only one city, Charlotte, exceeds 100,000. North Carolina is also a state of small farms—288,000, which gives us more farms than any other state in the nation. Our population of 4,100,000 is almost equally distributed among urban, rural non-farm, and rural farm. This distribution of our population away from congested centers, yet served by a fine network of state highways and rural electric and telephone systems, permits industry to locate away from congestion and at the same time draw upon a large and industrious

labor supply that is mostly rural. They are stable people who generally live on farms or in the country where they can gather some extra income and additional independence from some type of farming. They live pleasantly and comfortably, too, for over 96 per cent of our farm homes are electrified.

These general characteristics which I have mentioned for North Carolina also can be found in most of the Southeastern states. The availability for industrial locations in these small communities and the availability of stable, hard-working employees is a great attraction to the apparel industry as well as most other American industries, and I want you to know that we in state government fully understand and appreciate what a new industry means to any one of our communities. For example, when an industry employing 150 people begins operations in any community it actually can mean:

An annual payroll of $350,000
A plant investment of $300,000
A 10-room schoolhouse
An outlay of $120,000 annually for transportation
An annual expenditure in trade of $2,000,000
A dozen stores
A taxable valuation of over $1,000,000
The support of 1500 people
The sale and service of 400 cars
Yearly markets for $800,000 in farm products

These facts have become increasingly well-known among community leaders, governmental officials, and local businessmen throughout the South. We now have the greatest competition for new industries that can be found anywhere as states, sections, counties, and communities strive to attract manufacturing payrolls. Notable gains have been made and a recent *Wall Street Journal* survey revealed that factory employment in seven Southern states was up 17 per cent since 1946, as compared with a nation-wide gain of 10 per cent. Meanwhile, manufacturing payrolls in the Southeast accounted for about 18 per cent of all income payments in 1954, as compared with 17 per cent in 1950 and 15 per cent in pre-war 1940. This survey reported that manufacturing employment in most Southeastern states since 1946 has increased more rapidly that the national average.

New industry, seeking a new location for a specific manufacturing project sometimes has its problems in finding what it wants throughout this great region. These are some basic factors, however, which all industry takes into consideration and must be understood by all concerned. What is the attitude of the community regarding new industries? Is there sufficient available surplus labor to meet requirements? Is there ample power, good local transportation facilities, an airport not too far away, and what is the story on taxes—municipal, county, state? Then there are area wage rates, the attitude of labor generally in the area, and the productivity and cost of training labor. Industry must consider other factors such as nearness to raw materials and nearness to markets, as well as construction costs and the availability of adequate water supplies. From the standpoint of good employees and good employee relations, every good industry is interested in adequate hospital and medical facilities, adequate public school facilities, housing, climate, the appearance of a community, et cetera. Above all, in my opinion, is "attitude."

In North Carolina our Department of Conservation and Development is working hard with local and regional groups to show them what industry needs and must have to move to North Carolina. The response to our efforts has been most helpful. Believe me, our communities want new industry and are willing to do anything within reason to attract reputable industries who want to settle down and pay their fair share of the cost of government and governmental services. They do not want the "fly-by-night" or those who expect a "handout." They want to attract and keep the type of industry which expects to pay its reasonable part in the financing of progressive policies that contribute to the health and happiness of their employees and which are a part of a good social climate which any industry requires for successful operation.

As modern businessmen and industrialists, you realize that good citizenship is good business. We can all make our future brighter if we do our share in the work and the planning that goes into making it possible. I urge you to do more than just pay your fair share of taxes. Contribute some of your own personal time and talents to whatever may interest you most—whether it's a local community project, something on the county level, or something involving the state or nation. I can tell you from firsthand

experience that each state government desperately needs the active support and active participation of men like yourselves who would be willing to serve your state voluntarily in the best interest of all the people. If you are not willing to do your share, you must be ready to accept the consequences.

We have been fortunate in North Carolina to have sound and progressive government which has served our citizens well during the past half century. Through strong executive leadership and outstanding patriotic, devoted service by members of our General Assemblies during the years, our state government has managed to keep step with the times and needs of our people. There remains plenty to be done, but the outlook is most encouraging.

We have been described as a conservative-progressive state operating squarely in the middle of the fiscal road. A balanced budget is, of course, the cornerstone of our financial policy. We are conservative in that we are unwilling to make spending commitments unless and until we feel that the expenditure is really justified, and until we know just where the money is to come from. We are progressive in that we are continually planning for the future, gearing our policies to the changing spirit of the times. Since the turn of the century, we have not hesitated to invest in schools, in roads, in port terminals, in health centers and hospitals, and in institutions of higher learning. We have not forgotten the unfortunate and the handicapped, in all the rush of material progress. There has been vast improvement in our institutions for mental care. In short, we sincerely believe that our human, as well as our material assets, are entirely worthy of conservation and development.

In the 1955 General Assembly it became necessary for the first time in nearly a quarter of a century for our legislature to amend materially our basic Revenue Act. Much of the $20,000,000 needed was provided by closing loopholes in the Revenue Act and leveling out inequities which had existed for some time. The basic need for new revenues, of course, came from the fact that our growing and expanding state was operating from a twenty-year old Revenue Act which had not been amended to meet changing conditions.

When you discuss the problem of growing governmental costs and the need for new taxes, everybody will agree that we should

Photo by Gus Martin

Governor Hodges attends a clambake at the S & W Cafeteria in Raleigh, March 16, 1955. The event was sponsored by the State Department of Conservation and Development as a means of promoting consumption of North Carolina seafood. Seated (*left to right*): Mrs. Hodges, Elmer Willis, Governor Hodges, and Ben E. Douglas, director of the Department of Conservation and Development.

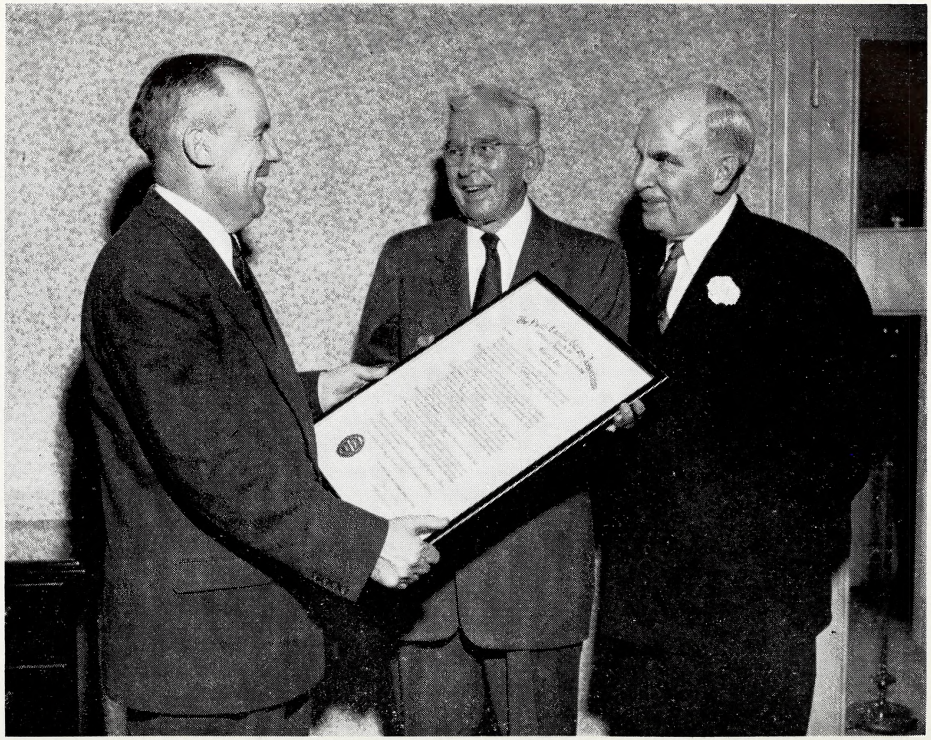


Photo by Burnie Batchelor

Governor Hodges looks on as L. Y. Ballentine (*left*) presents an award to Clarence Poe (*center*) following the Governor's address before the North Carolina Citizens Association, March 23, 1955.

have more taxpayers rather than increase the tax on the present taxpayers. This brings up the question of per capita income, as well as the growth and development of small industries which may develop into the big business of the future. This growth aspect in North Carolina intrigues me because I honestly believe that our future is virtually unlimited. During the past months I have made a modest effort trying to get some estimates of what is ahead in our state in many phases of its economy and life. I have asked people from all types of businesses, industry, agriculture, and the professions what they think is ahead during the next ten or twenty years. Everything they tell me points to tremendous growth and development. There are many problems and obstacles, of course, including this matter of low per capita income, as well as increased cost of government—both local and state—and a rapidly growing population with continued demands for additional state services.

We are very conservative in many of our Southern legislatures in matters of labor and wages. When minimum wage legislation was brought before our North Carolina General Assembly this year, it had rough sledding. This shouldn't be so. We must be more liberal and understanding in our thinking and actions on this subject. Just remember that it will cost you and me more in taxes if we fail to get the money through better income for our people. This of course is not the only answer because we need more diversified industries in all parts of our state. It means more research to do better what we are now doing and to do new things. We have created in North Carolina a Research Triangle Committee, composed of some outstanding people who are striving to develop great research centers in the geographical area bounded by North Carolina State College at Raleigh, Duke University at Durham, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Recently I was fortunate enough to obtain a substantial gift from a private donor to conduct an experiment in area development in North Carolina. We have obtained the services of the Honorable Capus Waynick of High Point, a former ambassador and pioneer in Point Four activities, in heading up this experimental program.

We are striving to find ways and means to process and market more of our production and our raw materials which are now

being wasted or exported to other states for processing. We greatly need, also, in the whole of North Carolina a larger percentage of our talented young men who have been going out of the state to what appeared to be greener pastures. It is my feeling that we must stand our ground and build up our state through what we call "Operation Bootstrap." The frontier of 1955 is at our doorstep. We must inspire younger citizens with a vision of the dramatic possibilities at home which will hold them and eventually result in great economic improvement. After all, the success of any movement to build up small industries in a state must depend largely on the inspiration of every ambitious young citizen to look about him and consider what commodity he can make in his community that will have a profitable market. In other words, the prime objective of our Small Industries Project is to spread this inspiration.

At the same time, I proposed to the 1955 General Assembly the formation of a Development Credit Corporation as a facility for the promotion of small industry in North Carolina. The corporation was fashioned on the same lines as those specified in enabling statutes already adopted by all the New England states and recently recommended by Governor Harriman of New York State. These states, witnessing the dwindling of some industry into the force of Southern competition, have resorted to this device to encourage and help new industries to rise. I am pleased to report that the General Assembly enacted this legislation and Mr. Waynick is hard at work in the promotion and development of the corporation.

It is being set up as a private corporation, without state aid, and there will be no pledging of state money or credit. The corporation will operate strictly on a business basis, and all it will add to our economic equipment will be a source of possible long term credit for an approved small business venture. You all know how difficult it is for many small businesses and small industries to get that first loan. We have high hopes in North Carolina that this will be an effective aid to more and better small industries. Many of you, as you expand to other locations or start new plants, may in some way benefit from this development.

There is another subject which I would like to mention briefly which touches the lives and economic welfare of all of us. The

drastic reduction in U. S. cotton textile tariff rates recently made for the benefit of Japan poses a serious threat to our entire textile industry in the South.

In North Carolina almost half a million people are at work in manufacturing industries—every other one of them in a textile mill. In addition, there are about 20,000 people employed in the state's rapidly growing apparel industry. Even after the sharp curtailment of cotton acreage ordered by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, 475,000 acres of North Carolina farmland are growing cotton this summer.

The North Carolina cotton crop will yield more than $100,000,000, income this fall; the textile mills will pay out a half billion dollars in wages to the state's citizens this year and the apparel plants will add another $40,000,000 to the stream of purchasing power in the hands of the people—the lifeblood of retail trade and the source of the state government's tax revenues.

All of this, as well as the more than $2,000,000,000 invested in the textile and apparel industries of the state, is now threatened. The same comparative figures could be used for other Southern states.

On September 10, drastic tariff cuts on cotton cloth, towels, rugs, sheets, and other cotton textile products are planned to go into effect. A flood of imports from Japan will surely result. Indeed, those imports are already rising rapidly.

Wage rates in Japan are about one-tenth what they are in the average Southern state. In many instances the reduction in tariff amounts to much more than the U. S. profit on the item. Every yard of cloth and every shirt made in Japan for the American market means less work and income in the South where the range of our textile production is so wide and so extensive. Furthermore, because U. S. mills use practically 100 per cent American-grown cotton while foreign mills buy two-thirds of their cotton from Mexico, Brazil, and elsewhere outside the United States, each such yard of cloth and each such shirt represents a loss for our cotton farmer.

Through the initiative and efforts of your president, Mr. F. D. Mehan, it was suggested that I appoint a commission for the purpose of studying and reporting the effect of low tariffs on the economy of our state. Such a commission would be a fact-finding

body, with the primary purpose of reporting to our people the actual damage resulting from low tariffs as well as the facts involved in the extent of this injury. Frankly, the idea appealed to me and I discussed it with others in industry and government who also saw merit in the idea. Therefore, I have appointed the director of the Department of Conservation and Development, the commissioner of agriculture, and the commissioner of labor to act as a three-man commission to undertake this study of the effect on our state economy. I believe this commission will afford a way to bring labor, industry, and agriculture together for a united stand. I believe it will serve a useful means of educating the public and our representatives, both state and national, through factual information. It is hoped that if enough states appoint such commissions, there is a possibility that those in Washington with the tremendous responsibility for lowering the tariffs will realize the gravity of any decision they will make involving the South. I am pleased to report that the group is already hard at work in gathering facts and figures on the tariff problem. I met the group last Tuesday in my office and the meetings are being continued.

I want to commend Mr. Mehan and the others who suggested such a positive and reasonable approach to a difficult problem. I am a great believer in the theory that if the people are given the facts, they will come up with the right decisions.

In conclusion, may I say that we can and will overcome all of the obstacles which face us if we are willing to work together for what is best and right for our state and our nation. We can and will build a better community, a better county, a better state, and a better nation if we will base our actions on fundamental principles which guided our forefathers in the establish ment of this great nation. At the same time, we must not let the material welfare of our nation come before our human and spiritual welfare. I know that each of you will do your share in meeting the challenge of the future. Thank you.

ADDRESS AT THE BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, JERSEY BAPTIST CHURCH

DAVIDSON COUNTY
August 4, 1955

[Governor Hodges was the principal speaker at this two-hundredth anniversary of Jersey Baptist Church in Cotton Grove Township, Davidson County. His remarks on the subject of rural people and Christian citizenship were typical of the contents of a number of speeches which he was called upon to make on similar occasions.]

Thank you for this opportunity to participate in this historic observance of the 200th Anniversary of the Jersey Baptist Church, here in Cotton Grove Township of Davidson County. It is a wonderful thing to see this old mother church still functioning and flourishing 200 years after it was founded by your pious and hard-working forefathers. I know that you who are the members today fully appreciate the great heritage which you have inherited as a member of this congregation. You must never forget the spiritual struggles of this rural congregation in years past, as the pastors and members of past congregations met the challenges of their day.

I have read with great interest some of the accounts which have been published recently about the beginning of Jersey Church. What a thrill it is to realize that in 1755, preaching and services were being held here in Jersey Church, not this present structure, of course, but at this location and in the earlier structure. This reaches far back to the colonial days of North Carolina when at least 95 per cent of its early settlers were engaged in agricultural or related industries. This was a natural development favored by the abundance, fertility, and cheapness of land. While land was plentiful and easy to obtain, the colonial government followed the general policy of restricting the size of grants, with the result that North Carolina came to be a "colony of small landowners" who lived on and cultivated their own soil. It has often been pointed out that this factor was important in the lack of so-called plantation aristocracy which developed in neighboring colonies of Virginia and South Carolina.

During those early years when Jersey Church was being established, a North Carolina farmer was a self-sufficient and versatile

man. He was a combination farmer, engineer, hunter and trapper, carpenter, mechanic and trader. The colonial household supplied itself with practically all foodstuffs—bread, dairy products, pork and beef, and many other articles for the table. Cloth making was a major household industry and almost every home had cards, spinning wheels, and looms which coverted wool, flax, and perhaps a small amount of cotton into cloth. Cattle hides were tanned and converted into shoes, breeches, and other items of clothing, and also into harness and other essential articles. The hides of wild animals were made into leggings, caps, and moccasins. Most farmers made their own furniture, farm implements, and household utensils from local materials. Firewood from the forests provided fuel for heating and cooking, and almost every household molded its own candles and made its own soap.

So we see that this was the way of life in the mid-1700's when the Jersey Church was being founded here in what is now known as Davidson County. For the most part, these pioneers were strong, fearless, independent people—simple in taste, democratic in outlook, and strong in their belief in God and their church.

According to our historians, there have been Baptists in North Carolina since 1695. There were a few Baptists among the early settlers who came into Albemarle from Virginia, although there was no organized Baptist congregation until 1727, when the Chowan Church, in Chowan County, was founded. Despite some opposition from the colonial government, Baptist ministers preached and taught throughout many sections of North Carolina until 1752 when they had established sixteen congregations and claimed several hundred members. With strong emphasis upon democratic organization, local autonomy, and religious democracy, the Baptists have grown in number and influence throughout the years, until today they outnumber all denominations in North Carolina. Actually, one tenth of all Baptists in the Southern Baptist Convention are located in North Carolina.

Your denomination has made great contributions to the religious and educational development of North Carolina. I do not have the time to enumerate the outstanding record which Baptists have made throughout North Carolina. However, I would like to point out to you that the primary strength of the Baptist faith has come from churches and congregations just like the

Jersey Church. We here in North Carolina are still primarily an argicultural state, as were our forefathers before us. As you know, about one-third of our people live and work in rural farm areas. Over 19,000,000 of the state's 31,500,000 acres are in farms, of which almost 8,000,000 acres are in crop land.

Like most of you, I was born on a tenant farm just over the line in Virginia, and got my start from farm people and farm environment. My father was a tenant tobacco farmer. My people moved over into Rockingham County while I was a child and I grew up in the textile communities of Leaksville-Spray. So my early working days took me into the cotton mills rather than the fields. I mention this because I want you to know that I value the many blessings which come to those who are closely associated with the soil, from whence come our basic needs. And, further, as governor, I realize the important position which agriculture and its way of life holds in the economy of North Carolina.

I understand that North Carolina is second only to Texas in the number of its churches. Texas has 3,600 churches while North Carolina has 3,160. While we are not as boastful as Texas, we can point with pride that North Carolina has more open country churches than Texas. We actually have 810 more rural churches than Texas. It has been a distressing trend in the United States during the past twenty-five years for many rural churches to close. As a matter of fact, more than 20,000 rural churches have been reported closed or abandoned throughout the nation during this period. Even with the spread of good roads and better transportation, the closing of a country church is a sad event because some of its members, unable or unwilling to drive to a town church or rural church farther away, stop going to church altogether. Traditionally, religion has always had its strongest appeal among our rural people and in our rural areas. Therefore, I know that you are proud of the great progress that has been made by the Rural Church Department of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, in strengthening and improving our rural Baptist churches. Evangelism, worship, Christian education, stewardship, and proper organization are all stressed in this outstanding program. At the same time, pastors and congregations of rural churches are encouraged to make their church a center of community activity. This is splendid because the rural church, as the

only institution in the community directly charged with conserving moral and spiritual values, can make a unique contribution to the progress of your agricultural way of life. It must serve the changing needs of its people in a changing world. At the same time, it will always stand for the unchanging principles of Christianity, exemplifying the importance of replacing selfishness with love, charity, and service to others.

I was assigned the subject of "Rural People and Christian Citizenship." The family has always been the mainspring of rural life and agriculture. It is through the family and the home that our culture and our religious convictions are passed along to our children. Mark Twain once said that "A little of citizenship ought to be taught at the mother's knee and in the nursery. Citizenship is what makes a republic; monarchies can get along without it. What keeps a republic on its legs is good citizenship." This is sound advice because we must teach our children the basic values of life and the principles upon which our government must rest, if we are to survive as a free people and a free nation.

After all, our state and our nation are made up of millions of families. In the family are cradled the cardinal virtues that enable good families to add up to a great nation—standards of conduct, respect for the rights and property of others, loyalty, health, tolerance, cooperation, self-reliance, good breeding, a sense of the fitness of things, and, above all, the guiding principles of Christianity. The continued success of our American way of life must be based upon Christian homes where the interests of man, woman, and child receive equal consideration. Actually, the successful maintenance of a family is one of the greatest acts of good citizenship in itself. Just as democracy starts in the home as an obligation, it ends there as a reward. To the degree that all other duties of citizenship have been fulfilled, your home will be your castle, secure from the threat of confiscation, and those in it safe from the threats of tyranny and fear.

Your church is a great church in membership and in influence. You have many distinguished preachers and distinguished laymen in North Carolina, including Judge Hubert Olive who is here tonight.

May I express the hope and prayer that your ministers and church leaders continually prepare your members for Christian

leadership and active work, not only in the church, but in helping to meet the social, economic, and political problems of our beloved North Carolina. Thank you.

ADDRESS ON STATE-WIDE RADIO-TELEVISION NETWORK

August 8, 1955

[Following the May 31 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on school segregation, the Governor, state officials, legal experts, and legislators discussed for several weeks the question of what position the state should take. It was generally agreed that some way should be found to keep the schools open and that the state should not attempt defiance of the Supreme Court. At the same time, the prospect of integrated schools posed very definite and probably dangerous problems for the state. Governor Hodges hoped to avoid these dangers by inducing the two races to adopt voluntary segregation and so stated his hopes in this address directed to all races. The broadcast originated in the studios of WUNC-TV at North Carolina State College and was carried by sixty radio and ten television stations. Although counselling moderation, the Governor spoke forthrightly to the Negro citizens of the state in predicting the consequences of forced integration of the schools of North Carolina. This portion of the address aroused some public criticism on the part of Negroes, especially Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, and certain Negro leaders in Durham. (See *News and Observer,* August 14, 1955).]

Fellow Citizens:

Tonight I want to discuss with you—the people of North Carolina—that subject which is uppermost in the minds of all of us—our public schools and segregation. North Carolina now stands at the crossroads! Our choice of which road we shall follow will involve all that has been accomplished in the past through the determined efforts of our forefathers to provide us with a good system of public schools; it will also involve the future of our children—and our children's children. Make no mistake here! Let there be no misunderstanding! We hold in our minds and hearts the past, the present, and the future of our beloved state. I urge, therefore, that you consider what I say to you tonight with full realization of the consequences of your decisions.

In order that we can approach our subject in a proper context—that is, with an understanding of what has happened in the

past—I would like to take time to review for you briefly some of the background of education in North Carolina.

Like all the Southern states, North Carolina was dealt a crushing blow by the War Between the States. In the words of a distinguished historian: "North Carolina entered upon the [post war] period with her public assets dissipated, her industries destroyed, her railroads wrecked, her educational institutions closed, her public debt piled up in crushing proportions, and with a political problem that for two generations absorbed those energies that should have been left free to develop economic, social, and intellectual resources of the state." In 1866, the General Assembly closed the doors of the common schools, which had survived the stresses and strains of the war. It succumbed to the fear of poverty, the fear of taxes, and, above all, to the fear of mixed schools for white and Negro children.

The constitution of 1868 required the General Assembly to provide for a system of public schools with a minimum term of four months each year and compulsory attendance for each child between the ages of six and eighteen years up to a total of sixteen months or four years. Schools and their problems became involved in the bitter political struggles of the Reconstruction period and even when home rule was returned to the state in 1877, our people were so poor that they could not adequately support a strong system of public schools. In fact it was with difficulty that our public schools were even kept in operation during this time of unbelievable poverty and hardship.

For example, in 1880 the superintendent of public instruction reported that the average value of a schoolhouse in the state was exactly $47.67. The average monthly pay of white teachers was just $24.11 per month, and for Negro teachers $19.93 per month. With an average term of less than three months, the total annual pay of a white teacher was under $75 and of a Negro teacher, less than $60. I mention these facts to show you our beginnings in the long and bitter battle to have and to hold adequate public education for the children of the state.

As the years passed, some improvement was shown, but the financial panic of 1893 hit our state very hard. Cotton dropped to five cents per pound, and other products of our farms sold at equally low prices. At the turn of the century our people were

still very poor, and we did not have sufficient resources to maintain an adequate system of public schools. Along with our sister Southern states, we ranked at the bottom of the nation.

Then came our great educational governor, Charles B. Aycock. Under his able and dynamic leadership, our state literally lifted itself by its own bootstraps. With Aycock we began a march of progress that has never since been halted.

In his campaign of 1900, Aycock repeatedly championed the cause of universal education. In his message to the General Assembly in 1903, Governor Aycock, who had been the leading figure in the white supremacy campaign in 1900, threw his weight against the division of school taxes by races. In speaking against the proposed division of taxes by races, he said: "The amendment proposed is unjust, unwise and unconstitutional. It would wrong both races, would bring our state into condemnation of a just opinion elsewhere, and would mark us as a people who have turned backward."

Aycock won his battle for universal education—an equal but *separate* education for white and Negro children was on the road to becoming a reality.

Since the time of Aycock, we have never ceased to go forward in public education and today our school system represents an investment of over $400,000,000, and it touches the lives of approximately 30,000 teachers and around 1,000,000 school children.

It is extremely difficult for the average citizen to visualize what our school system means to the state. Our schools are the very backbone of our culture and our economic progress. They have produced a well-balanced and prosperous community.

In 1900, 20 per cent of our white population over ten years of age, and a higher ratio for Negroes, could not read and write. There were only 75,000 North Carolinians employed in industry out of a total population of 2,000,000, and they were earning only $216 annually. There were only thirty public high schools and a total enrollment therein of approximately 2,000 students. Only 200 pupils were graduated from high schools in 1900. In 1950, 73 per cent of our school age population was attending school. In 1947, *only* 2.7 per cent of the total population—white and Negro—fourteen years of age or older was unable to read and write.

I have reviewed the history, growth, and importance of our public school system because these facts are needed for a full understanding of what is involved in the matters we must now consider.

As you know, the public policies of North Carolina with respect to the operation of the schools or any other governmental activity are determined by the General Assembly. During the past session of this body, the laws governing the schools of the state were rewritten and new legislation was enacted which placed the pupil enrollment powers in the hands of local school boards. In order to guard against creating any impression that this rewriting of the school laws and placing the enrollment powers in the local boards was designed to encourage mixing of races, I joined in supporting the introduction of a resolution through which the General Assembly could express the public policy of this state with respect to the question of mixing races in the schools. That resolution was passed unanimously, and I would like now to read it for you:

A JOINT RESOLUTION STATING THE POLICY OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA WITH REFERENCE TO THE MIXING OF THE CHILDREN OF DIFFERENT RACES IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE STATE, AND CREATING AN ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Whereas, Governor William B. Umstead, shortly before his death, appointed a Special Advisory Committee on Education, composed of outstanding citizens of our state of both races, to study the difficult and far-reaching problems presented by the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the question of segregation in the public schools, and our present Governor, Honorable Luther H. Hodges, recommissioned that committee soon after assuming the duties of Governor of North Carolina, and said committee filed its report with the Governor on December 30, 1954, which report stated, among other things, the following:

"The mixing of the races forthwith in the public schools throughout the state cannot be accomplished and should not be attempted. The schools of our state are so intimately related to the customs and feelings of the people of each community that their effective operation is impossible except in conformity and with community attitudes. The com-

mittee feels that the compulsory mixing of the races in our schools, on a state-wide basis and without regard to local conditions and assignment factors other than race, would alienate public support of the schools to such an extent that they could not be operated successfully.";

And whereas, His Excellency, the Governor of North Carolina, has transmitted the report of this special committee to this General Assembly recommending it as the policy for this state to follow;

And whereas, The Attorney General of the State of North Carolina has filed a brief with the Supreme Court of the United States in the pending segregation cases before said Court, which brief states, among other things, the following:

"The people of North Carolina know the value of the public school. They also know the value of a special structure in which two distinct races can live together as separate groups, each proud of its own contribution to that society and recognizing its dependence upon the other group. They are determined, if possible, to educate all of the children of the state. They are also determined to maintain their society as it now exists with separate and distinct racial groups in the North Carolina community.

"The people of North Carolina firmly believe that the record of North Carolina in the field of education demonstrates the practicability of education of separate races in separate schools. They also believe that the achievements of the Negro people of North Carolina demonstrate that such an educational system has not instilled in them any sense of inferiority which handicaps them in their efforts to make lasting and substantial contributions to their state."

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring:

Section 1. That the report of the Governor's Special Advisory Committee on Education and the brief of the Attorney General of North Carolina, filed in the Supreme Court of the United States in the pending segregation cases, are hereby approved as a declaration of the policy of the State of North Carolina with respect to the serious problems in public education created by the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States handed down on May 17, 1954.

Section 2. That the mixing of the races in the public schools within the state cannot be accomplished and if attempted would alienate public support of the schools to such an extent that they could not be operated successfully.

This resolution also created the Advisory Committee on Education for the express purpose of making a continuing study of school problems growing out of the Supreme Court decision and providing advice and counsel to the General Assembly, the governor, the State Board of Education, and county and local school

boards throughout the state. This committee was appointed some weeks ago and is headed by the Honorable Thomas J. Pearsall of Rocky Mount. Its other members are:

Senator Lunsford Crew of Halifax County
Senator William Medford of Haywood County
Representative Cloyd Philpott of Davidson County
Representative Edward Yarborough of Franklin County
Colonel William T. Joyner of Wake County, and
Mr. R. O. Huffman of Burke County

Now we come to the May, 1955, decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in which the Court reaffirmed its May, 1954, decision announcing that henceforth the Constitution of the United States will not permit racial discrimination with respect to the enrollment of pupils in the public school system and added that a prompt and reasonable start must be made toward compliance with the decision.

We did not agree with the decision, and our state made every effort possible to persuade the Court to reach a different conclusion. Under our form of federal government, the Supreme Court by a new interpretation of the United States Constitution, no matter how much we may disagree with this new interpretation, can nullify any conflicting state constitutional provision, state law, or state policy. This is true even though the new interpretation overrules the well-established "separate but equal" doctrine which had previously been declared by this same Court to be the law of the land with respect to public education and upon which our state had relied during its desperate struggle to establish adequate schools for both races. Therefore, the decision of the Supreme Court and the policy of the state as set out by the General Assembly had to be examined to determine if there was any way in which both could remain in effect at the same time. We knew that if they could not, then the General Assembly would have to take action with respect to the continued operation of the public schools.

Probably because there was no definite time limit in the decision and because of the general and unspecific language of the Supreme Court, leaders of our General Assembly publicly expressed the conviction that no special session was necessary. With the advice of the then attorney general, the late Honorable Harry

McMullan, and his staff, I agreed with this conclusion, but at the same time the attorney general's office and I viewed the possible long-range effects of the decision with grave concern. Thereafter, on the night of June 6, I made a report over television and radio in which I discussed some of the serious problems created by the decision, but I also pointed out to the people that the decision did not forbid a dual system of schools in which the children of each race voluntarily attend separate schools and that the Court had never said that any state must set up a single school system, mixing the children of both races.

At the beginning of the hearings held in South Carolina recently, Federal Judge John J. Parker, chief judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit and a native of North Carolina, made a statement in which he pointed out what the United States Supreme Court had decided and what it has not decided in its latest decision. I would like to quote this statement in part:

> It [the Court] has not decided that the federal courts are to take over or regulate the public schools of the states. It has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools or must require them to attend schools or must deprive them of the right of choosing the schools they attend.
>
> What it has decided and all that it has decided is that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains. This, under the decision of the Supreme Court, the state may not do directly or indirectly; but, if the schools which it maintains are open to children of all races, no violation of the Constitution is involved even though the children of the different races voluntarily attend different schools, as they attend different churches.
>
> Nothing in the Constitution or in the decision of the Supreme Court takes away from the people freedom to choose the schools they attend. The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination.

When I made my television and radio report, I also said that many responsible people had freely predicted that considerable time must pass and a number of test cases must be decided before the full effects of the Court's opinion could be known. Some time has now passed and the Virginia and South Carolina test cases, which were already before the Supreme Court, have been decided. Honorable William B. Rodman, our new attorney general, has stated publicly that if all local boards set up study committees to

make thorough studies of the problems created by the Court's decision, he believes that for the current year school operations as in the past will not be interfered with by the courts. Our Advisory Committee on Education has within the last few weeks recommended that all local school boards set up committees to study the problem and that during the 1955-56 school year, the schools continue to operate on the same basis of enrollment as has been used in the past. I joined in these recommendations.

The ultimate effects of the Supreme Court's decision on North Carolina can now be fairly well determined. This decision indirectly informs us that within the next few years our efforts expended with so much sacrifice to provide separate but equal educational opportunities for the races in order that we might maintain the older culture of the white race and encourage the growth of the new and rapidly developing culture of the Negro race are to be undone unless—and this is important—*unless we can, through good will and pride in the integrity of our respective racial cultures and way of life, continue our separate schools voluntarily.*

It is my sincere and abiding hope that we can do this.

Let us look at the situation squarely and directly. Let us realize with full knowledge that if we are not able to succeed in a program of voluntary separate school attendance, the state within the next year or so will be face to face with deciding the issue of whether it shall have some form of integrated public schools or shall abandon its public schools. And let me express something here with all the seriousness of which I am capable: Citizens or organizations that attempt to force us into deciding this issue will, in my opinion, have done North Carolina the greatest disservice ever done it in the 180 years of its existence as a state.

Most of us in North Carolina are proud of our way of life and when I say "most of us" I speak as governor of all the people of the state—Negroes and whites. We are not ashamed of the opportunities that we have labored so hard to provide for both races. The Negro citizens of this state need not, and it is my belief, do not consider themselves second-rate citizens because they go to their own schools, any more than they consider themselves second-rate Christians because they go to their own churches.

I would like, for the next few minutes, to address a few remarks directly to the citizens of North Carolina who are members of the Negro race.

You Negro citizens have every right to be proud of your progress in North Carolina. You and your fathers and mothers before you, in accordance with your economic ability, have taken an admirable part in the struggle for the public schools of the state. Your race has made great contributions to North Carolina, including many, many outstanding leaders in various fields of endeavor. The success of these leaders was accomplished, not over any protests of the white race, but in most cases grew out of the devoted friendship and assistance of white citizens. I doubt that there is one among you who is not personally familiar with numerous instances in which white citizens of your community have extended a helping hand to Negro citizens in furtherance of something the Negro citizens sought to accomplish. Nor has this sort of thing been limited to whites helping Negroes. The Negroes in our state have also made their contributions to members of the white race in things they have tried to do. In other words, in North Carolina the races have lived together in a friendly relationship of mutual helpfulness which has been a source of great pride to all of us and the object of praise from throughout the nation. Our state has thereby moved forward and the Negro race has made the most astounding progress of any race in all history.

In spite of this outstanding record of good race relationships here in North Carolina, we are being made the object of a campaign by an organization which seems determined to destroy our interracial friendship and divide us into camps of racial antagonism. This organization is known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and, apparently is the declared enemy of the principle that the Negro race can take care of its own children as well as can any other race. Although this group avows that the end it seeks is equality, its leaders have obviously convinced themselves that you are not capable of assuming equality. A race which can achieve equality has no need to lose itself in another race. Yet, that is what the NAACP would have you do.

This selfish and militant organization, seeking to promote its own ideas of social conduct, has used every means at its command

to convince you that you cannot develop your own culture within your own race and therefore that you must be ashamed of your color and your history by burying it in the development of the white race. In short, this organization would destroy your identity as a race.

Have any of you ever heard of any real leaders of any race who set out to raise the standards and pride of their race by encouraging its members to lose their identity in complete merger with other races? I do not believe you have. Furthermore, I am convinced that any organization which honestly sought the welfare of your race as a race would not encourage such a course of action. I believe that by virtue of your actions, not only in the past but in the future, you have and will continue to offer convincing proof that you do believe yourselves capable of developing your children within the framework of your own racial culture.

Did you know that here in our state we employ as many Negro teachers as do the seven states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, California, and Indiana all put together? New York State has approximately the same Negro population as North Carolina, namely, about one million Negro residents. Yet North Carolina employs five times as many Negro teachers as does New York. It would seem to me that if the out-of-state leaders of the NAACP really want to promote fair treatment for the Negro race, they might better spend their time correcting discriminations against Negro teachers by some of their own states instead of trying to create ill will and distrust between the races in North Carolina.

Any stigma you may have felt because of laws requiring segregation in our public schools has now been removed by the courts. No right thinking man resents your desire for equality under the law. At the same time, no right thinking man would advise you to destroy the hopes of your race and the white race by superficial and "show-off" actions to demonstrate this equality. Only the person who feels he is inferior must resort to demonstrations to prove that he is not. A person convinced of his own equality, of his own self-respect, of his own race respect, needs no demonstration to bolster his own convictions. Nevertheless, the leaders of the NAACP would urge you to make such demonstrations by refusing to attend schools in which the teaching personnel are

members of your own race. Already this group is urging lawsuits and petitions for integration in the face of the decrees recently handed down by the federal courts in South Carolina and Virginia which make it clear that integration is not required by law and that more time will be needed to deal with the problem.

The policies formulated by leaders of this organization tend to create the only kind of situation in which an organization such as it is can survive—that is, one of distrust, antagonism, resentment and confusion. If the leaders of the NAACP ever allow you to make it clear that you have faith and confidence in the ability and competence of your own schools and your own teachers by refusing to demand admission to schools attended by white children, the principal reason for the existence of their organization in North Carolina would end. Of course, their leaders realize this and so in the interest of preserving their NAACP organization, if for no other, they will, so they have declared, try to push you into lawsuits over school admissions. They will thereby, if they are successful, force you into repudiating your own schools, your own teachers, your own race.

Now let me put the issue to you substantially as it was put in a recent editorial appearing in one of the state's newspapers—that is, purely on the basis of your own self-interest in your own children. Put on this basis, your problem and the problem of your true leaders is this: How can you get the best education for your children? Can you do it by mixing them in the public schools through force of law and risking the abandonment of the public schools? Or through having them attend separate schools by choice?

If the choice is for voluntary separate school attendance, you can count on at least as good an education for your children as they are getting now. If our past experience is any teacher, your schools will become progressively better as facilities are increased and teaching improves.

On the other hand, if your answer is integration by force of law with the attendant risks, nobody knows how much education the children of either race will get. How good the schools will be or whether there will be any schools are matters dependent upon human reactions which no one can foretell with certainty. Certain it is, however, that the white citizens of this state will *resist*

integration strenuously, resourcefully, and probably with growing bitterness. Resistance will take the form of delay of every kind so long as possible. And how long will that be? That depends on many factors including the judges and the determination and resourcefulness of both sides. Our history shows how difficult, if not impossible, it is to change by court rulings long established customs. When the law runs up against human nature and the popular will, something has to give, and not infrequently it is the law which is changed or modified, as in the "noble experiment" of prohibition.

Abolition of the public schools and their replacement to a most uncertain extent by private ones is a last-ditch and double-edged weapon. If that weapon is ever used in North Carolina, its result will be appalling in ignorance, poverty, and bitterness. Generations of both races will suffer by it immeasurably, and it is *likely that the Negro citizens will suffer most.*

North Carolina's public education system is the pride and prop of the state, and it must be preserved if we want to continue to make progress. It is founded on the faith and sacrifice and will of the people. But if that foundation is weakened or shattered by changing the system into something radically different from what it is now, nobody knows what will happen to the schools.

And so my earnest request of you Negro citizens of North Carolina is this: Do not allow any militant and selfish organization to stampede you into refusal to go along with this program I am proposing in the interest of our public schools; take pride in your race by attending your own schools; and make it clear that any among you who refuse to cooperate in this effort to save our public school system are not to be applauded but are to be considered as endangering the education of your children and as denying the integrity of the Negro race by refusing to remain in association with it.

Let there be no mistake or misunderstanding about this thing! Those who would force this state to choose between integrated schools and abandonment of the public school system will be responsible if in the choice we lose the public school system for which North Carolinians of both races have fought so hard and find to our eternal sorrow the personal racial bitterness which North Carolinians of both races have avoided so successfully. We

must as whites and Negroes work together to solve this problem. Men of both races of good will and faith will be needed and must be had!

I would not be fair or candid with you—the people of North Carolina—if I were not to confess that in this crucial hour I am greatly concerned for the future of our public school system and for the welfare and happiness of approximately a million school children. To be aware of danger, to be conscious of impending tragedy, does not mean that we quail before it or that we give vent to panic. On the other hand, it would be foolish not to look the truth in the face. That I am trying to do tonight. The wise man, and for that matter, the brave man, does not blind himself to fearful consequences, nor does he ignore the tragic possibilities of life. When I raise the possibility that all other remedies having failed, North Carolina might withhold support of the public schools, I do not thereby seek to frighten anyone. I simply state that facts and circumstances logically lead to that possibility. Therefore, what I say to you tonight is in no sense an appeal to fear, but rather in truth an appeal to reason. As our superintendent of public instruction, the Honorable Charles F. Carroll, has already said: "Over one million of our school children in whose hearts, minds and hands rests much of the destiny of this state, are innocent parties to this segregation matter and they must not become its *victims.*" I repeat that I earnestly hope we can continue to preserve our public schools! I pray that you will have faith as I have—faith that we will so do.

In addressing some of my remarks directly to the Negro citizens of the state, I do not mean that we white citizens of North Carolina do not have an equally substantial responsibility in determining the success or failure of this voluntary program to save our public schools. On the contrary, we perhaps have the greatest responsibility of all; and the manner in which we should, in my opinion, discharge this responsibility is what I would like to discuss with you for the next few minutes.

Many of us, including myself, have at one time or another expressed the conviction that the overwhelming majority of the Negro citizens of North Carolina would, if left free from agitation and outside influence, prefer to have their own schools. If there were no agitation it is my continued belief that our problem

would be solved. However, we may as well recognize at the outset that there is and will be agitation. This means then that our job, yours and mine and the Negro citizens', will be to overcome the effects of this agitation. The way we can do this is by using every proper means to convince our Negro friends that we are sincere when we say that our way of life, as compared with that in states mixing races in the schools, is to the advantage of the Negro race as well as it is to the white race. We must achieve this program in a friendly and cooperative spirit. Never let it be charged that there is any coercion in our efforts since, of course, if there is coercion then there can be no voluntary program. We should set out to accomplish this program in good faith and with every intention of carrying out a truly voluntary separate school attendance. If we can do this, we can have high hopes for its success. This is evidenced by a recent statement made by an elected Negro city councilman of Durham: "If Negro children of the Walltown section of the city were given their own choice in the matter, they would walk past Durham High School [which is the school white students attend] to attend Hillside High School [which is the school Negro students attend]. They have stronger ties at Hillside."

I shall suggest to the members of our Advisory Committee on Education that they promote in every school district and community in North Carolina a program of encouraging voluntary choice of separate schools; that members of both races be invited to take part in organizations to encourage such voluntary actions and to improve race relations; and that each organization compile and make available factual material which will show that voluntary separate school attendance is both feasible and desirable. This is not a problem which can be left solely to officials in Raleigh or to officials anywhere else. It must be carried on by each of you and by all of you, and will require the best that is in you—both as to ideas and willingness to work. I hope all of you will cooperate.

Our Advisory Committee on Education with headquarters and staff in Raleigh, Agriculture Building, Rooms 556-558, is available for contact by your organizations as well as by local school boards. They will make every effort to furnish you with the kind of material you need and with suggested programs as to how you

can carry out this campaign. They have engaged a staff and it stands ready to help you.

I know that many of you, even as you dedicate yourselves to helping carry out the program I have recommended, are concerned as to how we should meet any situations that might arise during the school year immediately ahead. Fortunately, the last General Assembly enacted legislation which sets up a procedure whereby local school boards may pass on applications of persons dissatisfied with their enrollment assignment. Local boards can do this in accordance with conditions in their own locality and will be in the best position to know how to deal with each particular situation. The decisions of the local boards are made subject to appeal to the Superior Court where a jury will determine the facts involved. From the Superior Court, an appeal is available to the Supreme Court of North Carolina.

This law provides tests or standards which can be used to govern the admission of pupils. These standards which are to guide local school boards are: orderly and efficient administration of public schools; the effective instruction of the pupils enrolled therein; and the health, safety, and general welfare of such pupils. I believe that this law furnishes an adequate system of determining in a lawful way whether or not a particular child shall attend a particular school. Meanwhile, let's take this thing step by step, learning as we go, watching the cases from states already in the court, studying decisions and actions of judges who handle these cases. Let's see how successful will be our efforts with the program I am suggesting; let's find out if lawsuits are brought where and why. Let each local school group have its study committee to analyze its own conditions and problems; and also, in the meanwhile, we should continue our schools as they have been, It would be foolish to do otherwise. I repeat—no court has told us or will tell us that we must mix races in schools. Neither can the courts operate our schools. That's up to us. Let's do it in fairness and good spirit but with firmness and courage.

I would like, at this time, to thank all of you for the many hundreds of letters and telegrams which you have sent me from every section of North Carolina supporting my position in this segregation matter. I need your constant help, your prayers, and best wishes. I do not have the wisdom to tell you what will happen

in the years ahead. I don't think anyone is that smart and I feel that as your governor I don't help our state or our public schools by inflammatory or prejudicial remarks. I think like most of you, and I believe in the same things you believe in. I am convinced that a system of separate schools for the races is the best interest of us all and I pledge to you that I will exert every effort to maintain such a system. We all want to preserve our public schools. They have been the backbone of our progress—social and economic. It would be a tragedy if anyone forced us to abandon them.

In conclusion, let me say as I have said before: We in North Carolina have remained comparatively calm and restrained during this difficult period, but that hasn't meant we don't feel strongly on the subject. We have approached our problems not as two races, antagonistic to each other, but as one citizenry determined to do what is best for both races and for our children. If we can keep this attitude we will without changing our beliefs come through this situation with our public school system intact and with our basic traditions intact. It is my intention to do everything I can to see that this happens.

Thank you, fellow citizens, for your patience in listening and for your great help in facing this serious problem.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE NORTH CAROLINA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

SHAW UNIVERSITY
August 26, 1955

[Speaking before approximately 100 members of the North Carolina (Negro) Teachers Association assembled for a leadership conference at Shaw University in Raleigh, the Governor replied to criticisms which had been directed, principally by Negroes, against his August 8 radio and television speech (pp. 199-213) and elaborated his insistence that Negro educational leaders support his proposal for voluntary segregation in the schools. This was one of two occasions on which Governor Hodges spoke to all-Negro audiences during his first administration, the other being at Agricultural and Technical College of Greensboro on November 4, 1955 (pp. 249-257). Though not in any sense comparable to the unfriendly demonstration at Greensboro, the reaction of the Negro teachers appears to have been unenthusiastic. According to a newspaper account, the audience remained impassive through-

out the talk and gave only a brief, polite ripple of applause at the end. (See *News and Observer,* August 27, 1955).]

Officers and Members of the North Carolina Teachers Association and Guests:

I received a letter dated August 4 from Mr. W. I. Morris, an official of your association, in which he invited me to address you during your Leadership Conference. He pointed out in his letter that the status of the teaching profession and the status of public education in general in North Carolina is hazy in the minds of thousands of North Carolina educators. Even though my schedule for the end of August was already filled with numerous engagements, I felt that I could render the state no better service just now than to talk briefly to you teachers about our principal problem in the field of public education, I was, therefore, happy to accept the invitation of Mr. Morris, and particularly appreciate this opportunity to address a group within which, in my opinion, there are more true educational leaders of the Negro race than among any other organized group, and probably more real and sincere leaders as a whole than some of those classed as "professionals."

Leadership is a difficult thing and often misunderstood and more often criticized. It is often a transient thing—if it fails to understand and interpret the people's heartbeats or their innate desires, or their need for patience and understanding. Leadership can be too reactionary and lead in the wrong direction. Or it can be too radical and lead just as mistakenly in the opposite direction. But one must be willing to take a stand and let the future or history write the verdict. If he doesn't take a stand, he lacks a real quality of leadership.

As Negro teachers, as educational leaders, you are certainly faced with tough decisions—at least you are and will be, if you are doing a good job. As teachers you symbolize progress; for it is *education* that has made possible the great progress of your race. It is my belief that nowhere else in the world has the Negro race made such rapid gains as it has in North Carolina in the last fifty-six years. Members of the white race have helped, but the real credit for this out-standing achievement rests finally with the Negro leadership of North Carolina. Our state at the turn of the

century, led by the great Aycock and sustained by men of good will of the white race, provided you with the priceless opportunity, but your real future lay in your own hands. For in the last analysis, the educational process will fail unless the pupil possesses a robust desire for knowledge and a laudable wish to improve his own condition. So the progress of your race in North Carolina is a matter of justifiable pride to all our people, both Negro and white; for this outstanding achievement is the direct product of the good will and the friendly cooperation that has existed in North Carolina between your race and mine.

In speaking of Governor Aycock as a great educational leader, many people often refer to his courage in defending the right of all children, regardless of race, to have an education. He is generally spoken of as a sincere friend of the Negro race. He was, in fact, a sincere and true friend of the Negro, and, in this connection, it is well to remember that Governor Aycock's statements against mixing the races were very strong indeed.

On August 8, I made an address on a state-wide radio and television hook-up in which I reviewed the history of public education in North Carolina and discussed the very vital problem which has resulted from the recent segregation decisions of the United States Supreme Court. I reminded the people of our state of what has been established by the General Assembly and the policy of this state with regard to mixing the races in the public schools. I attempted to make it clear that the General Assembly, under our form of government, is the official policy making body of the state and that its policies cannot be avoided or ignored by the governor or any other public official of this state. The people were also reminded that the Supreme Court of the United States could, through opinions handed down in cases brought before it, nullify any state policy or law which was in conflict with the Court's opinion. The conclusion reached was that the total effect of this situation is this: State policies as established by the General Assembly must be followed by state officials whenever it is possible to do so without conflicting with the federal law either as found in Congressional enactments or as enunciated by the Supreme Court of the United States. If there is no way of obeying both state and federal laws or policies at the same time, then it is up to the General Assembly to set a new policy which can be followed with-

out conflicting with the federal law. I pointed out, in effect, that there is one way in which the policies of this state as determined by the General Assembly can exist along side of and without conflicting with the federal law, and that way is through a program of voluntary school attendance by the races. It was stated that if we could not carry out such a program, the state would be face to face with deciding the issue of whether it shall have some form of integrated schools or shall abandon its public school system. I urged that in the interest of the public schools this issue not be forced upon the state and that members of both races who are interested in keeping our public school system out of danger cooperate in the suggested plan for voluntary separate school attendance.

Since I made that address, I have received hundreds and hundreds of communications from citizens expressing sincere hope that this plan will be successful. However, I have also received some very severe criticism from certain people and groups who insist that by suggesting such a plan, I am violating my oath of office in an attempt to defy or evade the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. That is a serious charge to make against a public official, and one that in all fairness ought not to be made lightly. It is a particularly serious charge to make against a governor whose first duty must always be to uphold the maintenance of law and order, and who has no intention of violating his oath of office.

Although the first public anaylsis of the decision of the Supreme Court which pointed out that the Court did not demand or direct that the races be mixed in the schools was made in my own address of June 6, I have quoted several times since then a much more reliable authority in matters of federal constitutional law than myself who made the same analysis; namely, Judge John J. Parker, chief judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. Judge Parker said among other things that: "Nothing in the Constitution or in the decisions of the Supreme Court takes away from the people freedom to choose the schools they attend. The Constitution does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination."

The few individuals, both white and Negro, and organizations who insist that a program of voluntary separate school attendance

is in defiance of the Supreme Court apparently refuse to accept the validity of either my analysis or the analysis of Judge Parker. Perhaps, however, they will be willing to accept a statement made by Mr. Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I would like now to quote this statement made at the original hearing in the case of *Briggs* v. *Elliott* which is the case from Clarendon County, South Carolina, and was one of the suits involved in the Supreme Court's segregation decisions. The following appears on page 267 of the transcript of that hearing and I quote:

> Injecting Negroes here and there is not the issue in this case. The force involved in this case is by the State of South Carolina. They forced Negroes out of one set of schools into another set. Relief we are asking is negative relief, purely negative, I would not care if it was left up to the kid which school he went to. I think they ought to have freedom of movement. I have always been in favor of it. The only thing the Fourteenth Amendment says is that the state shall not do it; this state shall not put upon one group of people anything that is not put upon another group.

Those are the words of the chief attorney for the NAACP as to what the plaintiffs were seeking and how he interpreted the applicability of the Fourteenth Amendment to those cases. I hope that Mr. Marshall's words will convince his clients that a program of voluntary separate school attendance is legal and is neither defiance nor evasion of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Of course, the mere fact that the program I suggested is legal does not in and of itself guarantee the complete support of it. However, I wanted you to be fully informed that I would not ask you or anybody else to support any program which was illegal.

The extremists have also made another charge in connection with my request for voluntary separate school attendance. It has been said with a great deal of vehemence that by making this request I have called upon the Negro citizens of the state to give up their constitutional rights. In the first place, it is my understanding of the law that you cannot give up constitutional rights; they always remain available. The mere choice not to exercise particular rights which you have under the Constitution does not in any sense mean that you give up those rights. A particular

candidate for political office who asks you to vote for him rather than for others who are running for the same office does not, in any sense, ask you to give up your constitutional right to vote for whom you please; nor do you give up this right when as a matter of choice you vote for that particular candidate. When I, as governor, ask the citizens of this state to support a program to increase per capita income in North Carolina, I do not in any sense ask anybody to give up his constitutional rights to refuse to support such a program; nor does anybody give this right when as a matter of choice he gives his support to the program. It should be abundantly clear, and to be perfectly frank, I believe it is clear to the people who make the charges I have referred to, that I am not requesting Negro citizens to give up constitutional rights when I request voluntary separate school attendance. Members of the NAACP might consider that they themselves, in their demands that the Negro citizens not cooperate with a voluntary separate attendance plan, are seeking to persuade the members of the Negro race to give up their constitutional rights of voluntary choice in the matter of which schools they will attend. Certainly, if there were only one system of public schools for the two races such as the NAACP is seeking, nobody could have any choice; and certainly if there were no public schools at all, such as the NAACP may well find, nobody could have any choice.

I hope that what I have said will make it clear that my program of voluntary separate school attendance does not constitute either defiance of the United States Supreme Court or a request that anyone give up his constitutional rights.

And now, I would like to call upon you as educational leaders of your race and defenders of the welfare of its children for support in carrying out this program. The basis upon which I ask your cooperation in my program of voluntary separate school attendance is in the interest of the preservation of the public schools in order to promote the welfare of the children of both races.

We are dealing or attempting to deal in this state with a situation which is real, and to do so in a realistic manner. Whether what we are trying to do is logically perfect in a purely abstract sense is not the issue. History, custom, mores, and—above all—emotion are the active factors in this situation. You cannot push these factors aside in the interest of somebody's notion of abstract

logic. No, you cannot, not even in matters which are decided by courts of law. As was said many years ago by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, one of the wisest justices ever to sit on the United States Supreme Court: "The life of the law has not been logic; it has been experience." You cannot upset the daily habits and deeply ingrained thinking of an entire section of the country in one fell swoop, and what I am concerned about and what all of you should be concerned about is that attempts to do so may cause us to lose our public schools. This, we must not do!

As I wrote certain persons who differed with me in the program I have suggested, we are not dealing with a theory; we are dealing with a problem of reality.

In my August 8 speech, I suggested a method of approaching our problem which I would like now to re-emphasize. It is this: Let us deal with this situation step by step; day by day; month by month. Let us not try at any one time to settle all the problems of the future. We will have done a great job if we can settle simply the problems of this day, and this week, and this month, without taking on the burdens which can await future consideration.

Sometimes we can, by exercise of our impatience and instead of patience, wreck the very thing we wish to preserve. Sometimes I also feel that we tend to think our problem of race relations, and of this particular problem now affecting our public schools, is the only one of its kind. In other words, we approach the problem as if convinced that the problem doesn't exist elsewhere. Some of our radical friends in this country, both white and Negro, would have us feel that the rest of the world is waiting for our decision on race matters and that they have settled their problems. As I said some weeks ago here in Raleigh to some Negro boys and girls, I recall a couple of instances which illustrate the two situations I have just mentioned. Both of them have to do with friends of mine who are natives of India.

I sat on an international board with one of them two years ago, and on this board were representatives from nine nations. In one of our discussions, a European raised the question of segregation among the races. Being the only Southern United States member of the board, I unconsciously felt that they were looking to me to give the attitude of the South on this problem, as be-

tween whites and Negroes. Before I could even indicate that I would be willing to discuss it with them frankly, my Indian friend —a cultured man with a slight Oxford accent—said sternly: "We will not discuss that subject in this meeting. My people and I are still in protest at the terrible way we are being treated by the English in South Africa."

During a trip which I made to India in 1949, I was discussing various international problems with another friend in Calcutta. I was, as an impatient American, wondering out loud why Mr. Nehru and his government weren't doing the things that I felt they ought to do in world relationships, and my Calcutta friend said: "The trouble with you Americans is that you want to settle everything at three o'clock on Tuesday, and Mr. Nehru realizes that it sometimes takes many, many years to settle a problem. He represents a race and a nation that thinks in terms of taking, not just years but generations, if necessary, to settle a problem of great importance in good relations."

Those two instances are not conclusive in themselves, but they are indicative of problems that you and I must face in human relationships, and we must not be impatient as we tackle these problems. The solution—yes, even the partial solution—of such problems requires not only patience but prayer and good spirit and faith. We need them all!

Any stigma felt by Negroes because of laws requiring segregation in the public schools has been removed by the courts. The constitutional rights of Negroes in this area have been established and could not be given away even if Negroes wanted to give them away. The problem now facing all citizens, white and Negro alike, is not one of constitutional rights; it is one of saving the public schools. Let us concentrate on that.

The children of your race are taking advantage of their opportunities and the school facilities furnished them by the state, and we all want them to continue to do so. As you teach, as you lead, as you plan and think ahead—do not forget your obligation to these children!

ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE WILLIAM B. UMSTEAD STATE PARK

August 28, 1955

[By act of the 1955 General Assembly, the name of Crabtree Creek State Park, located on Highway 70 about midway between Raleigh and Durham, was changed to William B. Umstead State Park. Approximately 2,000 people, including representatives from numerous Durham and Raleigh civic groups, assembled to hear Governor Hodges speak at the dedication of the renamed facility. Governor Umstead's widow, Mrs. Merle Davis Umstead, responded to Governor Hodges' address, and her daughter, Merle Bradley Umstead, unveiled a marker at the park entrance.]

I appreciate this opportunity to participate in this program which has been so carefully planned by the Board of Conservation and Development and its Committee on State Parks. This is truly an historic occasion for the Department of Conservation and Development and the Division of State Parks. We in North Carolina do not take lightly the responsibility or the task of naming our important state properties. The dedication of this park today is the result of a great deal of careful study and consideration by all concerned.

We are truly blessed in North Carolina with fine natural resources, excellent climate (recently flavored by a few hurricanes), adequate water, productive soils, and a geography that includes everything from wide Atlantic beaches to our great western mountain ranges. One of the most important tasks that we face today is the conservation of these magnificent natural resources. The day when we could afford to be wasteful of natural resources is long past, if that day ever actually existed. No longer can we continue to destroy and squander ruthlessly our priceless resources.

Much of the natural resources that we have destroyed can never be replaced, and the sum total of our resources has, therefore, diminished. At the same time, our population is growing rapidly. Thus faced with rapidly increasing population and dwindling natural resources, we *must* conserve our natural resources not only for our children but for our children's children. As Ruskin said, "God has lent us the earth for our life. It belongs as much to those who are to come after us as to us and we have no right, by anything we do or neglect, to involve them in any unnecessary

penalties, or to deprive them of the benefit which was in our power to bequeath."

Our very existence depends on natural resources. Our soils provide food and clothing; our forests provide shelter and clothing; water provides power and life itself without which we die; our minerals provide transportation, national security, heat and power. Our economic well-being depends on natural resources. North Carolina's leading industries—textiles, tobacco, food, and furniture—are based primarily on products of the field and forest.

But our dependence on natural resources goes beyond our material and economic needs. We are dependent on our natural resources for our non-material needs as well.

Today, as always, about twelve of every twenty-four hours are taken up in eating, sleeping, and other items of personal living. The remaining twelve hours are available to satisfy basic human needs, both material and non-material. In 1900, the average American had to spend 70 per cent of those twelve hours on earning a living, in satisfying his material needs. Today, the average American spends only about 46 per cent of his time for the same purpose. In 1900, only 30 per cent of a man's time was leisure time. Today, more than 54 per cent of his time is leisure time. For the first time in history, his leisure time is greater than the time he must spend to earn a living, and leisure time is increasing and will continue to increase.

More leisure time is one of the direct benefits of the dramatic improvements in our material prosperity during recent decades. It was made possible by a young and sturdy nation seeking opportunity, growth, and progress in industry, agriculture, and commerce through modern management, better methods, and ever-improving machines.

The value of leisure time has been increased by two other products of the machine age—increased mobility and higher incomes. Our automobiles and our highways have enormously increased the geographic area we can encompass in our daily lives. Today, the average person can reach areas that were once inaccessible to him. He can travel much more frequently than he ever could before. This greatly increased mobility is a very important factor in answering our basic need for a well-rounded life. Higher

wages enable us to take advantage of this increased mobility and to have more money for leisure time use.

It is important that our program for the wise use of natural resources include the recreational aspect of natural resources. No conservation program, state, national, or local, can possibly be successful unless it places the same emphasis on recreational use of natural resources as it does on forest management, wildlife protection, water conservation, and other intelligent practices in utilizing natural resources.

In this phase of wisely using natural resources, the state park system plays a very important part—a part that is doubly important since the state parks make possible the use of *natural* resources to *conserve* human resources. The state parks provide a broad range of opportunities for wise and wholesome use of leisure time and thus provide lasting social benefits. State parks promote physical fitness through providing for a wide range of physical activities from swimming to hiking. They bring mental health, spiritual strength, and the growth of aesthetic appreciation by bringing people into close contact with the beauties and the mysteries of the natural world. They help develop increased appreciation of man's place in nature through the opportunities they offer for the study of natural history. They help build an ability to work with others for the common good through such programs as youth camping and family camping.

This park had its beginning during the great depression when the United States Resettlement Administration began its program of purchasing sub-marginal farm land unsuitable for agriculture so that these lands could be used more wisely and benefically. In 1934, the acquisition of land within this state park was begun under this program. A study of this land showed it to be unsuitable for profitable agricultural use, and its natural attractions and nearness to population centers made it most suitable for recreational use of natural resources. This being its best conservation use, it was designated as a park area and called the Crabtree Creek Recreational Demonstration Area, and arrangements were made to turn it over to the state when land acquisition and development were finished.

The development of this area was jointly supervised by the National Park Service and the Department of Conservation and

Development and, until 1943, all development and land acquisition were financed by federal funds. In all, the federal government purchased 5,088 acres of land, constructed four organized group camps, a lake to serve these camps, temporary roads, water and utility systems, and other facilities. Until 1943, the National Park Service not only carried on the development of the area, but also operated it for public use and administered it.

World War II forced first a curtailment and finally an abandonment of federal activities on this project and, on April 6, 1943 in accordance with original agreements, the United States deeded to the State of North Carolina, for the sum of one dollar, the 5,088 acres this state park then contained and it was officially designated as Crabtree Creek State Park.

In 1943, 1944 and 1945, the state purchased interior tracts totalling 137 acres, thus bringing the total acreage to 5,225. World War II prevented further land acquisition and construction of public facilities, but the park was kept open and operated for public use and helped relieve the strains and stresses of the war years. It was used as a rest camp for the crew of the British Cruiser *Illustrious* and for the crews of other British warships. The United States Army used it for field training of troops, and it contributed directly to the war effort in other ways.

When the General Assemblies of 1947 and 1949 appropriated the first state permanent improvement funds ever allotted to state parks, it became possible to build here some very much needed public use features including a tent and trailer campground; two picnic areas complete with picnic shelters, public toilets, fireplaces, and tables and benches; and the water systems, power lines, and other utilities required to serve these developments.

These public facilities have been used a great deal, but their public usefulness has, until now, been very much handicapped by the lack of a good all-weather park road system and adequate parking areas. Recognizing this serious deficiency, I recently was able to allot $50,000 from surplus highway funds for the construction of this new road system and these parking areas.

With these road improvements will come increased public use. I urge every one who uses this fine state park to help protect it. Above all, don't be a litter bug! Let's all help keep our parks, our highways and our streets clean and attractive. The terrific

increase in motor vehicle registration which has resulted in the motorized age in which we live has brought many problems. One of the unfortunate results of this travel by motor vehicle is the unpleasant fact that tons of litter and debris deface our countryside and mar the natural scenic beauty of our streets and highways as well as parks.

This litter causes erosion when highway drain systems become clogged; it is a fire and safety hazard, and often a menace to health.

Much of this has come about because many motorists do not feel any personal responsibility for the appearance of our highways, parks, and such public places. They simply have not realized the staggering amount of litter left in their wake and the costly effort which is required to remove it. It has been estimated that in the United States more than thirty million tax dollars are being spent each year just to remove litter from rural highways—not to mention additional millions spent cleaning up towns and cities. However, there is a new effort among many organizations such as women's clubs, conservationists, and sportsmen, farm and rural groups, youth organizations, educators, and others to do something constructive about this problem. I wish them every success.

When I first broached this subject at the dedication of new facilities at the Cliffs of the Neuse State Park in Wayne County I said, "Maybe we ought to have a law." A newspaper called to my attention the fact that we had a law on the books. It was correct. Let me quote passages from it (*General Statutes,* section 14-128): "Any person, not being on his own lands, or without the consent of the owner thereof, who shall, within one hundred yards of any state highway of North Carolina or within a like distance of any public road or highway, . . . shall deposit any trash, debris, garbage, or litter within such limits, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction fined not exceeding fifty dollars ($50) or imprisoned not exceeding thirty days. . . ." I have advised the Highway Patrol, and I say the same to all other peace officers that they should begin to warn people that they are breaking the law and they should not throw anything on streets and highways. I think an educational campaign is the first step and I am sure our citizens will cooperate fully.

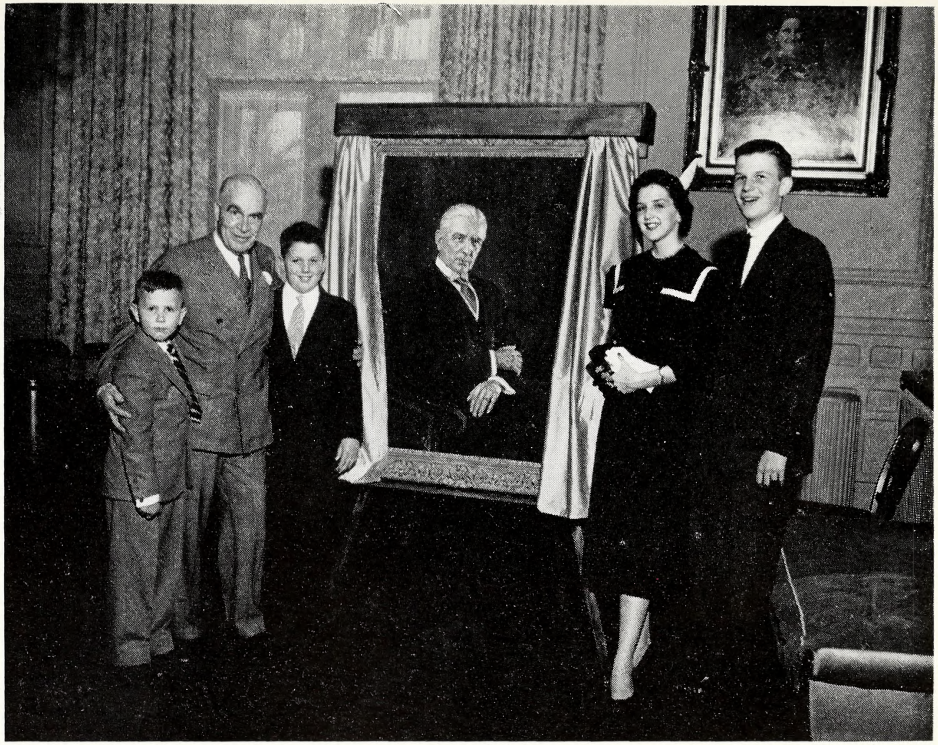


Photo by Burnie Batchelor

Governor Hodges with grandchildren of Cameron Morrison at the unveiling of a portrait of former Governor Morrison, March 31, 1955. *Left to right:* John William Harris, Governor Hodges, Cameron Morrison Harris, Sara Morrison Harris, and James J. Harris, Jr.

Photo by Killebrew Studio

Governor Hodges cuts a ribbon at the opening of the Halifax Museum, April 12, 1955. The others pictured here are Ray S. Wilkinson and Mrs. Sterling Gary.

During the past nineteen years, hundreds of thousands of persons have used and enjoyed this park. Thousands of boys and girls have been to camp in the organized group camps and have gained knowledge of the ways of nature and experienced the joys and thrills of outdoor living. Many of the boys and girls who first camped here are today parents themselves and because of the care with which this state park has been protected and administered for public use, their children will enjoy the same outdoor experiences. Actually, it is impossible to measure the enrichment of personal life, the enjoyment, the relaxation, and the increased awareness of man's dependence on nature that the use of this park has brought and will bring to the people of this section of North Carolina. This is a good example of conservation at its best.

There are ten state parks in North Carolina, and approximately 1,618,126 people used these parks in 1954 (estimated by traffic counter). The estimated number of people using the William B. Umstead State Park in 1954 was 122,019. The State Highway Commission maintains fifteen roadside parks with complete facilities, and approximately 400 roadside tables.

We are gathered here today to dedicate this beautiful state park for a man who, both as governor and as a private citizen, was vitally interested in the conservation and development of our natural resources and who did so much to furnish leadership for the program carried out by the Department of Conservation and Development. He often expressed a personal interest in this park which was located approximately halfway between his home county of Durham and the state capital.

William Umstead was a man of simple tastes who deeply appreciated the basic values of life. Born and raised on a farm, he always felt close to the soil, the forests, the streams, and our other natural resources. While a Congressman and a United States Senator, Mr. Umstead evidenced great interest in all legislation having to do with natural resources and agriculture. After election as governor, he worked hard to revitalize the work of the Department of Conservation and Development. As an indication of his interests, he presided personally at the board meetings and followed in detail the reports and progress of the various divisions. In his inaugural address he asked for expansion of the program encouraging new industries to move to North Carolina, and he

spoke of the importance of commercial fisheries, our waterways, mineral resources, the tourist trade, our state parks, and the value of recreational facilities both from the standpoint of our own population and our visitors. The members of the Board of Conservation and Development, and the various division heads were grateful for the personal interest and fine support which was given them by their governor, in a wise and sensible manner.

Therefore, it is entirely fitting that this state park be named in honor of William Bradley Umstead, former governor of North Carolina. It is a privilege to join with you today in dedicating this park as William B. Umstead State Park which will henceforth be its official name.

I am sure it would be the wish of Governor Umstead that those responsible for our state conservation program do everything in their power to develop fully this state park for public use, to protect and preserve its natural beauties for public enjoyment, and to continue to administer the park.

ADDRESS AT THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE CAROLINA COOPERATIVE COUNCIL

SPRAY

September 15, 1955

[Back home on this occasion, the Governor spoke reminiscently and somewhat autobiographically to a gathering of old friends and neighbors, touching upon a number of subjects including the need for better use of the talents and experience of retired people. The Cooperative Council was a group of about 300 key employees of Fieldcrest Mills, meeting periodically to discuss their mutual problems and help improve themselves. Governor Hodges was a charter member of the organization and was made an honorary member after severing his connection with the mill.]

Thank you for this opportunity to come back home. Mrs. Hodges and I are thrilled to be with you and see so many of our old friends and neighbors again.

This is the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Carolina Cooperative Council, and in times like this it is well to look back thirty-five "plus" years to the beginning of this fine organization. As most of you know, I made my first connections here in 1910 as a means

of helping work my way through high school. I shall never forget those early experiences and the lessons which I learned as an office boy and mill hand. I also continued summer-time employment in the mill between sessions at the University of North Carolina which helped make it possible for me to complete my college education.

I started in the business here in August, 1919, as secretary to the general manager, and it was in the spring of 1920 that a group of our managers, superintendents, foremen, and other key men of the Carolina Cotton and Woolen Mills Company—as it was known at that time—began a three months' business course, meeting each two weeks to study and hear lectures on modern production methods and management. I was pleased to be a part of this group, a charter member and was deeply honored to be elected the first secretary. L. W. Clark was named the first president and set the pattern for the fine, outstanding presidents who have held this important job during the past thirty-five years. In 1919-1920 our nation was just recovering from World War I, and working conditions, wages, etc. were vastly different from what they are today. In 1919, a fifty-five hour work week was routine and $25 was considered a good week's wages.

There were 180 people enrolled in the first course, and each of us paid $17.50 for the six books and six lectures, with the company paying the same amount. As I recall, however, the company agreed to refund to each of us who passed the examinations the part we had put up. Now, $17.50 was a lot of money in those days and the "urge" to finish this course was probably as much financial as it was interest in improving ourselves. The cooperative spirit and the wonderful fellowship evidenced during the three months of our course in modern methods were most helpful, and there was enough interest in the group to want to "organize." I recall several people in the company who were "agin the whole thing" and tried to discourage both the organization and the later functioning of the council.

However, the council itself in its very beginnings set the stage for success by the objectives set forth in your constitution which reads as follows:

> The object of this council shall be to promote among its members a better spirit of fraternity and cooperation and to give each individual

member an opportunity for self development. It shall be its further purpose to study from time to time certain definite problems of mutual concern that shall come before it, and shall seek in a cooperative spirit to solve those problems in the interest of the entire organization. It shall seek further to bring the executives, the managing personnel and all the leaders in the organization into a closer social relationship to the end that there may be a better understanding among them and that there may be developed a spirit of common interest and friendliness among all the members. With this cooperative spirit ever before them it is hoped that the council members may provide means of exchanging ideas and suggestions and promoting anything of general welfare.

Years have rolled by and you have carried on happily and successfully. I congratulate you again as I have many times in the past. The fellowship, inspiration, the programs, and the entertainment have been outstanding. At the same time, you have avoided the usual pitfalls which threaten practically all organizations such as this or so-called "foreman's clubs." Your council has run its own affairs without interference by the company and without too much "organization detail."

When the council had completed twenty-five years, in September, 1945, you had Governor R. Gregg Cherry as your guest speaker. You may recall that in the commemorative booklet issued at that time Governor Cherry wrote, in part, as follows:

The state as a whole is interested in the program of your council and in the new era of industrial relationships that it has inaugurated. You have indeed found an effective means of dealing with the complexities of manufacturing as it is engaged in today. Good feeling, fine relationships, cooperation, and a mutual interest and concern in the over-all job at hand is indeed a fine accomplishment in North Carolina and American history. Your council seems to have achieved this desirable result. Unity in your organization has reached such a degree as to attract attention from afar. Marshall Field and Company has come to be recognized as a firm with an abiding interest in all those in its employ, and these workers, in turn apparently have the best interest of the company at heart. For this condition and this relationship your council is, I believe, to be thanked. The achievements of the council in a quarter of a century of activity fully justifies the effort that has been invested in it, and I congratulate you all.

Your friend and your present president, Mr. H. W. Whitcomb, who was then assistant general manager of the mills, wrote in the same booklet as follows:

Although my membership in the council only goes back to 1937, I have been associated with it long enough to appreciate the influence

which the council wields in the affairs of the manufacturing division. This influence is an intangible thing and its impact upon us is indirect, but I am sure that our monthly meetings give all of us who attend a feeling of unity and strength through our association with the other members of our entire management group. It is unusual for this kind of an organization to maintain its virility and progress for a twenty-five-year period. I congratulate those who founded the council, many of whom are still active in its membership, and express my personal gratitude and appreciation to all those whose energy and wise counsel have been given so freely down through the years to make the council what it is today.

In the same booklet, I wrote my feelings then as follows:

It is a great privilege and honor to have been a charter member of the Carolina Cooperative Council and to greet you on our twenty-fifth anniversary. A quarter of a century is not a long time in the history of a nation but I challenge you with the thought that it is a very long period for a voluntary organization of this type to live! Beyond this, you must be proud, as I am, of the fact that we are stronger and more influential than ever and mean more to each other as the years move on.

I want you to know that I still feel the same way after another ten years of service and development by the council. I am proud of what you have accomplished and inspired. The first of our house organs—*The Arrow,* a weekly newspaper—was the direct result of your efforts. You initiated group insurance for your members, and this idea spread to the entire 5,000 employees.

In a council meeting on October 1, 1943, I had the pleasure of announcing to the council the Marshall Field and Company retirement program. It was one of the early plans and one of the most liberal at the time. The first person to take advantage of its benefits was my old friend, Caesar Glasgow, who retired December 1, 1944. Caesar is still living.

I understand that the number who have retired since 1944 totals 540, of whom 429 are still living. This is a most remarkable record, and I am exceedingly happy that so many are still with us. Of the 540, there 480 rank and file employees.

As you know, these retired Fieldcresters have organized what they call the "Golden Age Club." I like this idea, and I would like to suggest that they, without any undue exertion or worry, take the lead in North Carolina in helping other groups to organize and join together in forming a state-wide group for retired employees so that the state and its subdivisions in the cities

and counties can help these groups, but, more important, that these groups can help the state by personal service and counsel.

Some months ago, as I stepped out of the Capitol and got into my car, a group of older people waved me down and said they were retired folks from Guilford County who were visiting their capital city and wanted to see their governor. I enjoyed chatting with them, and the thought occurred to me then that it was wonderful that these people, who have worked so many years, now have the time to take trips and really see their own state. For the first time in many years, they could relax and forget about the routine of daily work, mill whistles, following instructions, etc. Now they could leisurely, happily see their government in action.

We have a great state, but to meet the challenge of the present and the future we are going to have to utilize the best that we have in our human resources. This certainly includes our retired citizens, those over sixty-five who have made their mark in business, industry, farming, etc. and now have time to devote to other matters.

We also need financial resources to encourage the development of small industries which can process the products of our fields, forests, and streams, as well as develop into our great industries of the future. This problem interests me a great deal, and I have devoted a lot of time to discussing the problem with people across the state. At the same time, I have asked the question: Why is our per capita income so low? All this has created a great deal of discussion, and I am happy to report that we now have a program underway which is designed to look into the question of raising our per capita income and encouraging the development of new industries. With funds provided by private foundations, this program is under the guidance and leadership of the Honorable Capus Waynick of High Point, former ambassador and a pioneer of Point-Four Program experience. It has received much favorable attention, and the General Assembly passed a bill authorizing the creation of a Business Development Corporation which will make loans to deserving businesses that wish to expand or to persons who wish to begin new industries in North Carolina. Funds for this corporation will be provided by our banking and financial institutions. This week I have announced purchases of

subscriptions from some outstanding firms and individuals. The Burlington Foundation, a part of Burlington Industries, invested $25,000. The three Cone brothers, Herman, Caesar and Ben, invested $5,000 each as individuals. Yesterday the Board of Directors of Carolina Power and Light Company in Raleigh approved a subscription of $50,000 worth of stock in our Business Development Corporation. So you see that we have at least made a start toward developing a greater interest in providing the necessary capital for new industries and expanding industries and businesses.

Now what can be done in a voluntary way to direct the energies, talents, and experience of our retired people into serving their communities, counties, and state? We need to retain the experience and advice of our older citizens, and they need to feel that they belong and are still needed. Recently I mentioned this general idea at a press conference, and it was given some publicity across the state. One well-known daily immediately described it as "bringing elder statesmen of North Carolina's business and industrial community into the state." That, of course, is one important aspect. As one result of this publicity, I also received a letter from a lady in North Carolina who pointed out that it is hardest of all for the older person to bear the attitude that they are "let out to pasture" or relegated to "the rocking chair on the front porch to watch the world go by."

Then she wrote: "Being set apart, not wanted, not belonging, being dependent, gives them the feeling that their lives are without purpose. I believe for the most part they do not accept the idea that there is nothing for them to do except 'wait for death.' They aspire to be active, useful persons with some type of employment that will keep them from feeling they are a burden. Particularly is this true of the low-income groups. In the low per capita income counties of the state, it is obvious that this age group would respond to efforts on their behalf."

I feel these are words well spoken. Why can't we encourage our retired citizens to volunteer their talents on such worthwhile community projects as the development of a new industry or the many problems which face our political subdivisions? Our state agencies have many advisory boards and groups on which the talents of these good people could be utilized to a better degree. North Carolina has proved to be a popular state for retired

people who have moved here from other sections of our nation. Many of them have found inactivity unbearable, and we are all proud of what they have done through their own initiative in rendering services and helping their fellowman. I want to encourage these capable, able people to turn their talents, whether in accounting, law, engineering, merchandising, marketing whatever it may be, to helping North Carolina build a better economic way of life.

Recently there was an article in a well-known national periodical about how some industrial and business experts donated their services to the problems of several general hospitals in New Jersey. These hospitals were plagued with many of the handicaps and problems facing so many of our hospitals—a lack of enough trained nurses and technicians, cold food, noisy corridors, poorly organized operations, etc. Someone had an idea, and from this idea came an advisory board which coordinated the free services of over 200 experts, including industrial engineers, personnel directors, public relations men, cafeteria managers, accountants, safety experts, and scores of other specialists. All these people volunteered to help these hospitals on pressing, practical problems of administration and management. Needless to say, the results were truly amazing. These experts were able to donate valuable services which these hospitals could never afford to purchase. As a result of this voluntary program, the hospitals greatly improved their operations and came out of the red for the first time in six years—as well as doing a better job for their patients.

Now in this case, these people were working specialists and industrial people. They could have just as well been retired people with the same talents. Why couldn't we use these talents in similar situations in North Carolina, whether it be our community hospital, our cerebral palsy clinic, our welfare department, our new industry on the edge of town, our over-crowded public school, our town council, our state mental hospitals, or for helping our state in getting new industries? I honestly believe the idea has merit, and I give it to you for whatever it may be worth. As pioneers in the field of human relations and cooperation, I believe you are well qualified to give this proposal the initiative and and push its needs.

If I may, I would like to give you a few impressions of this

Photo by Schubert H. Hayes

Governor Hodges with Robin Williamson, "Miss Fairmont Farmers' Festival," April 21, 1955.

U. S. Army Photograph

Left to right: Major-General Joseph C. Cleland, Major William Oliver Smith, and Governor Hodges at a Fort Bragg Army Air Show at which the Governor and members of the General Assembly were guests, April 29, 1955.

job of being governor. As long as I can remember, I have always been impressed by the great responsibility of public office and the opportunity it offers for service to your fellow citizens. Frankly, the idea of "public service" always appealed to me but, like most people, I was too busy for many years in making a living and raising a family to do more than participate in political life primarily as an individual citizen and voter. I have always been grateful to my state for what I have been able to accomplish in the way of a career and the opportunities which were available to me. And so it was that when retirement came to me, I felt need for expressing my appreciation through some form of public service. As lieutenant-governor, and now as governor, I have found out from firsthand experience what a public official faces in this complex and complicated society we have today. As the chief executive of a multi-million-dollar business spending about $300,000,000 of your tax money each year, it is necessary for me to deal with a multitude of difficult and demanding problems. Unlike private business and industry, many of these problems must be dealt with through a number of public agencies and through laws and regulations which have been existing for many years. There is not the direct line of organization which you find generally in business and industry, partly because of history and tradition and partly because of the fact that our state government and its agencies must always be responsive to the will of the people through the General Assembly.

My experiences in state government have convinced me more than ever that we must have more participation by all our people in governmental affairs. It will take the best efforts of all of us to solve the problems which face us. I believe more fully than ever that we must give of ourselves to get real happiness. We must serve in our several capacities for our communities, our state and nation. Where can you better give of your talents than to government. We need you; it can use you. Do you want good government? Do you want leaders in politics that you can trust? Men who will serve unselfishly for the public interest? Like Thomas Jefferson, I have always believed that political interest can never be separated in the long run from moral right. We should all be willing to serve our government in some capacity and take part in the greatest business in our state and in the world.

Thank you for your kind attention. I know that you share with me a deep love for North Carolina and its people. We have a great state, and we must make it greater. We have a beautiful state, and we must make it more beautiful. With your help, your support, we can achieve those goals.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS AT YOUNG DEMOCRATS CONVENTION

DURHAM
September 30, 1955

[Approximately 150 Young Democrats of North Carolina, assembled in Durham for their twentieth annual convention, listened to this keynote address by Governor Hodges, and also to messages from Harry S. Truman and Adlai Stevenson which were read by John R. Jordan, Jr., president of the state Young Democrat Clubs. At one point in his speech the Governor departed from his prepared text to say that it "doesn't really matter who the Republicans nominate," because "we are going to win next year regardless of who is put up." The events of 1956 failed to bear out this optimistic prediction.]

I want to congratulate the YDC and its president, John Jordan, Jr., on the great year which you have just passed, and on the quality of programs you have had and the high grade leadership he and his associates have furnished to your organization and to the state.

I spoke to you two years ago at your Keynote Meeting. I am happy to be with you again and to see your continued interest in effective work during these days of stress and change. The chief point in my talk to you previously had to do with factional differences within the party, and I suggested that that was not too good for the party. We are at a stage, certainly in a national way, where we need all the solidarity and unity and strength possible. This is true whether Mr. Eisenhower or some other person runs for the Republican party. May I add my word of goodwill and express an earnest hope that the President not only recovers from his moderate attack, but that he recover fully and completely.

There will always be in a party, as well as in a nation, groups which consider themselves conservatives, and other groups which

consider themselves liberals. Some extremists would like to interpret those two as being reactionary instead of conservative, and radical instead of liberal. There was a prominent citizen in the state a few weeks ago from another state asking me when I thought the Democratic party would join with other nations and with other parties to form an entirely different kind of party. I told him it would take some time. I said that he had better be happy that he had the South to lean on.

I still think that in matters governmentally and politically, as well as in matters generally, that a middle-of-the-road policy is the better one to follow. That doesn't mean that you can't be a liberal in certain matters, and conservative in others, but extremes are not needed, and extremes usually cause difficulty. Someone has said, and I agree with his philosophy, that we ought to be conservative in economic affairs and liberal in human affairs.

The matter of division within the party and of factionalism is pinpointed more and more as you approach primaries in North Carolina. I think philosophies of government and of leadership and the matter of complete intellectual honesty are things to be considered above personalities, whether you are pro or anti so-and-so. More than ever before, North Carolina, as well as other states, needs unselfish and honest service for the good of the state, and not for the advancement of an individual. I believe the people feel the same way.

I advised you two years ago, that as you gave us oldsters energy and enthusiasm and something of imagination, that you not give away or lose your ideals. We need your imagination, yes indeed we need a vision, but we need a fresh point of view based on ideals of youth and not what comes, at times, to be sordid experiences of old-timers who have been through the rough and tumble of what they call machine politics.

I have always been interested in government and in politics. The fact that one has not run for office, or been in office for the most of his adult life, doesn't mean that he does not know something about it, and doesn't mean that he does not have ideas about it. It does not mean that he cannot help. I was a worker in a precinct for many years, and I was chairman of my own precinct in Spray in 1932. I am told that that precinct went Democratic

for the first time in three quarters of a century. It didn't take me long to realize that it was Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt and the sweeping victory he made throughout the country that caused the Spray precinct to go Democratic, but at least some of us helped a little as an organization and in enthusiasm.

I recall hearing through my father and his friends something of the critical situation, particularly the handling of precincts and polls, during the period around the turn of the century. As I said, the precinct was Republican for a long time, which was primarily because there were one or two prominent Republican families who lived in our precinct, who were somewhat wealthy, and who had their helpers and henchmen working to see that the precinct stayed Republican. I heard stories of mill hands and others lined up for quite a few hundred feet from the polls, literally marched to the poll, given names for whom they should vote, and usually handed something either then or later. The rumor has it that sometimes they got a small bottle of something and sometimes fifty cents or a dollar. This practice was not limited to the Republicans, it was done on both sides. I am simply talking about my own community at the time.

Between 1900 and 1901 I was a grade school student. I recall on more than one occasion being mached along with several hundred other children for at least half a mile to the house of one of the wealthy Republican leaders, and with great pomp and splendor having this "big man" hand out to each of us children a shiny new quarter, telling us to tell our parents to remember so-and-so, or to vote for so-and-so.

Cases like this could be multiplied. It simply illustrates an era during the period which followed this absent control, so to speak, when there was a small organization which had its poll workers, and paid said poll workers all of $10 a day to haul people from the mills or from the country or from their household duties to the polls and were given slips of paper and told for whom to vote. This poll payment has now risen in the inflation that has affected most everything else we have done, so we hear stories of $25 to $50 being paid a day, in an attempt to carry out the same kind of practices.

Most of you are familiar with the story of a congressman in this state who spent a lot of money on pollworkers, and his opponent

did the same things, and when they finally quit fighting each other, they double checked on their list and found out that a full third of the poll workers were collecting money from each.

Ralph McGill, noted Southern journalist, recently called attention to the fact that voters apparently paid little attention to the qualifications of political candidates. These same voters look well into the qualifications of the doctor whom they are about to call for illness or surgery. They expect to engage the best of lawyers if involved in legal controversy. They want the best in educational background for public school teachers and establish regulations which call for continued study and work by those who are to teach their children.

Yet, McGill continued, and I quote: "Those whom we are to elect to office rarely are checked as to qualifications or fitness. About all we ask of them is that they possess a genial personality, boundless energy, a loud, glib voice, and a facility for 'funny stories' and abuse of the opponents."

I do want to say, however, that I believe, generally speaking, that people are changing, and they are more interested in public affairs and government then ever before. The average person and the average voter who is not tied up with a multitude of duties like most of the politicians and the workers in politics does more reading and listening over the radio and particularly watching television. He knows what is going on. This is certainly true for the larger offices, and I think generally true for the smaller offices.

More than you believe, they are also interested in qualified candidates and in good government, and changes for the better. It is healthy.

This is not to depreciate organizations, parties, and groups—they are needed. Workers are needed and I have worked on this theory that, things being equal, the work of the party should get the rewards, but they should be equal.

I would like to tell you a little bit about the work of the state and what problems are facing us, and what your governor is trying to do about some of them. Some of these problems are: higher education, water problems, our per capita income, small industries, long-range planning against hurricanes, and public school problems.

We are facing a national campaign. We can win if we stick

together, and in the good of the public, for the truth and the whole truth about public power, Dixon-Yates, farm prices, tariffs, the control of big business in the advertising agencies of the Republican party.

Let us always demand the best that is in our party, stick to the principles of the party, and put forward the best candidates possible. This applies to all levels, local, state, and national. Help us do this and you will have made the kind of contribution that you ought to make.

REMARKS AT LUNCHEON WITH DIRECTORS OF THE SEABOARD AIR LINE RAILROAD COMPANY

CHARLOTTE
October 11, 1955

[In line with his concern over the state's low per capita income, Governor Hodges early in his administration secured funds from a private source and instituted a project known as the Governor's Small Industries Plan, designed to stimulate interest in a greater and more diversified industrial development in North Carolina. The 1955 General Assembly authorized the creation of a Business Development Corporation which hoped to sell $1,000,000 worth of stock and use the proceeds to provide loans to small industries wishing to start business in the state. The Governor made a number of speeches on this subject and referred to it in several others. This address, delivered in Charlotte at a luncheon sponsored by the Seaboard Air Line Railroad and attended by the railroad's board of directors and a number of prominent bankers, industrialists, and other businessmen, was made in the hope of attracting subscriptions to the Development Corporation in that area.]

It is a pleasure for me to meet with this large group of Mecklenburg and other state leaders. A great railroad is our host at this luncheon. We are indebted to Robert Lassiter, a director of the Seaboard Air Line, for promotion of this occasion. I extend my thanks to both Mr. Lassiter and his fellow directors of the Seaboard for making it possible for me to come here and talk to you on a subject of deep interest to me as governor of North Carolina and I feel of interest to the Seaboard and other enterprises here represented.

You know what my theme is. I am convinced that this state must make a sustained drive for establishment of many more diversified

industries if it is to lift the economic level of the people and change its relative position in the list of the forty-eight states with respect to average income. Our primary interest, of course, is the development of work opportunities for our growing population and the conservation and use of resources to improve the general economic well-being. Our relative position among the states is merely a challenging way of stating the great need for inventory and for action.

We are assembled here in our most highly developed industrial and commercial county to consider what may be done to improve the general welfare of North Carolina. If the people of all counties had incomes comparable to the incomes in Mecklenburg, we would have a high economic position among the states. In 1950, when the average family income for North Carolina was $2,121 and that of the entire United States $3,073, Mecklenburg's average family income was $3,180. This was $960 above the state average and $107 above the national average.

The fact that North Carolina has been forty-fourth among the states in average income has been advertised widely. We held this status for decades despite the fact that in recent years we have experienced a great expansion of industry. I want to emphasize the extent of the expansion of our industry. This state today is the largest industrial producer in the Southeast. Figures indicating a relatively low average income should not blind us to the fact that we have made great progress in industrialization.

The extent of expansion has been great, and of almost equal importance has been the fact that we have achieved marked diversification in recent years. A state which depended very largely on textiles, tobacco, and furniture is becoming a great producer of other kinds of commodities.

Our progress has been impressive, and we have just now labored ourselves up a notch higher in the list of states. For the first time in many years we no longer are forty-fourth. We now are forty-third. We can find no great comfort in this slight rise. While we are the greatest industrial producer in the Southeast we also have the largest population in the section among which the returns from industry must be divided to get our median figure, and our upward movement must be resolutely continued.

Since I have been governor, I have emphasized the importance

of more payrolls, more general industrialization. Despite the extent to which we have built factories we remain almost uniquely the agricultural state. In a nation where 12.5 per cent of all labor is employed on the farm, North Carolina has 24.9 per cent so employed. We have more farms than has any other state except Texas. Average incomes remain low in any state almost exactly proportionate to the percentage of the labor force that continues to rely on farming. In Mecklenburg only 3.7 per cent of your labor force is in agriculture compared with the state average of 24.9 per cent. The peak of farm dependence in North Carolina is in Clay County where 60.6 per cent of the labor force is in agriculture.

Despite this apparent cause and effect relation between agricultural dependence and low incomes, I like the constituency of North Carolina. I take pride in the fact that we are a state in which a large percentage of the people do live on small farms and love them. In my opinion, the decentralization of the population of the state is a strength for the long pull rather than a weakness. We have no huge cities. We meet today in our largest one, and even Charlotte remains small enough to be neighborly. I hope we shall remain a state of an evenly populated countryside and moderate-size cities. But we must find a way to increase the work opportunities of our scattered people and this problem becomes more important as we continue to release agricultural workers through mechanization.

Fortunately, for a state like ours, the trend in industry is toward decentralization. Several considerations are motivating this trend. One of them is national security. Concentrated factories are too easily crippled or destroyed in modern warfare for a nation to be willing to trust its fate to vital industries grouped as prime targets for air attack. Another consideration is the increased availability of satisfactory labor where population is decentralized but domiciled on good roads. Our state is outstanding in this regard.

North Carolina is peculiarly advantaged to get the benefits of the trend to decentralize industry. The state is centrally located in the East with favorable hauling distances to great markets. It is rich in one resource of increasing importance to industry. I refer to the abundance of soft surface and ground waters. The

state has led the nation in the building of all-weather secondary roads, liberating a great labor force from the handicap of mud. It is now possible to establish a factory in almost any countryside in this state and not lack for labor, transportation facilities, or power. No longer is it necessary for a great industry to locate in a large center of population.

Perhaps more important than any of the other advantages mentioned is the state's labor force. I am thinking both of its quantity and its quality. New industries which have set themselves up in the state have found that they can train the technical help they require much more easily in North Carolina than they had expected to be able to train new workers.

These general characteristics which I have mentioned for North Carolina also can be found in most of the Southeastern states. The availability for industrial locations in these small communities and the availability of stable, hard-working employees is a great attraction to most American industries, and we in state government fully understand and appreciate what a new industry means to any one of our communities. The cumulative effect of a new payroll is almost incredible. For example, when an industry employing 150 people begins operations in any community, it actually can mean:

An annual payroll of $350,000
A plant investment of $300,000
A ten-room schoolhouse
An outlay of $120,000 annually for transportation
An annual expenditure in trade of $2,000,000
A dozen stores
A taxable valuation of over $1,000,000
The support of 1500 people
The sale and service of 400 cars
Yearly markets for $800,000 in farm products

These facts have become increasingly well known among community leaders, governmental officials, and local businessmen throughout the South. We now have the greatest competition for new industries that can be found anywhere as states, sections, counties, and communities strive to attract manufacturing payrolls. Notable gains have been made, and a recent *Wall Street Journal* survey revealed that factory employment in seven

Southern states was up 17 per cent since 1946, as compared with a nationwide gain of 10 per cent. Meanwhile, manufacturing payrolls in the Southeast accounted for about 18 per cent of all income payments in 1954, as compared with 17 per cent in 1950 and 15 per cent in pre-war 1940. This survey reported that manufacturing employment in most Southeastern states since 1946 has increased more rapidly than the national average.

New industry seeking a new location for a specific manufacturing project sometimes has its problems in finding what it wants. These are some basic factors, however, which all industry takes into consideration and must be understood by all concerned. What is the attitude of the community regarding new industries? Is there sufficient available surplus labor to meet requirements? Is there ample power, good local transportation facilities, an airport not too far away, and what is the story on taxes—municipal, county, state? Then there are area wage rates, the attitude of labor generally in the area, and the productivity and cost of training labor. Industry must consider other factors such as nearness to raw materials, and nearness to markets, as well as construction costs and the availability of adequate water supplies. From the standpoint of good employee relations, every good industry is interested in adequate hospital and medical facilities, adequate public school facilities, housing, climate, the appearance of a community, et cetera. Above all, in my opinion, is attitude.

We are not dissatisfied with the recent effects of the state's efforts to secure new enterprises from outside the state. Your fellow-citizen from Charlotte, Ben Douglas, has been working valiantly in this matter as director of the Department of Conservation and Development. We also take some pride in the recent increase of our small native industries, but we cannot be satisfied with progress made. Therefore, we have deliberately set ourselves to a program of positive promotion in which we will maintain our hospitality toward industries from other states while urging our own people to recognize the importance of native industrial development.

There are two special areas of industrial potentiality which stand out. First, the state can and must process and conserve a greater portion of our food and feed. In this state more than double the

national average of people are dependent on farming, but we have fewer than one-half the national average of people engaged in food processing. This leaves us in the position of importing food and feed, which we can produce ourselves and conserve, from areas where the wage scales are 30 to 100 per cent higher than our own. This constitutes a drain on our economy which is bound to be reflected in our economic well-being and our comparative status in average income.

I would not be misunderstood as advocating a buy-at-home movement. On the contrary, I am advocating a movement to produce and conserve at home so that our people can be better customers for other states for things we really need to buy. We make things to sell to the world. We want to utilize our resources at home so that we may buy more, not only of our own products but of the products of others.

The other area of especially important potentiality for small industries is in the production of the component parts of the larger products of some of our great new industries. One corporation in this state is buying such component parts at a cost of $100,000,000 a year and gets only one-tenth of them from sources within the state. The opportunity exists for production of a much greater percentage of this company's needs and of the needs of other great buyers operating in the state. This is a rich field, indeed.

We have been conducting in recent months a special project known as the Governor's Small Industries Plan. It is privately financed and its objectives have been:

1. To stir the people throughout the state to ask themselves and find an answer to the question: "What can we make here that we can sell profitably?"
2. To organize a state-wide human structure of permanent character interested in the continued promotion of industrial development.
3. To prepare technical aids to a skillful approach to community action in industrial organization.

These objectives have been advanced. The state is showing an inspiring interest in the program. The Junior Chamber of Commerce has adopted the program as a permanent project and constitutes a dependable state-wide structure of ambitious young men.

The state press, the State Bankers Association, and the State Merchants Association have endorsed the movement and all are showing a fine spirit of cooperation.

In the course of this promotional work, we reached the conclusion that there was another thing needed to strengthen our hands for the work ahead. I refer to the need of a credit corporation that could make available long-term loans to eligible industries which commercial banks frequently cannot handle. We are proceeding to organize the Business Development Corporation of North Carolina to fill this need. The corporation is being formed under an enabling act passed by the General Assembly and with the encouragement of the state's bankers, who recognize that there is a place in our financial structure for this new corporation.

We want to sell a million dollars worth of stock in this corporation. We have sold approximately one-fourth of it. A sale of a million dollars of stock should give us a lending potential of many times that amount. The funds will come from other banks, insurance companies, building and loan associations, trust companies, foundations, and other financial institutions which elect to become members of the corporation.

I regard this meeting today as a proper occasion for me to make an appeal to you to join us and give us substantial aid in this movement for the building up of North Carolina. I want you as substantial stockholders in this corporation.

This program has some unique facets but it falls far short of being really unique. Other states are doing something of the same kind. Each of the New England states has a corporation of the sort we are setting up. New York State is establishing one. All over this nation vigorous action is being taken to promote industrial development that will increase payrolls and expand the number of taxpayers and the amount of taxables. Such action is needed to insure the full development of our free enterprise system.

North Carolina is not leading the way, but we hope we are not far behind. Some others are abreast of us or out in front in self-conscious promotion of this kind of development. We must act positively and effectively, not merely in hope of improving our relative position in the nation but in order to assure us against

falling to an even lower position. It is my firm purpose to press this program. I appeal to you confidently in the name of your love for North Carolina, and for your self-interests as well, to join me and give your substantial support to what we are trying to do.

Another matter with which we are preoccupied now is related importantly to our industrial promotion plan. I refer to the task that the state government has assumed to review our tax laws. The General Assembly authorized a tax study commission which I appointed recently, and this commission is expected to come back to the 1957 General Assembly with positive recommendations.

North Carolina state government, as distinguished from local government, has assumed a greater part of the financial burdens in public service than has any other American state. We have centralized uniquely the responsibility for providing financial ways and means of running the public school system and building and maintaining the road system. We have done this while maintaining a large measure of governmental control where it ought to be—in the hands of local authorities.

But paying the bills for these essential public services has required some heavy special taxation, especially since the state has left ad valorem levies on property to the counties and towns. Our levies have been accumulated somewhat haphazardly under the compulsion of our need as we sought to maintain high standards in the public service. Those levies for the most part distribute the tax burden widely and fairly and our people have approved this distribution, recognizing that their state government has been one of integrity and competence in using the funds.

The total tax package of North Carolina is not high relatively. In order to determine the extent of the tax package, all local, as well as central state levies, must be taken into consideration. When this is done, it appears that we stand well among the states in our tax picture.

One highly important factor having to do with our state and local tax rates is the number of employees who work for the state and who work for local governmental units. If we consider only state government, North Carolina is in an unfavorable position since we have in this state the highest ratio of state governmental employees to population of any state in the Union. We

have 17.7 state employees per 1,000 population. There are only four other states where this ratio is even as high as 10 employees per 1,000. However, this is only a part of the over-all picture. Our ratio of local government employees to population is the lowest of any of the 48 states. Here we have 5.8 employees per 1,000 population which is less than half as high as the next lowest state and only about one-fourth as high as the national average, which is 20 local government employees per 1,000 population. Thus, looking at the entire governmental structure, local and state, we find that North Carolina has 23.5 governmental employees per 1,000 population. Only nine states have a lower ratio than North Carolina's, and the national average is 26.7 government employees per 1,000 population. And I can add that state and local government employees in North Carolina generally do a good job.

I have cited these figures simply to illustrate one of the reasons why our state taxes when not considered along with local taxes place us in an unfavorable competitive position when viewed so superficially. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that North Carolina's tax structure is often erroneously presented because of the high assumption of governmental responsibilities by state government, as distinguished from local government, it appears that there actually are some inequalities, and some provisions in our tax plan which your governor and your legislature believe are penalizing the state and its people without a compensating amount of revenue. It is in correcting these conditions that I expect the new tax study to do its best work.

I have stated that this movement to revise our tax plan is related to our drive for further industrialization. The relation is very important in my opinion. In the competition among the states for productive capital and payrolls, no one state can afford the costly privilege of adverse tax levies which may discourage industries from locating in it or being built in it by those already here. I think we have a few levies which might possibly fall into that class. At least I consider it highly constructive and desirable to make a thorough examination of all of our levies with a view to determining what changes should be made.

The most important tax relief that we may anticipate in North Carolina is the relief which comes to present taxpayers by increasing both taxpayers and taxables through economic development.

We therefore want to work to overlook no chance to increase the inducement to development. We as a state are not offering subsidies of any sort to industry. We contemplate no tax concessions. We merely are resolved to see to it that we operate under equitable laws such as will promote the industrial progress we need and foresee.

Our small-industry promotion will be continued under the direction of the State Department of Conservation and Development at the end of the temporary project, and I am so confident that it is essential to the basic welfare of the state that I do not hesitate to urge you to help. I appeal especially to the railroads for full cooperation through their highly effective industrial agents.

You gentlemen of the Seaboard Air Line, who have already done such a good job for North Carolina, and for that matter industrial agents of the various railroads, utilities, et cetera, can be a great help to this state in its program of industrial development. This applies both to the development and securing of small as well as large industries. State government can and should furnish only a small part of the promotional needs. The rest will be up to our citizens who are interested in the industrial development of this state. I hope that all of you will pitch in and help out both in subscriptions to our Business Development Corporation and in making helpful contacts both with prospective and present industries.

Thank you again for your courtesy and hospitality!

ADDRESS AT THE FOUNDERS' DAY PROGRAM OF THE AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL COLLEGE OF NORTH CAROLINA

GREENSBORO
November 4, 1955

[Opposition to the Hodges proposal for voluntary segregation of the races in the public schools had been expressed by Negroes on several occasions and was apparently crystallizing among certain Negro groups when, early in November 1955, the Governor went to Greensboro to speak at the Founders' Day exercises at the Negro Agricultural and Technical College and

to participate in the dedication of nine new buildings which had been recently completed on the campus of that institution. There is no evidence that President F. D. Bluford or any of the other administrative officials of the College shared in the opposition of the Governor's program or that they were in any way unfriendly to him; but a portion of the crowd of students and Negro townspeople, who overflowed the building in which the exercises were held, appears to have been disgruntled and impolite. It was noted that they failed to stand, as is customary on such occasions in North Carolina, when the Governor entered the auditorium. The Governor's address was interrupted at two points, first by what he described as "a discourteous snicker, very audible" while he was reading from the first paragraph on page 256, and again when he had reached the fourth paragraph from the end. The second interruption, estimated to have come from about one-half of the audience, was so pronounced that he stopped speaking until the commotion subsided.

The causes underlying this incident are difficult to ascertain. The students themselves were quoted as attributing it to what they understood to be an offensive pronunciation by the Governor of the word "Negro," saying that it came to their ears as "Nigra." The Governor denied that he had mispronounced the word and expressed the opinion that this explanation was an excuse concocted after the event occurred and that the interruptions were premeditated. President Bluford thought that the disturbance started in the balcony where a large portion of the audience was from the city. Among the explanations given by those who believed the incident to have been premeditated were: (1) that it was connected with earlier complaints which had been made by students about the food situation at the College; (2) that it was inspired by Negro ex-soldiers who, having experienced the absence of segregation in the army, were resentful of its being reapplied to them as students; and (3) that it was not directed against the Governor at all, but was designed to embarrass President Bluford and the College administration because of their moderate approach to the segregation issue and because of the fact that the College's treasurer and a majority of its trustees are white. The incompatibility of the two component parts of the last named explanation seems to have been overlooked by those who advanced it.

The episode received wide publicity in the press and was the subject of a large number of letters to the Governor. President Bluford called it "a most reprehensible thing" and wrote profuse apologies to the Governor, as did also the faculty, several student organizations, and a number of individual students. To each of these the Governor replied with identical letters reading as follows: "I hereby acknowledge receipt of your communication of November 5 regarding the unfortunate incident at A & T College." Although the *News and Observer* irritated the Governor and some of his friends by an editorial criticizing the curtness with which he acknowledged the letters of apology, it does not appear that the episode had any marked effect upon the Governor's popularity one way or another or that it changed to any degree the course of the state's approach to the segregation problem.]

Members of the Board of Trustees, President Bluford, Members of the Faculty, Alumni, Students, and Guests:

It is with real pleasure that I am privileged to be with you on the sixty-fourth Founders' Day at A & T College. An occasion such as this is a time for reviewing with pardonable pride what has been accomplished in the past and for looking with justified hope toward what may be accomplished in the future.

The institution we are here to honor on this day has come a long way since the North Carolina General Assembly in 1891 passed a law which provided for its creation. Let me review somewhat summarily the history of this fine institution, and point out just a few of the accomplishments in which we all take pride. I would then like to examine briefly with you the over-all picture of North Carolina's record and programs in the field of state-supported higher education for Negroes.

In the year 1862, the Federal Congress passed what is referred to as the first Morrill Act which provided for a federal grant of land to each state for the support of a college for agriculture and the mechanic arts. In 1890 a second Morrill Act was passed which increased federal support for such land-grant colleges. By this time the strife and bitterness of the War Between the States and the period of Reconstruction had begun to lessen somewhat in the South, and it was on March 9, 1891, that our General Assembly provided for the establishment in this state of the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the colored race. This legislation provided the means for receiving the federal land grants allocated to the state for Negro students. The legislative act stated that the leading objective of the institution should be to teach practical agriculture and the mechanic arts, but it also said that the objectives were to include branches of learning related thereto, not excluding academic and classical instruction. The terms were general, but it must be noted that although the general tone of the statement of purpose indicated that the institution was to give courses which were functional or vocational, nevertheless, the broad meaning of the language permitted a construction which would assure the students in the new college cultural instruction along with their practical training.

For the first three years of existence of the institution, it was operated more or less as an annex to Shaw University in Raleigh.

However, it had its own separate board of trustees composed of nine outstanding citizens representing each of the then existing Congressional districts. Three of the trustees, Hugh Cole of Elizabeth City, John S. Leary of Fayetteville, and Charles H. Moore of Greensboro, were Negroes. The other six, J. M. Early of Aulander, W. H. Pace of Raleigh, W. B. McKoy of Wilmington, J. W. Paine of Kiddsville, S. M. Tate of Morganton, and W. H. McClure of Hayesville, were white. The first president of the college, who served from 1892 to 1896, was Dr. John O. Crosby of Salisbury. During the period in which A & M, as it was then known, was operated in conjunction with Shaw University, the staff consisted of four professors who were: A. B. Vincent, English; J. W. Kimball, engineering; W. H. Massey, horticulture; and Joseph P. Chamberlain, agriculture.

When provision was made for the establishment of A & M College for Negroes, many cities in the state sought its location within their boundaries. Among these were: Wilmington, Raleigh, Durham, Winston-Salem, and Greensboro. Dr. D. W. C. Benbow and Professor Charles H. Moore, both of Greensboro, took the lead in the organization set up to secure the college for that city. Their determined efforts were successful. Professor Moore later became vice-president of the institution and served as a professor of English for a number of years.

Dr. James B. Dudley was the institution's second president, having been elected in 1896. He served until 1925. It was during his administration, in the year 1915, that the name of the college was changed from A & M College for the colored race to the Negro Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina. Dr. Dudley was a vigorous president and his efforts resulted in the raising of the standards of the college and in the erection of several new buildings. In 1921, the legislature appropriated more than one-half million dollars for buildings at A & T.

Upon the death of Professor Dudley, Dr. F. D. Bluford succeeded to the presidency, and under his administration A & T has enjoyed its greatest expansion. Under Dr. Bluford, student enrollment has risen from 600 to 2600, and the college has gained accreditation from state, regional, and national rating agencies. In his first commencement, Dr. Bluford conferred the bachelor's degree on eight young men. In 1955 he conferred more than 300

bachelor's degrees and diplomas and 128 earned master's degrees. Twenty-one young men received commissions in the United States Army and the Air Force Reserves.

Since 1947, A & T College has received appropriations for permanent improvements in the sum of approximately $10,000,000. This is almost half of the total permanent improvement appropriations made to the five Negro institutions of higher learning during this period, and is almost twice as much as permanent improvement appropriations for any of the white institutions of higher learning except those made to the Consolidated University.

A few days ago I was told by the Honorable Dave Coltrane, assistant director of the budget, and a good friend of this college, that A & T College was the most efficiently run institution of higher learning in the state. Naturally Mr. Coltrane, being the state's chief fiscal officer, used the term "efficient" with primary emphasis on the cost and expenditures, and of course your large enrollment helps make this possible. When we are applying the label "efficient" to an institution of higher learning, there are other factors to be considered in addition to those of cost and expenditures. An educational institution ought principally to be ranked in accordance with the contributions which it makes to the community and the state which supports it. And naturally the principal contributions any institution of higher learning can make must come through its graduates. The ability and character of the people it sends into the life of its state and the things that they do with this ability and character are what is truly important.

Applying these criteria to A & T College, it can be said that here too A & T is an efficient institution. This school has produced 52 per cent of the Negro high school principals of the State of North Carolina. It has produced more teachers in the public schools than any other Negro college, even though it is not primarily a teacher institution. Seventy-five per cent of the Negro vocational, agricultural, and industrial arts teachers are its graduates; 90 per cent of the Negro agriculture-extension county agents are its graduates. It has furnished over 200 officers to the United States Armed Forces; and the greatest contribution of all has been made in the trades, where its graduates constitute 80 per cent of the Negro college graduates in masonry, radio, television, etc.

This can be just a beginning of training for the higher professions and of more diversified occupations. It will take leadership and excellence in the college administration and faculty and hard work, vision, patience, and understanding on the part of the students and sacrifice and understanding by the parents. You have already done well and the future is essentially up to you.

Let me list for you the names of some of the outstanding graduates of this great institution, and I caution that the names I refer to are not all inclusive but are simply illustrative. There are many, many others equally as outstanding.

In the field of educational administration there are:

Dr. Earl H. McClenny, president of St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute, Lawrenceville, Virginia.

Dr. F. A. Williams, dean of the graduate school, A & T College.

Mr. S. C. Smith, dean of the Technical Institute, A & T College.

In the field of agricultural extension service there are:

Mr. R. E. Jones, state extension agent for North Carolina.

Mr. Ross W. Newsome, state extension agent for Virginia.

Mr. Willard H. Williamson, state extension agent for Tennessee.

In the field of vocational agricultural there are:

Mr. S. B. Simmons, assistant state supervisor for agricultural education in North Carolina.

Mr. W. T. Johnson, assistant state supervisor and executive secretary of the New Farmers of America, North Carolina.

In the field of college teaching and administration there are:

Dr. Walter L. Johnson, head of the department of agronomy, Florida A & M College, Tallahassee, Florida.

Dr. M. F. Spaulding, professor of agronomy, Tennessee A & I University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. Burley C. Webb, professor of soil science, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama.

Dr. C. L. Spellman, director of student teaching, North Carolina College, Durham, North Carolina.

Dr. Garland Bass, professor of agronomy, Alabama A & M College, Huntsville, Alabama.

In the field of professions there are:

Dr. Clyde Donnell, vice-president and medical director of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Durham, North Carolina.

Dr. Andrew A. Best, practicing in Greenville, North Carolina.
Dr. Alvin V. Blount, practicing in Greensboro, North Carolina.
Dr. Joseph Colson, practicing in Oxford, North Carolina.

In the field of dentistry there are:

Dr. B. W. Barnes, practicing in Greensboro, North Carolina.
Dr. W. M. Jenkins, practicing in Greensboro, North Carolina.

In the field of business there is:

Mr. E. R. Merrick, vice-president and treasurer of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company,
Durham, North Carolina

I go to the trouble of giving all these names of your graduates because it is so easy to practice self-pity and say to yourselves and your race that you have the opportunity of being only "hewers of wood and drawers of water"; and sometimes, we are just as guilty of the other extreme of telling how good we are and how well we are doing without proper proof as to character and ability.

My further point in listing these distinguished graduates is to show that A & T College is an efficient institution in the broadest sense of the word. The people and the General Assembly of North Carolina have recognized this fact, as illustrated by these beautiful buildings which are being dedicated here today.

Students have also recognized the high quality of A & T College. It and Winston-Salem Teachers College were the only two of the five Negro colleges having an increase in enrollment this year as of September 30. And it is my belief that this increase is fully justified and will continue. The other three institutions may well examine themselves as to why their enrollment has dropped.

One further recognition of the high quality of A & T College is demonstrated by the selection of Dr. W. E. Reed, your dean of agriculture, as one of the two agricultural college representatives to serve as a member of a national commission of twelve selected for the purpose of making a tour of Russia at the instance of agricultural editors, the United States Department of Agriculture and the United States Department of State.

Inasmuch as part of today's program includes presentation and acceptance ceremonies with respect to your new buildings, I will not go into any further discussion of them. Instead I would like to use the remainder of the time available to me to examine briefly the over-all picture of Negro higher education in North Carolina.

We have in our state twelve state-supported institutions of higher learning, six of which are for white students, five for Negro students, and one for Indian students. The State of Virginia has only two state-supported institutions of higher learning for Negroes and the State of South Carolina has only one. Why is it that North Carolina has done so much more to provide educational opportunities for the Negro race than has its neighboring sister states? Wherein are we different from South Carolina and Virginia? I cannot answer the question; I can only remind you that the difference exists. We in North Carolina have never bothered too much about what our sister states were doing to provide opportunities in higher education for their Negro citizens; rather, North Carolina has consistently operated with the belief that the youth of the Negro race was as much entitled to the benefits of higher educational opportunities as anyone else. We thought we had an understanding Negro race and we have taken a long-range, reasonable gamble on our being able to work out a great future together. The experience of the last ten years reveals that the state would like to continue to work along these lines to a greater and greater extent. For instance, the maintenance appropriation for A & T College made for the year 1947-48 amounted to $218,130; whereas, the maintenance appropriation made for the 1956-1957 fiscal year for A & T College is $901,986. This is over a 400 percent increase since 1947. Other North Carolina Negro institutions have received substantially the same sort of increase. Since 1947 total appropriations for permanent improvements in the five Negro institutions amount to $21,681,597. Who can say in the face of figures such as these that North Carolina is not doing its part in educating its Negro youths?

There are those who insist that in the light of recent court decisions having to do with admissions to institutions of higher learning, our plans for development of our Negro institutions must be curtailed, and that this great period of expansion must end. I do not agree that this is necessary. It is my opinion that we will continue this development, and that everything that we provide will be used to the good of the state. My advice in planning for higher education in North Carolina will be based on the assumption that our Negro institutions will continue to be needed and used

by members of the Negro race, and that the communities, the state, and the nation, will benefit therefrom.

Some of your leadership could very easily destroy much of the progress we have made both as to educational standards and as to physical buildings and equipment. It could very easily by antagonizing and baiting destroy something far more precious, namely, our good relations and the trust we have had for a long-range and fruitful association for the common good.

Let us hope and pray that together we can have courage without audacity, progress without pressure, and a future without failure.

In closing let me again congratulate all of you on the splendid record that A & T College has made in higher education and particularly under your distinguished president, Dr. Bluford. This is a great day for A & T and I am glad to be here with you. Thank you.

STATEMENT BEFORE UNITED STATES SENATE AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEE HEARING

RALEIGH
November 15, 1955

[Originally scheduled to be held in the Agriculture Building, this meeting, which was attended by more than 400 persons from three states, was moved into the Highway Building Auditorium. The U. S. Senate Committee on Agriculture, on a country-wide "grass roots" tour headed by its chairman, Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, heard Governor Hodges and forty-three other witnesses give their views on what should be done about the nation's farm problems. The Governor expressed concern over the "selective prosperity" in which the nation's farmers were not participating and was otherwise critical of the federal government's farm policy.]

I would like to express my appreciation to Chairman Ellender, Senator Scott, Congressman Cooley and members of this committee for providing North Carolinians this opportunity to express themselves on the farm situation. Of all the forty-eight states, North Carolina has the largest percentage of population living and working on farms. Next to Texas, North Carolina has the largest number of individual farms. Naturally, as governor of this state, I am immensely concerned over the farmers' place in

this "selective prosperity" which some of the nation's citizens are enjoying at this time. I would like to emphasize what has already been said by various people—that is, that we cannot hope to have continuing general prosperity if a large segment of our population is caught in an economic depression. If the history of the 1920's teaches us anything, it teaches us that if farmers are left out of prosperity eventually everybody will be out. I join my voice with the other voices we have heard today in saying that something constructive must be done.

I assume, of course, that this committee is interested in securing our views on what the federal government ought to do with respect to this situation. I would like to say that we here in North Carolina are fully aware that there are things which can and ought to be done by state leaders. Indeed I would like to call your attention to the fact that we are doing something about it in this state. We have already in motion a Small Industries Plan, designed to provide jobs whereby the income of farmers and farm families may be supplemented without the necessity of their moving from their farms. It is my belief that our Small Industries program in due time will provide great help. Perhaps it would be preferable that farming be made so profitable that all farmers could supply their needs and wants without other employment, and I believe you should continue to work toward such a solution for as many farmers as possible. However, while this solution is being sought, our farmers are in need, and we intend to try to provide the means for satisfying at least some of these needs by helping create small industries located near the farms and by encouraging the development of food processing industries which can use some of the products which the farmers grow. In the meantime, the federal government ought to change its present agricultural policies.

What we need is a return to rigid price supports along with a controlled acreage program. We know that rigid supports will provide the farmer with sufficient income to live on, and we also know that sliding supports will not. Even if, before controlled acreage can take full effect, such a program should continue temporarily to build up the surpluses we hear so much about, it is still necessary that we have it. I am somewhat impatient with those people who point to the existence of agricultural surpluses

as evidence that the farmer is creating a burden to be borne by the American public. Actually the existence of these surpluses is instead evidence that the federal government is at least getting something for the money it spends in aid of the farmer. Furthermore by their very existence these surplus commodities provide a reserve which helps to keep consumer prices down to a practical level. And I call your attention to the fact that the agricultural commodities held by the federal government are at least as much, if not more than what the federal government gets for some of the money it expends in aid of other segments of our population; to be specific, transportation subsidies through mail contracts and other means, tax write-offs for certain industries, defense contracts with guaranteed profits, etc. Mind you, I am not criticizing these other things, I am simply trying to emphasize a point made by Senator Kerr Scott in a recent speech—namely, that the farmers are not the only ones who receive help from the federal government; it just happens that they give a tangible product in return for what they receive. The existence of these products in surplus amounts unduly highlights the aid which the federal government provides for the farmers. We do not seek preferential treatment for our farmers, but we do seek some approach to equality of treatment. We are aware that all of us including farm organizations and groups have much long-range planning to do to reach a permanent solution of the farm problem, but for the present at least it is my belief that only through rigid supports and controlled acreage is the farmer going to be able to secure his share in the wealth of the nation.

Thank you for the privilege of appearing before you.

A REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA AFTER ONE YEAR AS GOVERNOR

ON STATE-WIDE RADIO-TELEVISION NETWORK
November 30, 1955

[Similar to but covering a longer period than his broadcasts of March 2 (see pp. 85-99) and June 6 (see pp. 143-154), this address gave an account of the Governor's stewardship during his first twelve months in office. The speech was made in the governor's office in the Capitol and was carried to the people over a state-wide radio and television network.]

A little over a year ago, following the untimely death of the late Governor William B. Umstead, I assumed the office of governor of this great state. Since then, I have tried periodically to inform you, the citizens of North Carolina, as to your state government. Much has transpired during the past year, and I want to review with you the year's activities and consider some of the problems. This is your government—you are its stockholders.

November, 1954, was a critical time in the history of this state in many ways. We in North Carolina faced a number of difficult problems, some of which were entirely new and some of which we had not faced in several decades. One of the problems involved the state's finances. Revenue estimates had been prepared during a time which now appears to have been a dip in our economy, and these estimates revealed a need for $52,000,000 in new taxes for the 1955-57 biennium. The budget discussions had been taking place for several months before I took office, and I came in without this background at a time when the conclusions had been generally formulated, but had not been finally drawn. There was sufficient time to examine carefully the proposed budget and to see that the Advisory Budget Commission had whittled down the requests of our state agencies and institutions just about as far as could reasonably be done. On the basis of the revenue estimates at that time, I agreed with the need for a substantial increase in revenue. So when the General Assembly met in January, the budget was submitted with the Advisory Budget Commission's unanimous recommendations for specific taxes which would raise the needed money.

As all of you know, our economy steadily improved the next

several months, and on the basis of revised estimates which took into account the improved economy and our projected savings, we cut our estimated new tax needs from $52,000,000 to $19,500,000, which the General Assembly, after the longest session in our history, finally provided.

I said publicly during the period when revenue estimates were being changed that I thought it would be a good idea if, in the future, we could make estimates more frequently in order to give the people of the state a better understanding of the over-all picture and how trends in our economy could affect these estimates. In accordance with this idea, our revenue experts prepared a current estimate as of October 1 of this year which reveals that on the basis of current conditions, we can expect to collect approximately $7,500,000 more during the current fiscal year than had been anticipated in the latest estimate made while the General Assembly was in session. We hope to continue these estimates at least every six months. It is pleasant to report at this time that the state's fiscal condition is good, and we hope current favorable economic conditions continue.

Along with the revenue problems which existed when I came into office, there were many other matters to be dealt with. The Commission on Reorganization of State Government filed, during my first two months in office, eight separate reports which contained some far-reaching and, in some instances, controversial recommendations. The Commission on Higher Education made a report and concluded with a recommendation for the creation of a State Board of Higher Education. The Judicial Council recommended the redistricting of judicial districts and the appointment of eleven new regular judges with the elimination of provision for eight of the twelve special judges. The Water Resources Advisory Committee had recommended some rather drastic changes in our water laws, along with the creation of a Board of Water Commissioners. On January 13, the State Highway and Public Works Commission field a report recommending increased highway taxes and the issuance of bonds in amounts up to $150,000,000 for highways. The Commission on Juvenile Courts and Correctional Institutions had suggested the creation of a Youth Service Board. The Commission on the Revision of Public School Laws had filed its report containing a complete rewrite of

our school laws. The General Statutes Commission and the North Carolina Marketing Commission had submitted several recommendations. The State Board of Elections had suggested the abolition of the absentee ballot except for military personnel. And finally, the Special Advisory Committee on Education had filed its report as to what the state should do at that time with respect to the problems created by the segregation decision of the United States Supreme Court. In addition to these special reports, there were regular reports submitted by the various state agencies which are required to be made each biennium to the governor and General Assembly. Thus, you can see the many important issues which confronted us as we prepared for the convening of the 1955 General Assembly and made every effort to be in a position to offer the constructive leadership which is traditionally expected from the chief executive of North Carolina.

Let us review briefly what was done by the General Assembly about these reports and other problems it faced, and what is continuing to be done with respect to these and many other problems which had developed since the General Assembly adjourned in May.

Many of the recommendations of the Reorganization Commission were accepted; the composition of the Tax Review Board was changed and an appeal to the board from decisions of the commissioner of revenue was provided; the agencies having to do with the state libraries were consolidated; the power to appoint justices of the peace was removed from the governor's office and placed with the Superior Court judges; the pre-audit functions were removed from the state auditor's office and placed with the Budget Bureau and the auditor was made truly an independent official; the autonomy of the prison system was increased; and machinery was set up looking toward final settlement of the question of complete separation of the prisons from the State Highway and Public Works Commission.

The recommendation of the Commission on Higher Education was accepted, and the creation of the important Board of Higher Education was authorized. The redistricting recommendations made by the Judicial Council were accepted, and provision was made for eleven new regular Superior Court judges and four special judges to carry out expeditiously the business of our

courts. A Board of Water Commissioners, among the first in the South, was created pursuant to the recommendation from the Advisory Committee on Water Resources, and a temporary Youth Service Board was created in accordance with recommendations of the Commission on Juvenile Courts and Correctional Institutions. School laws were entirely re-codified, and the very important pupil assignment law recommended by the Advisory Committee on Education was adopted. The absentee ballot was not abolished, but more controls were placed around its use. As to recommendations made by the Highway Commission, the General Assembly adopted only a few, which improved the collection of highway revenue. For reasons which I will subsequently mention, I declined to join the Highway Commission in recommending the proposed highway bond issue, and it was never submitted to the General Assembly.

The General Assembly created the Tax Study Commission to make a study of our revenue laws. It also authorized several other study groups including the Commission to Study Operations of the Highway Commission, the Commission to Study Possible Changes in Representation in our General Assembly, and a newly-constituted Commission on Reorganization of State Government. Authorization was given for construction of a new state office building to be paid for out of surplus fees and not tax revenues, and the establishment of the North Carolina Business Development Corporation was made possible. These are just some of the more important actions taken by the 1955 General Assembly. I am sorry to say that a minimum wage law was not passed.

I have previously said, and continue to be of the opinion, that the 1955 General Assembly did an over-all good job with some highly difficult legislative questions. However, when it adjourned in late May, the executive and administrative problems with which a governor must deal were only beginning.

One of the matters that demanded immediate attention was the making of appointments, the number of which ran literally into the hundreds, many of them major in character. During the months of June, July, and August, 309 appointments were made, not including notaries public. Included in these appointments were fifteen Superior Court judges, and it was a grave responsibility indeed to be called upon to appoint a substantial portion of the total number of the state's Superior Court judges. I made

my selections only after extensive consultation with members of the Supreme Court, members of the bar, and various citizens. Immediately following the judicial appointments, we called a meeting of all members of the Superior Court bench and members of the Supreme Court, which was held on July 1 in Raleigh. At this meeting, believed to be the first of its kind in the history of the state, we discussed with members of the bench our views on what the people in North Carolina were expecting from the courts. We are happy at this time to be able to say that only good reports have been received on the work of every judge that was appointed and that the conditions of the Superior Court dockets throughout the state are already improved. These dockets will improve even more with the help of a special committee which the North Carolina Bar Association has been kind enough to provide to study ways and means of increasing the efficiency of the Superior Court system. This development is most significant!

Speaking of appointments, this is a Democratic administration, of course, and I believe in measuring up to the highest ideals and objectives of a political party. I have kept party organization in mind and have tried to select individuals primarily for their capabilities and without reference to any political faction of the party with which they may have been associated. It so happens—and I did not know this until a later check was made to answer some inquiries from the press—that between the two major factions in the state Democratic party, the appointments were divided approximately on a fifty-fifty basis.

Since the adjournment of the legislature, public engagements have consumed much of my time. These have been perhaps too numerous, but because it had been necessary to decline almost all invitations during the five months the legislature was in session we felt it advisable to reach as many parts of the state as possible, and see how the people were feeling about state problems. This became particularly important after the second Supreme Court decision on segregation which was handed down within a few days after the adjournment of the General Assembly.

With reference to the segregation problem, I would like to summarize briefly my actions and position. During the legislature I supported wholeheartedly the legislation recommended by what has come to be known as the Pearsall Committee. This legislation placed exclusive authority for the enrollment and assignment of

pupils with local school boards. In view of the second Supreme Court decision on segregation, the wisdom of this course of action has been made apparent.

As you know, on August 8, I addressed the people of the state and recommended a plan which I called "voluntary separate school attendance." In it, I proposed that in the interest of keeping our public schools, the different races, of their own free choice, attend their own schools. In spite of the loud protestations of the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and in spite of the unfavorable reaction of certain Negro groups, I am still of the opinion that this is the best approach to the problem and that the state's colored citizens will as time passes realize that their *real* friends are the white people of North Carolina, including the governor, and will see the wisdom of this recommendation. Members of the Advisory Committee on Education and I have had contacts with prominent colored leaders who have said that they believe their people prefer separate schools if equal facilities are maintained. These people have asked that their names be given no publicity because they do not wish to be made the objects of pressure from the professional agitators, but they are there and working for the program and I believe their number will grow. This problem is receiving constant attention, and we are convinced that wisdom dictates it be dealt with a step at the time as conditions develop.

Prominent leaders of the General Assembly, publicly expressing themselves after a recent meeting in my office, said that they feel no additional legislation is necessary at this time. I am in full agreement with this conclusion, but I would like to say that a special session of the legislature to deal further with this school problem will be called if the present program should result in conditions not acceptable to the state. Of course, you realize that before any basic change could be made in our school system, a state constitutional amendment would be required. This in turn would require approval of three-fifths of each house of the General Assembly and a favorable vote by the people of the state.

I am opposed to mixing the races in our schools. I think the overwhelming majority of the people of North Carolina are also opposed to mixing white and colored children, and that any sudden change in our enrollment pattern without due regard for local conditions would impair or destroy our public schools.

Although the task of trying to guide our public school system through the segregation crisis is constantly on my mind and on the minds of the legal and school officials in your government, we must not forget that buildings and teachers will be increasingly needed for our schools. There are also other problems which demand much attention and which are of great importance to our state. For instance, we have had to deal with several natural disasters in the form of hurricanes. The damage done to the farm lands and beaches of the eastern part of North Carolina has been terrific. It is not necessary to review all that has taken place in connection with these storms, but we can point with great pride to the courage and stamina of our people as exemplified through the way they have reacted to these catastrophes. We would like to call attention to the fact that we now have a group of experts studying the effects of hurricanes, and this group will prepare effective long-range recommendations for us. All government agencies, state and federal, should work together to help individuals face the future in this matter.

As mentioned before, I declined to support the bond issue which our State Highway Commission had recommended. Instead of the ten-year building program which had been proposed by the Highway Commission, we suggested that our state undertake, for the time being at least, a program of road building in two-year stages on a pay-as-you-go basis. At the end of two years, some of the doubtful factors, such as the federal road program, toll road feasibilities, et cetera, would probably be definite enough so that the necessities of our highways could be reviewed in a manner which could be expected to give the 1957 General Assembly a better foundation upon which to take long-range action.

Along with the two-year pay-as-you-go suggestion, the highway commissioners were requested to prepare and make public specific projects which would be undertaken during the coming two years. They complied with this request, and for the first time in modern history, interested North Carolinians know in advance the locality and nature of primary highway construction which will take place during the immediate years ahead. It can now be reported that our Highway Commission will this year let to contract on primary roads alone more than $50,000,000 of projects, and its total expenditures for the past fiscal year approximates $120,000,000. This brief summary of the very extensive operation of the Highway

Department calls to mind a problem which will handicap seriously any expanded road construction program, namely, the need for additional engineering and other technical personnel. Before we can spend properly and economically the larger amounts of money which will be necessary for a long-range highway program, we will need to increase the number of technical personnel in the Highway Department.

One other point concerning highways—and that is, we must not let our secondary road program dwindle away. In spite of the great number of secondary roads that were paved as a result of the $200,000,000 bond issue adopted in 1949, there still remains much to be done in this field. It is my firm conviction that our highway program of the future should take full account of this fact.

A subject closely related to the operations of the State Highway Commission is that of prison administration. The 1955 General Assembly directed that a study be made to determine the feasibility of separating the prison system from the highway system. Pursuant to this direction statistical information about the past and the present prison population is being collected, classified, and analyzed by experts so that plans for the prison system can be based upon factual material and informed estimates. Existing programs for the employment of prisoners are being studied, and careful consideration is being given to possibilities for other productive employment. The chief thing we must keep in mind is the therapeutic value of providing work for prisoners. Idleness is bad.

Before leaving the subject of highways, let me speak a word on safety. We have already slaughtered over 1,000 people on our highways this year. Tomorrow is S-D Day throughout the nation. December 6 is our next Governor's Traffic Safety Conference in Raleigh. Start now to drive more carefully!

Let us look briefly at the status of two important boards—the State Board of Higher Education, and the Board of Water Commissioners. Both of these boards were activated during last summer, and both have committees which are seeking to find appropriate men to serve as their administrative officers. The areas in which these boards will function are, of course, highly important to the state, and the selection of proper administrative officers will have much to do with the success of these undertakings. I

am glad that these boards are approaching their tasks with great care and responsibility.

We come now to a subject about which I have talked constantly during the past year; that is, our low per capita income. It so happens that North Carolina has recently moved from forty-fourth place in the nation to forty-third, but this was due principally to some other state's misfortune, rather than our good fortune. It is a problem which we must do something about, and I am happy to report to you that our plans for dealing with it are moving along rapidly and with some success.

Studies made to determine what factors cause low per capita income have found a definite relationship between a state's low income and the extent to which its people are engaged in small farming operations. North Carolina has more individual small farms than any state in the nation and this must be recognized as contributing to our low per capita income.

In our many trips around the state, we have talked at great length with farmers about their problems. Something must be done about the plight in which they find themselves, and it seems to me that there are at least two ways in which the state can help improve their situation. One of these is by increasing the amount of income which individual farmers can derive from the sale of items which they can raise and sell to local processing plants; the other is to secure additional and expanded industries—especially small industries—to provide jobs for farmers unable to make a living income from their present production and who may have to turn to other work.

Ways and means to keep staple crop prices at a reasonable level through an over-all farm program are matters dealt with principally by the federal government rather than by state government. This is because the markets for products, such as cotton and tobacco, are national and international in scope rather than local. In the past, the part state government has played in helping raise the farmer's income, has, with the exception of limited help in marketing problems, been restricted largely to devising and making available improved methods of production. Our state agricultural agencies have had considerable success in increasing yields and production.

As farmers have known for sometime and as the country seems at last to be realizing, present federal policies of price and market

control for farm products are resulting in a decreased farm income. In view of this situation and in view of the fact that the only method proposed so far to control farm incomes derived from products now being produced involves production cuts which in turn will further reduce the income of the small farmer, it seems to me that if state government is to take immediately any effective action with respect to the low per capita income problem, we will have to concentrate on providing more industries—with particular emphasis on the kind of industries which can benefit the farmers.

A well-rounded state industrial development program must have at least three facets. These are: the securing of industries from outside the state, the expansion of industries already operating within the state, and the creation of home-owned new industries within the state. We now have a well-rounded program and we are moving forward on all three fronts.

Since January 1, 1955 to date, 118 new plants have begun operations in North Carolina. These represent a capital investment of $54,000,000, payrolls of $24,000,000, and jobs for 8,769 persons. During the same period, expansion of industries already in North Carolina has resulted in a capital investment of nearly $54,000,000, payrolls of $16,000,000, and jobs for 6,425 persons. This gives us a total of new capital of $108,000,000, payrolls of $40,000,000, and jobs for 15,194 persons. Our Department of Conservation and Development is continuing to sell the industrial opportunities of North Carolina to industrialists throughout the nation. The organization and activation of the Research Triangle Committee (a group composed of prominent North Carolina businessmen) to attract industrial research laboratories to the state should add much to the success of our efforts.

Something to be remembered here is that North Carolina's industrial growth takes place without any "give away program." We are grateful for and proud of our existing North Carolina industries and expect to treat them as well as new ones which we are trying to get. Furthermore, we believe that our record of attracting industries proves that the really substantial and worthwhile corporations do not expect special advantages, but instead are willing to assume their fair share of the duties of community and state citizenship.

In the promotion and development of home-owned new industries within the state our plans are fast taking shape. We are in the process of organizing the North Carolina Business Development Corporation which is a private credit corporation to make available venture capital to persons who want to begin small industries or to expand already existing industries. We hope soon to have a revolving fund of several million dollars which can be loaned to people in the state who need capital and who can qualify. Extensive surveys are being made by the Governor's Small Industries Plan, a privately financed planning unit, with the help of the North Carolina Junior Chambers of Commerce and the Small Industries Section of the Department of Conservation and Development. These will provide necessary information on such items as markets, labor supply, transportation, et cetera, to businessmen who are interested in establishing small industries. We have high hopes indeed for our industrial program and believe that it will ultimately contribute substantially to lifting the per capita income in our state.

In closing this report to you on the past year's activities in your state government, I want to say it is quite possible that we have made many mistakes. We have moved fast and undertaken many things. There have been heavy pressures because of many unusual problems, such as those of segregation and hurricanes, but we have honestly tried with the best that is in us to render service to North Carolina.

I probably have not consulted as many people as I should have, but in the interest of moving along, I have assumed from the first that most people are interested in the same kinds of things that I am interested in, namely, to get things done and to have as good government as possible. I do not claim to be a professional in the field of government and politics, but know that like so many others, I owe much to my state, and try to serve her in the most honest and straight-forward way possible. We need still more of you to render service to our state, and I express deep appreciation for those on boards and commissions who are already giving of their time and service. These citizens are increasing in number, and it makes me very happy. I would especially like to thank the man on the street, "the average citizen of North Carolina," for his renewed interest in state government and for the many encouraging messages I have received from him.

As we have attempted to give leadership during this period of crisis, it has been encouraging and comforting for us to feel that we have the sympathetic moral support of the rank and file of North Carolinians. While the problems have been difficult, they have also constituted a fine challenge to our patriotism, and our moral responsibilities which those of us in public office should always try to meet.

Although I have always respected the office of governor, my last year's experience has given me a new appreciation of its opportunity for service to more than 4,000,000 citizens. We have received much help and wonderful cooperation from the directors and employees of our state departments and agencies, including the hard-working staff in the governor's office. Newspapers, radio and TV media have helped us tremendously.

Please continue your criticisms and suggestions, your continued help and support, your prayers, and best wishes. Keep faith in our great state, and have your hopes high. North Carolina will get through whatever faces her and go on to a better and greater future. That's my wish and prayer, and I believe it is yours.

Thank you and Goodnight!

ADDRESS BEFORE ANNUAL MEETING NORTH CAROLINA PRESS INSTITUTE

CHAPEL HILL
January 19, 1956

[In Chapel Hill on this occasion, immediately following a ten-day vacation in Florida, the Governor attended a reception in the afternoon honoring the awards winners in the North Carolina Press Association's annual contest for newspaper writing and photography. In the evening he presented these awards to the respective recipients and spoke before some 300 delegates attending the annual meeting of the North Carolina Press Institute.]

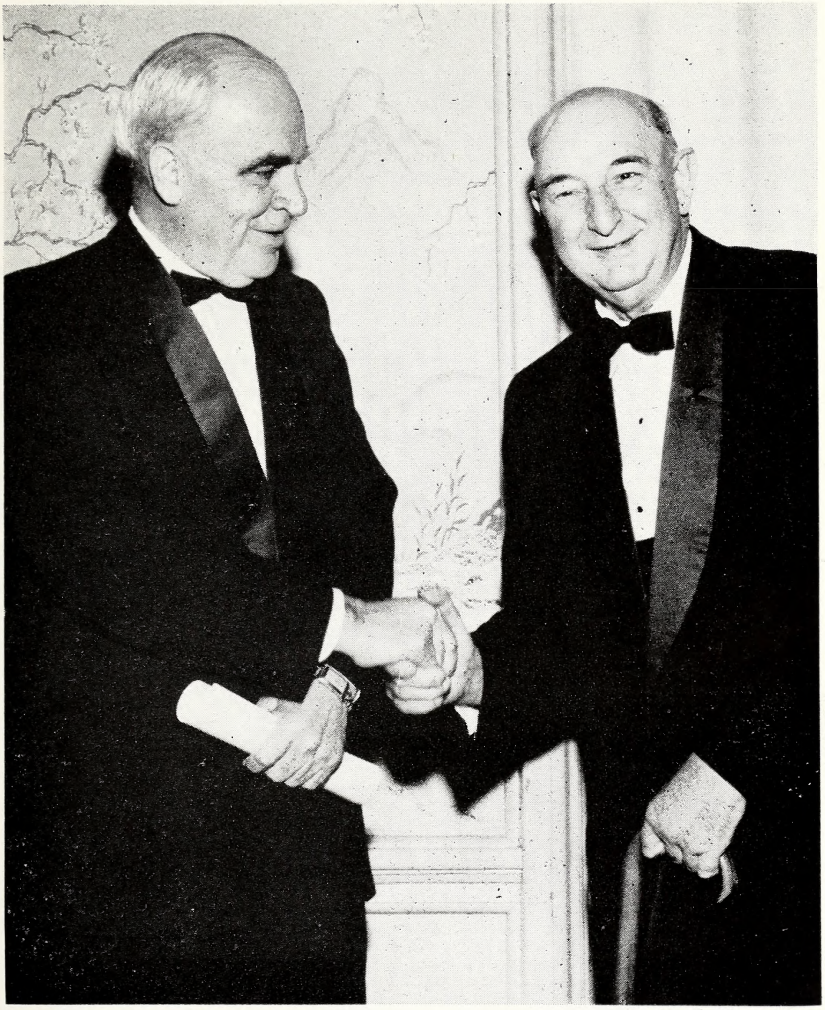
Thank you for this opportunity to share in your program here tonight. I have just returned today from a restful vacation in Florida, and this morning in Raleigh I had a complete medical check up which I am happy to say was most favorable, so I am ready and anxious again to tackle problems facing North Carolina, and we have many problems.

First of all, may I express my appreciation for the cooperation, interest, and assistance which you have given my efforts in behalf of North Carolina. You have been most kind. May I commend you for what you have accomplished for North Carolina during 1955, and urge that we all work together to make 1956 a most significant year for our great state.

If I had to pick a subject for these remarks tonight it would be: "The Role of the Press in Building a Better North Carolina." I am not here to give advice, but to make observations and appeal for your continued cooperation and enthusiastic interest in what is good for North Carolina and its people. Let me say now, and I said as much to Dean Luxon of the University sometime ago when we were discussing this particular meeting, that our North Carolina press is far ahead of the average in states around us. In my opinion, we have an outstanding group of newspapers in North Carolina which rank well in quality and purpose with any state in the nation. This is not idle talk. It's a sincere compliment. The press of North Carolina has made great strides since those early colonial days in New Bern when James Davis, the first public printer, founded the first newspaper in the colony, *The North Carolina Gazette.* The growth in the number of newspapers in our state during those early days was slow. In the fifty-year period between 1810 and 1860, the number increased from ten to seventy-four, with a corresponding increase in circulation from about 400,000 copies in 1810 to nearly 5,000,000 in 1860.

Today North Carolina is served by approximately 200 newspapers, giving our communities and counties wide coverage of the news of the day in local, state, national, and international news.

May I also pause to pay tribute to the University School of Journalism, its present head, Dean Luxon, and its irrepressible and warm-hearted pioneer, O. J. Coffin. I am familiar with the formation of the Journalism Foundation here, and it is good news that every daily newspaper in North Carolina is contributing to this foundation which is working to train better qualified young men and women for the jobs of tomorrow. I am aware also of the need for better housing for the Journalism School and hope that something can be done to carry through the University plans which would provide a new Pharmacy Building for the overcrowded School of Pharmacy and make the present Pharmacy



Greensboro News Photo

Governor Hodges congratulates Mr. Edwin B. Jeffress on the occasion of a dinner honoring Mr. Jeffress in Greensboro, May 27, 1955.

Photo by Bill Futrelle

Governor Hodges speaking at dedication of Cliffs of the Neuse State Park, June 4, 1955.

Building available for renovation and future quarters for the School of Journalism. Like any business, profession, or trade, you in the newspaper business need a continual flow of trained personnel who will be able to provide the honest, straight-forward, and hard-hitting reporting which we as readers have the right to expect of our newspapers.

Someone recently sent me a beautifully printed copy of the Statement of Principle which was adopted unanimously by the North Carolina Press Association at its thirtieth Annual Institute last year. I was tremendously impressed by the language and obvious intent of this statement as a means of guiding a responsible press in a free society. I know that you value greatly this document and that it serves as a steady beacon of light to each of you in your difficult task of reporting the news in our complicated, often confused, and very fast-moving world today. While your statement was prepared for newspapers, of course, the final test given for every story, every headline, every editorial, every newspaper—is it honest? is it fair? is it accurate?—could be used by each of us as individuals in our daily lives. It is a worthy yardstick!

How do we build a better North Carolina? That's a big order because this is a large state, with a growing population, a changing economy, and more than its share of problems. Regardless, I believe that we together can build it with vision, courage, and education—and I would like to add for special times like these—patience and tolerance.

For one thing, we must have a healthy economy if we are to have a better North Carolina. Our state cannot remain among the lowest in manufacturing wages, hourly earnings, and farm income and still meet the challenge of today—not to mention the future. We need diversification in our industry as well as in our agriculture. We need all the help we can get in establishing good new industries as well as to encourage the expansion of our present industries, especially those who had their beginnings here. We need more local industries. North Carolina can proudly point to names of many large nationally known industries which started here in a very small way at the turn of the century or since.

As a means of promoting and developing home-owned new industries, we have devoted a great deal of time and effort to the organizing of the North Carolina Business Development

Corporation. This is a private credit corporation to make available venture capital to persons who want to start small industries or to expand already-existing small industries. After a whirlwind campaign for stock subscription which was directed by the Honorable Capus Waynick, a former ambassador as well as an outstanding North Carolina editor, and by a patriotic volunteer, Senator Warren Williams, we were able to incorporate and organize last month. I am pleased to report that we are well over our early target of $500,000 (have around $800,000) and hope soon, when banks and other financial institutions have come in as members, to have a revolving fund of several million dollars which can be loaned to people in the state who need capital and who can qualify. Extensive surveys are being made by the Governor's Small Industries Plan, a privately financed planning unit, with the help of the North Carolina Junior Chambers of Commerce and the Small Industries Section of the Department of Conservation and Development. These will provide necessary information on such items as marketing, labor supply, transportation, etc., to business men who are interested in establishing small industries.

We have high hopes that this and other plans will assist us in moving up the ladder of per capita income. As you know, our national ranking has stayed pretty much the same for more than twenty years, but now is beginning to creep up slowly from forty-fifth place to forty-fourth and now forty-third.

Another need—processing plants for all over the state. We recognize that food processing is a highly competitive business and that large well-established processing plants are difficult to compete with, but on the other hand we in North Carolina have overlooked our markets for seafood products, for better vegetables, fruits, etc. We need also small factories to make component parts for our growing large industries. These are just some of the needs which—to me, at least—spell out a challenging but exciting story of North Carolina on the move. As our keepers of the daily journal of life in North Carolina, I urge you to share in this excitement in working together for what is good, sound, and right for North Carolina! Don't hesitate to express your opinion, your views, or especially your constructive suggestions on any phase of building a better North Carolina.

Agriculture is going through a revolution. We are losing people

from the farms by the tens of thousands. Our big money crop in the East, tobacco, is facing another acreage reduction. We have displaced persons during this time of uncertainty and difficulty. What shall we do with them? Shall we export them to other areas where employment seems more likely, or shall we put them to work and export the products of their hands and brains? These are questions which you should raise and seek the answer. What can we do to bring a better balanced economy to our many, many counties that depend almost entirely on an uncertain agricultural output? Ninety of our 100 counties have only 10 per cent of our industrial payrolls.

Our public schools and colleges must be preserved and strengthened. For example, we now have a new State Board of Higher Education which has just named its first executive director, Dr. Harris Purks, acting president of the University. This board is a new approach to the growing problem of what our state is going to do with its wide-spread and varied system of institutions of higher learning. For example, do these institutions meet the challenge of today and will they meet the challenge of the future? Is there unnecessary duplication in a time of rising costs?

At the same time, our whole public education system must be constantly studied and analyzed. It is not enough to say we need more teachers, more dollars for teachers, more buildings for the communities, etc. We need these, of course, but we need better instruction, more science and mathematics, more emphasis on fundamentals, and better discipline. It has been said that the character of our nation will be shaped by the quality of education. To furnish the leadership which our nation must have, our children must be intellectually nourished with all the attributes of energy and understanding, of inventiveness and technical know-how, of self reliance and self control. Time waits for no one, and tomorrow is today in public education. The field of education is worthy of your thoughtful consideration, your best efforts, and vigorous support.

It would be very difficult even to mention public education and its problems in North Carolina without also mentioning the impact and the possibilities of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States with reference to segregation in our public

schools. It, too, is another great problem which faces our people, our state and local government, and our public school system. I shall not dwell on this because I have expressed my views very often on this subject. I am extremely hopeful that if we take our time, observe carefully what is being done elsewhere while we still have time through recent federal court decisions, we will come up with an answer somehow that will preserve our schools and still meet the wishes of our people. It will take more than defiant statements to get us through this. We must know what we are doing. I say this with the full understanding that most of you, like me, do not agree with the decision of the Court.

There is another great subject involving the growth and the prosperity of our state and our people which frequently is overlooked by many people. This involves our precious and often irreplaceable natural resources, such as our water, minerals, forest, and wildlife. These resources must be preserved—must be developed—and must be managed properly. In my talks around the state, I have often pointed with pride to the fact that North Carolina was one of the first Eastern states to recognize the importance of water resources. Even as early as 1787, North Carolina passed a statute requiring in the building of dams and water mills that facilities be provided to insure the free passage of fish and logs and other timber. In this early law we see a recognition of the possible conflicting interest of grain milling, lumber industry, and wildlife. From these beginnings there has been in North Carolina an ever increasing interest in the use, development, and control of water resources—reaching to the 1955 legislature which created the Board of Water Commissioners. This new agency is seeking to gather, classify, and disseminate information concerning the activities of all the agencies dealing with water in North Carolina.

We must also think of our beaches, our outer banks, our inland waters and our coastal farming areas which are subject to flooding by salt or fresh water. The hurricanes of 1954 and 1955 have brought a new look to much of eastern North Carolina and its future. Unless you have been in close contact with the tremendous rehabilitation job following these hurricanes, it is difficult to realize the staggering impact of these natural disasters. As you may know, we now have in the hands of a printer a hurricane

rehabilitation project report which we began last fall, as one means of analyzing and surveying the actual damage, as well as offering some constructive means of planning for the future to alleviate or curtail the damage of future hurricanes and other natural disasters. While this report is not yet ready for release, I can say that it deals in considerable detail with the serious damage to our outer banks and the need for rebuilding these banks and stabilizing them as the primary barrier between the great Atlantic Ocean and much of our low country which lies behind these banks. This report also deals in some detail with the man-made problems which have resulted from bulldozing down sand dunes and other natural barriers, as well as building beach homes and structures too close to the high water mark. If we are going to protect our coastline and our very valuable beaches, we must begin to think in terms of regulating—if necessary—the type of construction and the method of construction on our beaches. These are only several of many valuable recommendations and observations from this report. You will get this report. I urge your study of it. It will take courage and farsightedness to implement its recommendations.

Several of our daily newspapers, recently have shown an active interest in our courts, the enforcement of the laws, and the administration of justice. I am grateful for this interest and this support. I said in a recent press conference in Raleigh that in my opinion the greatest story of 1955 in many ways was the work, under the direction of Chief Justice Barnhill, of the Superior Court judges in clearing up their dockets—cases that went back twenty and thirty years, in some instances. Many of these have been held on the dockets because of delaying tactics on the part of lawyers—and sometimes on a mutual agreement basis. These cases cluttered up our courts, cluttered up our thinking, and served only as a monument to inefficiency and a questionable reputation by the general public. Upwards of 10,000 cases were cleared away during the last six months. We have a good system of Superior Courts in North Carolina and I am proud of Judge Barnhill's leadership and the way our Superior Court judges are striving to improve the administration of justice. The courts and the judges need your continued help and your constructive criticism. You help form public opinion, and court administration is a key problem.

Maintain your interest in the affairs of our courts, giving praise to the judges where deserved, and advice to those who appear to be lagging. The improvement in administration of justice through our Superior Courts will probably show up, by contrast, some of our courts which are inferior to the Superior Courts. As reporters, editors, and publishers, you probably know some first hand examples of what I am talking about. Lend your influence and assistance in strengthening these local courts wherever possible.

I have been talking primarily about the role of the press in building a better North Carolina. While I am primarily concerned with state-wide problems, you as editors and publishers have a great responsibility in building your own community or the communities within your circulation area. There is a great opportunity for the press to develop informed, cooperative, and determined citizenship in community affairs. We do live in a flexible and changing society today where families can choose between half a dozen communities as a place to live without being too far to commute to work. Shopping centers and business districts are frequently de-centralized and can be reached easily by automobile.

At a recent press meeting in Michigan, one speaker pointed out that a newspaper has

> a responsibility beyond its first and foremost duty to inform the public on community affairs and impart that information factually and fully. We also must bring our knowledge and influence to bear on the side of community improvements. A newspaper can either arouse the people of the community to realize the importance of building a better community, or it can teach them to ignore civic affairs. The newspaper is like a textbook. It is a correspondence course for the citizens in all facets of this complex society. It can and does mold the opinions of the people of a community.
>
> The best editorial policy, rather than always marching at the head of every civic affair parade, is to applaud the efforts of others, to spur them on the greater efforts, and to spread credit lavishly. Good editorializing, like good diplomacy, is in letting the other fellow have his way. Every newspaper and every newspaper man and woman can work hard for an improved community. It will be a good investment.

I submit this for your earnest consideration. You do have great opportunities and responsibilities in helping our communities and our state. You also have a tremendous responsibility to pre-

sent the truth, as well as expose demagoguery wherever it may rise. Henry Grady, that eloquent, fire-eating Georgia editor, once said:

> I have come to believe earnestly that no man, no matter what his calling, his elevation, or his opportunity, can equal in dignity, honor and usefulness the journalist who comprehends his position, fairly measures his duties, and gives himself entirely and unselfishly to his work. But journalism is a jealous profession, and demands the fullest allegiance of those who seek its honors or emoluments. Least of all things can it be made the aid of the demagogue, or the handmaid of the politician.

Through thoughtful editorials based on reason and logic, you can help people understand the affairs of the day in such a way that will spread understanding and give them a challenge to service rather than stir up their emotions or their prejudices. However, there are papers which apparently follow a reckless approach to journalism and color the news of the day according to their own desires. This is unfortunate, for though it may sell papers, it also sells your profession short. Happily we have little of this in North Carolina.

In closing, let me use the words of W. W. Holden when he spoke to the press meeting in Winston during the year 1881. "The press has done more than all things else to diffuse intelligence among the people, and to acquaint the world with the character of our state and her resources. The press has fostered the University and the colleges and the public schools. It has always ranged itself on the side of learning, liberty, social order and sound morals."

After this tribute, Mr. Holden admonished his listeners to hold high the principles of journalism and "to lead by not seeming to lead."

"But above all, gentlemen," Mr. Holden concluded, "let us be true to the welfare and glory of North Carolina!" To this, in 1956, I add a hearty and fervent "Amen."

Thank you very much.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN SOCIETY

PLAZA HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY
January 20, 1956

[Governor Hodges was the principal speaker at this annual "Dixie Dinner" of the Southern Society of New York, held in the Grand Ballroom of the Plaza Hotel. This was one of three events in which he participated while on a two-day trip to New York and Washington. At noon of the next day he attended a luncheon at the University Club for "Honorary Tar Heels," and that evening in Washington he was a guest at the annual Governor's Ball given by the North Carolina Society of that city.]

I bring greetings to the members of the Southern Society and congratulate each of you for continuing these wonderful social-fellowship occasions. I know what this annual event means to you, and I am delighted to share it with you and see so many of my old friends here tonight. It's a high honor to be asked to be here as your guest.

It has been a custom for many generations for speakers to come out of the South to the North with news and views about our great South. For example, that famous Southern editor, Henry W. Grady, in a speech before the annual banquet of the Boston Merchants Association in 1889, spoke with moving eloquence about his region:

> Far to the South, Mr. President, separated from this section by a line, once defined in irrepressible difference, once traced in fratricidal blood, and now, thank God, but a vanishing shadow, lies the fairest and richest domain of this earth. It is the home of a brave and hospitable people. There, is centered all that can please or prosper humankind. A perfect climate, above a fertile soil, yields to the husbandman every product of the temperate zone. There, by night the cotton whitens beneath the stars, and by day the wheat locks the sunshine in its bearded sheaf. In the same field the clover steals the fragrance of the wind, and the tobacco catches the quick aroma of the rains. There, are mountains stored with exhaustless treasures; forests, vast and primeval, and rivers that, tumbling or loitering, run wanton to the sea.

Mr. Grady, one of our most noted orators, you see, was quite a salesman for the South. He labored mightily in his day to bring understanding and the truth about the Southerner and his over-

whelming problems of that day. Most of you probably remember Henry Grady's dramatic illustration of the plight of the Southerner following the tragic days of the Civil War.

> I attended a funeral once in Pickens County in my state. It was a poor "one gallus" fellow, whose breeches struck him under the armpits and hit him at the other end about the knee—he didn't believe in *décolleté* clothes. They buried him in the midst of a marble quarry: they cut through solid marble to make his grave; and yet a little tombstone they put above him was from Vermont. They bury him in the heart of a pine forest, and yet the pine coffin was imported from Cincinnati. They bury him within touch of an iron mine, and yet the nails in his coffin and the iron in the shovel that dug his grave were imported from Pittsburgh. They bury him by the side of the best sheep grazing country on the earth, and yet the wool in the coffin bands and the coffin bands themselves were brought from the North. The South didn't furnish a thing on earth for that funeral but the corpse and the hole in the ground. There they put him away and the clods rattled down on his coffin, and they buried him in a New York coat and a Boston pair of shoes and a pair of breeches from Chicago and a shirt from Cincinnati, leaving him nothing to carry into the next world with him to remind him of the country in which he lived, and for which he fought for four years, but the chill of blood in his veins and the marrow in his bones.

Happily, there have been vast changes and vast improvements in the economy of the South and the Southerner. Today we could put away that little "one gallus" fellow in style—and probably on credit. Everything would be Southern, more than likely, including the credit. Much of what Henry Grady and other enlightened Southern leaders of that day predicted and worked hard to achieve, has actually come about. I would like to give you a few facts on this a moment later.

However, despite the best that Henry Grady and many other Southern spokesmen have been able to accomplish, there is still a great need for a better understanding of the South's point of view on many of its problems. I recall the visit of an editor of a national technical journal some months ago to my office in Raleigh. He was born an Englishman, had lived all of his recent years in the northern part of the United States, had never been South, and he came to visit us with definite, preconceived notions. After he reached my office he admitted with some embarrassment that many of the stories of our South he had heard were pure fantasy. Like many other well-meaning but gullible people, he

had swallowed the stories of the old South, no shoes and other silly matters. When he left North Carolina and wrote his factual article for national consumption, he not only opened his own eyes, but the eyes of thousands of others who did not know of the new South or even the actual traditions of the old South. It was just one effort to point out the importance of realizing the heritage of the South, its people and tremendous growth—especially in industry.

At the recent Southern Governors' Conference in Point Clear, Alabama, I tried to point out in a press conference that it was essential that the South have its point of view explained to the nation. I was speaking of an over-all viewpoint—social, economic, historical, and political. At the moment, the greatest misconception and misunderstanding about the South revolves around the question of segregation in our public schools. As you know, all of this happened suddenly and dramatically in May of 1954 with the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, followed by the implementation decree of May, 1955. It is a sad fact that immediately much of the press outside of the South damned and condemned our Southern states without any attempt to understand the real background or the reasons for our present segregated schools. We were found guilty without fair trial by much of the Northern press, and with apparently no regard for the fact that the Supreme Court decision overturned the law as that same Court had pronounced it on countless occasions for some sixty years. This the Court did without citing a single legal precedent for its action, and with no explanation except that social conditions required a change. Maybe social conditions do require a change, but the Constitution of the United States puts the power to make that change in Congress and the people—it does not put it in the Supreme Court. The provisions for change, provided by the Constitution itself, were ignored to satisfy the conclusions reached by nine temporary occupants of the Supreme Court. Eventually, if such a method of making decisions is followed, there will be a decision which conflicts with the customs and mores of other parts of the country as seriously as this one does with those of the South. Perhaps then the rest of the United States will realize the extent of the power which nine men assumed when

they made their segregation decisions—and perhaps then it may be too late.

To make matters worse, the decision was actually misinterpreted by much of the press to mean that the Supreme Court decision actually forced the mixing of children of both races without any choice by the respective parents.

I do not want to belabor this subject, but it is so close to my heart and to North Carolina that it would not be realistic to talk to a group of Southerners without pointing out one or two things about the situation. I want to tell you what the Supreme Court has said about segregation.

At the beginning of the hearings held in South Carolina recently, Federal Judge John J. Parker, chief judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit and a native of North Carolina, made a statement in which he pointed out what the United States Supreme Court has decided and what it has not decided in its latest decision. I would like to quote this statement in part:

> It [the Court] has not decided that the federal courts are to take over or regulate the public schools of the states. It has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools or must require them to attend schools or must deprive them of the right of choosing the schools they attend.
>
> What it has decided and all it has decided is that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains. This, under the decision of the Supreme Court, the state may not do directly or indirectly; but, if the schools which it maintains are open to children of all races, no violation of the Constitution is involved even though the children of different races voluntarily attend different schools, as they attend different churches.
>
> Nothing in the Constitution or in the decision of the Supreme Court takes away from the people freedom to choose the schools they attend. The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination.

There is no ready answer to this problem. Some have suggested explosive and quick answers, taking the form of defiance of the Supreme Court. Those on the extreme right are willing to abandon our schools at any mention of integration, while the extreme left clamors for mass integration. Some have mentioned private schools, other will close all the public schools, while a more peaceful but rather difficult approach involves that of interposition.

But let's talk about something more pleasant, such as where we are headed in the South's progress!

You remember the story of Uncle Remus, who when his favorite hero, Brer Rabbit, was sorely pressed by that arch villain, Brer Fox, said: "An' Brer Rabbit den he climb'd a tree." "But," said the little boy, "Uncle Remus, a rabbit can't climb a tree!" "Doan you min' dat, honey. Brer Fox pressed dis rabbit so hard he *des bleeged* to clim' a tree."

Like Brer Rabbit, the South at Uncle Remus' time didn't have anywhere to go but *up!* We had a long way to go, but we are on our way!

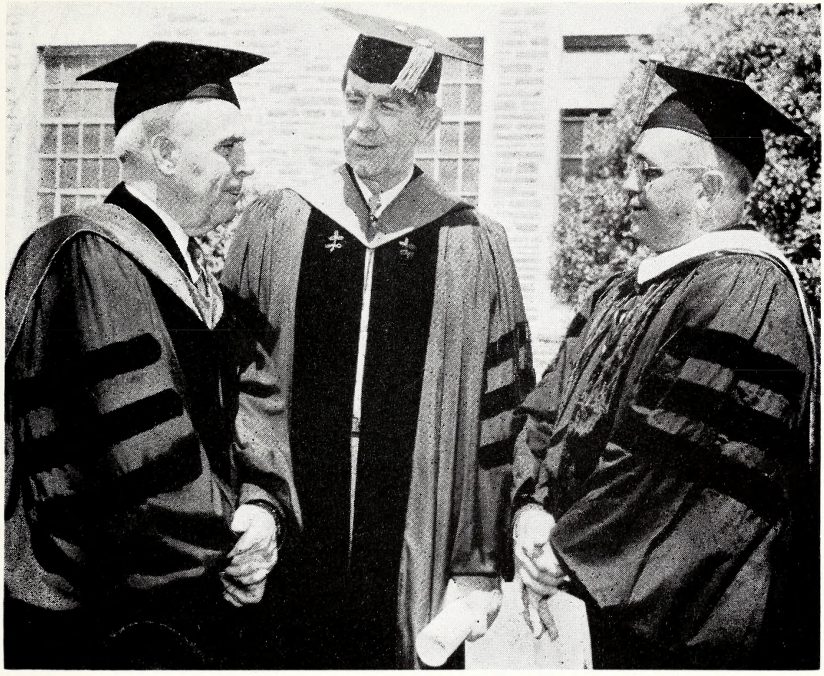
We in the South have 30 per cent of the country's population and about 25 per cent of the industrial production. Our development started in a small way about 1900 but our real progress has come since 1945. We now have 15,000 manufacturing establishments making $60,000,000,000 worth of products. In 1939 the figure was $11,000,000,000.

It is predicted that it will take us another ten years (1966) to achieve our ratio of production to population—namely 30 per cent of the U. S. A. total. After ten years we should be moving at a more rapid rate if we keep our vision, our courage, and our ideals. I know you are proud the South is now "Economic Opportunity No. 1" instead of "Economic Problem No. 1."

In the South we have 40 per cent of the nation's water, but effectively use only 4 per cent. We produce 54 per cent of all the minerals, which fact brings an increasing amount of industry, especially the new giants of chemicals, petrochemicals, and synthetics. We have an abundance of sea water and a long cost line. These will be of great help as research develops the use of sea water.

We have 33 per cent of the country's transportation but as yet only 21 per cent of its financial resources. Our forests comprise 30 per cent of the nation's total and our lowly pine tree is our most important renewable resource. We were once a raw cotton economy but that is changing rapidly.

In natural resources, the South has 80 per cent of the natural gas, 75 per cent of the nation's petroleum, and 25 per cent of the coal. Our coal reserves will last another 2,000 or more years and



Durham Herald-Sun Photo by Harold Moore

Governor Hodges with President A. Hollis Edens (*center*) and Hodding Carter (*right*) at Duke University Commencement, June 6, 1955.

News and Observer Photo

Governor Hodges often referred to his "Looking Ahead File." Here he is shown on June 23, 1955, looking ahead thirty years with a group discussing plans for a celebration in 1985 marking the four-hundredth anniversary of the first English settlement on Roanoke Island. Standing (*left to right*): Dudley W. Bagley, J. Emmett Winslow, the Rev. George F. Hill, Melvin Daniels, Roland Garrett, Dr. William P. Jacocks, Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, John G. Fletcher, and Elton Aydlett.

we will make further new and unheard of things from this black gold.

Atomic energy is greatly in our future and at the Southern Governors' Conference all the Southern states decided to pool their thinking and planning to see that we get the most out of this giant which must change its war garb for the costume worn by people who believe in peace and progress.

We believe that great good can come out of the South working as a region on big things including regional education, instead of scrapping and bickering as states. We are happy to note that governors of other regions have followed our lead in cooperatively handling some of their educational problems, which cooperation brings more excellence and more economy.

We have a terribly long way to go in our education of scientists and engineers in the South. Indeed the nation as a whole had better wake up in this regard. Here in the South we will need 35,000 or more technicians each year to man our research laboratories (which are growing rapidly from our slow beginnings) and our industrial plants. We are not graduating enough scientific people and there is growing concern at the failure of our school people and legislatures to push for more technical courses and graduates in the high schools and the colleges.

Looking ahead ten years in the South, we will need 10,000 new plants, about 1,000 a year. Dr. Frank Soday, director of research of the Chemstrand Company in Alabama, says that the South is going through two revolutions—one is an industrial revolution, and the other is a marketing revolution. We are increasing in population—we are raising our per capita income—we have come up 250 per cent since 1939 which is 64 per cent better than the national average. It is a fact that we are becoming our own greater market. At the same time we are blending and should continue to blend a diversified agriculture with industry.

It will take the best that each of us has to solve the problems which face our nation and the various states here represented. It will certainly take an unselfish spirit and one of courage to accomplish great things. As men and women of ability and outstanding reputation, I am sure that you will do your part in your own way to build a better state and a better nation in which to live, work and play under the guidance of God, who has been so good

to all of us. There is nothing comparable to the organized efforts of public minded, unselfish citizens who are bent upon constructive measures for the good of their own people.

I want you to know also that we in North Carolina and the South are immensely proud of all of you good Southerners who have achieved great success here in New York City and this part of the Northeast. We want you to know also that you are missed, because our people are our real treasure—they are our best resources. Henry Grady once joked that while the Puritans were cutting off men's ears for courting a girl without her parents' consent, or forbidding men to kiss their wives on Sunday, the Southern Cavaliers were courting everything in sight with the result that Southern huts in the wilderness were as full as the nests in the woods. Regardless of your present contacts and present problems, don't forget your Southern heritage. Keep your ideals, and when you have made enough Yankee dollars, come on back home and help us! We need you! Thank you.

ADDRESS BEFORE TENTH ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE SOUTHEASTERN NORTH CAROLINA BEACH ASSOCIATION

WILMINGTON
January 28, 1956

[This address was made one year after the Governor had spoken to the same group on a similar occasion in January, 1955 (pp. 75-84). At that time his remarks were directed toward a rehabilitation program necessitated by the ravages of Hurricane Hazel in October, 1954. In the intervening twelve months the state had been visited by three more hurricanes, Connie (August 12, 1955), Diane (August 17), and Ione (September 19), which made the problem of protecting the Atlantic beaches even more acute.]

Officers, Members of the Southeastern North Carolina Beach Association, and Guests.

It is a pleasure to be here tonight and to take part in your Tenth Annual Banquet. I remember your pleasant annual banquet last year when I spoke to you about the shocking experiences of Hurricane Hazel. Little did we realize then that I would be here at this annual meeting twelve months later talking about

four hurricanes which hit the coast of North Carolina during the past year. Like most people, we in North Carolina like to brag about how we have outstripped other states, but I don't believe anyone here tonight is especially proud of our standing box-score on natural disasters during the past year. I know from firsthand experience the kind of damages which you have suffered in this section of North Carolina and I commend you for your endurance, your courage, and your helpfulness and generosity to neighbors also in distress.

This is a great section of North Carolina and we are proud of its people, its progress, and its future. Despite the severe handicaps of natural disasters, eastern North Carolina holds a great future and a great promise for those who are willing to face up to the problems, plan and work together to overcome them, and march ahead to a better life for all. In this area you have great diversification and great potential in your agriculture, industry, commercial fishing, tourist and beach resort trade, deep-water shipping, and regular commercial trade such as wholesaling, retailing, etc. However, to make success in any of these fields of activity, we must look ahead and prepare ourselves for possible future hurricanes or other natural disasters. Much can be accomplished to lessen the damage from those which may occur in the future.

Last fall, after we had been hit by four of these storms in a period of less than one year, we undertook to establish the means of doing something about hurricane damage before the damage is inflicted. With the help of members of the faculty at the University of North Carolina and the State Civil Defense Office, a project was organized to examine the losses sustained and the problems created by the four hurricanes and to provide a framework for action looking to the development of guides for future public and private investment in areas subject to severe damage from recurring hurricanes. This project was financed by an appropriation of some $27,000, made available by the Council of State from the Contingency and Emergency Fund. It was carried out by experts brought in from all parts of the country who worked under the State Civil Defense Agency.

Working with the staff of experts was a Citizens' Advisory Panel, composed of fifteen outstanding citizens of eastern North Carolina, with Mr. Jack Farrell, your executive secretary, serving

as chairman, and Mr. Hugh Harris of Oriental, serving as vice-chairman. Other members of this panel are:

George Arrington, secretary, New Bern Chamber of Commerce
Lemuel Blades, mayor, Elizabeth City
Joseph DuBois, secretary, Morehead City Chamber of Commerce
W. J. Edwards, director, Craven County Civil Defense Office
H. H. Harris, county agent, Tyrrell County
M. N. Lisk, mayor, Swansboro
Joseph Newkirk, farmer, Watha
Captain Roy Robinson, mayor, Southport
Lawrence Swain, commissioner, Dare County
Allen Swindell, president, Soil Conservation District Supervisors
Earl L. Topping, county agent, Hyde County
Henry Von Oesen, engineer, Wilmington
Dan Walker, city clerk, Beaufort

I would like at this time to express my heart-felt appreciation for the generous donation of time and effort made by the members of this committee. They have performed a worthwhile service for their state, and it is my belief that they will continue to do so. Also working with the staff and the Citizens' Advisory Panel was a Committee on Hurricane Rehabilitation, composed of representatives from eleven state agencies, four federal agencies, the North Carolina Fisheries Association, and the North Carolina League of Municipalities. To these representatives and their agencies, I would also like to express my appreciation.

The project all of these people participated in was completed early this month, and the report is now in the hands of the printers and will be ready for general distribution very shortly. I have been able to make only a hurried examination of this report at this time, but I am impressed with what I have read and would like now to mention some high spots.

One item contained in the report, which may be of some surprise to most of us, is the statement that during the past seventy-six years there has been an average of about one hurricane for every two years, which actually struck some part of North Carolina. This period of time goes back to 1879, before which records were not kept. The report goes on to say that it is not unusual for two such storms to damage some portion of North Carolina in one

year, as in the years 1899, 1933, and 1944. Of course, many of these hurricanes which in past years have hit our state did only slight damage, and hence were not given any great deal of publicity. Hurricanes of recent years have hit areas which have been highly developed and fairly heavily populated. With the greatly improved information media, such as the press, radio, and television, everybody is more aware of the damage done by these storms. What this means to North Carolinians is simply this. *We cannot treat hurricanes as rare occurrences and plan the affairs of our coastal areas on the basis of a calculated risk that they will not hit. Instead, we must plan on the assumption that they will hit and that they will hit fairly often.*

I do not emphasize this part of the report in an attempt to frighten anyone. Actually, when hurricanes are prepared for and proper planning is carried out, the danger from them is greatly lessened, and there is really nothing to get frightened about. The dangerous aspects of hurricanes come fully into play only when and where there has been no preparation. So at the outset, the report warns us that we must not brush lightly over the problem, and we must consider seriously the recommendations contained therein or find suitable alternatives.

Here are some of the figures contained in the report on the amount of damage done by our recent hurricanes. In citing these figures, it must be remembered that they are the result of the striking of hurricanes in areas which had had no long-range planning for hurricane defense.

> Total property damage resulting from Hurricane Hazel, which hit on October 15, 1954, is estimated at $125,309,000.

This figure was as low as it was because Hazel struck after harvest time, and damage to crops, in comparison to other storms, was light.

> Damage from the three hurricanes of 1955, Connie, Diane, and Ione, is estimated to exceed $193,684,000, with agriculture suffering the great bulk of the loss to an extent of $131,000,000.

A further point of interest with respect to damage is made in the report, which is that hurricane damage is cumulative. This means that the damage of a second and third storm will be greater

because of the damage of a first storm. Losses pile up and are aggravated when hurricanes occur one after the other with little time intervening between them. It is also pointed out that the actual amount of damage will probably never be known because of effects which will not show themselves for years to come.

And what does the report propose that we do, once we have recognized the recurring nature of hurricanes and once we have recognized the damage they can do in an unprepared area? One of the first things and one of the most important things recommended in the report has to do with the preservation and rebuilding of sand dunes on the ocean front. Our ocean front includes, of course, the outer banks as well as those areas in the southeastern part of the state that are directly on the ocean. It is pointed out in the report that dunes are a major element in the protection of areas which lie behind them. The brunt of storms can be blunted and valuable property saved by dunes.

Specific methods are suggested by which dunes can be preserved or rebuilt. For instance, the use of vegetation is one of the best methods of stabilizing and preserving sand dunes. Plants which are practical for this purpose are beach cress, sea oats, wire grass, and cord grass.

The building of dunes can, of course, be accomplished by pushing sand up into a sufficiently large pile; however, if these piles are not sufficiently wide at their base, and with a sufficiently gradual slope, they are not apt to remain very long. When the construction of a dune has begun, winds can be of great assistance when proper use is made of sand fences so as to allow sand to pile up around and over such fences. Of course, where the area is low and flat and damp, winds will be of no help, and then full reliance must be placed on earth-moving equipment, such as the bulldozer.

One of the most important phases of dealing with dunes is to keep those we still have, and this may require ordinances or legislation, in order to prevent property owners from destroying them merely to get a better view of the beach. A more sensible approach on the part of property owners who want such a view would be to build their cottages on pilings sufficiently high to overlook the dune.

When we come to regulatory measures, such as ordinances, in

connection with the use of private property, we are getting into a complicated area. The power of cities, counties, and the state are all involved and may well overlap. The report suggests that city and county regulatory powers do not cover a sufficiently large geographical area to be satisfactory, and that legislation would have to be too general to be of real value in dealing with problems peculiar to particular areas. It is, therefore, suggested in the report that perhaps the formation of special governmental districts would be helpful, such as soil conservation districts, etc.

There is also the additional problem on the outer banks of the federal jurisdiction, as a result of the existence of the National Seashore Recreation Area. This complication would also have to be dealt with when considering regulatory actions.

For protection against erosion which usually occurs with hurricanes, it is recommended that all waterfront areas, including sound fronts, slope the land leading into the water's edge and cover it with vegetation. With a long and gradual slope, much of the force of the waves can be depleted and erosion necessarily will be slowed down.

With respect to the flooding caused by these storms, it is stated that the continual possibility of flooding of low lying areas along the sounds must be accepted as one of the natural features affecting those areas, and the use of land subject to flooding must be planned accordingly. For instance, buildings constructed in such an area should be designed with this continuing possibility in mind. In some areas in which the property is of exceedingly high value, the construction of dykes might be feasible. As a general conclusion, the report finds that ordinarily dykes cost so much to build that the expense is greater than the value of the land which they protect.

Another method of protecting against floods is to insure that ditches, creeks, and rivers are kept free of obstructions so that the water running off the land from the heavy rains accompanying hurricanes will be drained on into the sea.

Suggestions for reducing damage of an agricultural nature, in addition to those already mentioned, include the planting of crops which will mature before the hurricane season, and by more effective use of high ground to keep buildings and livestock above flood areas.

The things I have mentioned are, as already pointed out, merely the high spots of the report. There are many more data and many more suggestions which I do not now have time to take up. However, there is one page which I believe the interest of this group would justify my reading, and I would like to do so. I quote:

> After the first mention of hurricanes in 1955, people stayed away from the resort areas in great numbers. Much business was lost by resorts that were not otherwise seriously damaged physically by the storms of 1955.
>
> Hurricanes must be respected and necessary precautions should be taken when a tropical storm is likely to strike. However, the mere mention of the word "hurricane" should not be permitted to ruin the entire season of a resort.
>
> Resort area officials and associations have an important task to perform in the development and dissemination of adequate publicity concerning the nature of hurricanes and under what conditions precautions should or should not be taken. The preparation and distribution of this material has already been undertaken by several groups and such programs must be continued until hurricane knowledge is as much a part of resort data as the tide tables. Resort officials must continue and intensify their present programs of working with the news services, both national and local, so that hurricanes will not be improperly overdramatized.

This concludes my brief summary of the Hurricane Rehabilitation Report, but let me add that the problem of insurance for homes, commercial property, and other structures in this coastal area is a matter of grave concern to everyone. Commissioner of Insurance Charles Gold and I have devoted a great deal of time to this subject and have given serious consideration to the possibilities of some type of federal disaster insurance. Recently we had an opportunity to give our views on this subject before a Senate subcommittee hearing in Raleigh.

I told Senator Lehman, chairman of this special subcommittee, that I wished I could take him and the members of the committee to the individual farmer, the commercial fisherman, the man who lost his house, or the man whose lifetime savings invested in an inventory vanished in the flood waters. I told him that we must think of people, of individuals, who look for an uncertain future without present protection.

Here is a bit more of my comments:

> Many of our citizens, whose spirit we point to with great pride, can tell you what weariness and discouragement there is in efforts to rebuild

and replace lost property when there is the ever present knowledge that at any time in the future, and through no fault of anyone, all of such efforts can be undone and the job will have to be done over again. We here in North Carolina know that unless some method is provided for which private property can be insured, a point must eventually be reached when repeated rebuilding cannot go on, and the homes and lands and resources which lie in the areas subject to disasters will have to be abandoned.

I pointed out that all of this involved the question of the economic growth of our state because credit can only be secured through people lending money to people who have houses and property. I re-emphasize that our citizens must be provided some method of financially protecting themselves in some measure against future losses. And so far as I can see, disaster insurance is the only way that this can be accomplished. There seems to be little, if any, disagreement with the proposition that it would be preferable for a disaster insurance program to be carried out by private enterprises. However, if the industry does not or cannot do it, either in whole or part, the federal government must provide the necessary disaster insurance for the nation.

In an effort not to overlook any program of possible assistance to hurricane sufferers in this area, we have originated a program in cooperation with the federal government whereby farmers and small business concerns who have suffered hurricane damage will be eligible for the purchase of available U. S. Government surplus property. The purchase price is 10 per cent of the amount paid by the federal government for the equipment, with the State of North Carolina absorbing the usual 5 per cent administrative cost which is customarily added to the 10 per cent. The state civil defense director, Brigadier General Edward Griffin, is in charge of this new program and has sent representatives of his office to many of the eastern counties in the disaster area. These representatives carry catalogs of available surplus federal government property, application forms, and will assist in helping applicants to qualify in every way possible. Since this program began, we have discovered that there is much available federal equipment which is not listed or catalogued but should be available at various federal supply depots, such as Cherry Point. We are going to attempt to search for needed equipment wherever it can be found and route it to those farmers and business firms which are eligible.

I think it should be clearly understood, however, that we are making this effort in good faith with the hopes—but not the promise—of obtaining available surplus equipment for qualified applicants.

In conclusion, let me express my best wishes for another successful year for your organization and its individual members. Keep up your good work in your own communities and own counties. Keep faith with your ideals and with your principles. We can and we must overcome the handicaps which face us. It will certainly take an unselfish spirit of service and one of courage to accomplish these aims. As men and women of ability and outstanding reputation, I am sure you will do your part in helping build a better community, a better state, and a better nation in which to live, work, and play under the guidance of God, who has been so good to all of us.

Thank you very much.

REMARKS BEFORE SIXTY-SEVENTH DINNER AND ANNUAL MEETING, ASHEVILLE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

ASHEVILLE
March 23, 1956

[The Governor made six speeches in and around Asheville during a four-day visit to the area, March 22-25, 1956. As would be expected on the occasion at which it was delivered, this one was more or less inspirational in nature and content. The other speeches were made before the North Carolina Education Association (March 22), at the dedication of the North Buncombe School at Weaverville (March 23), before the annual stockholders meeting of the North Carolina Farmers Federation and before the Asheville Association for the Advancement of Management (both on March 24), and at Central Methodist Church (Sunday evening, March 25).]

Thank you for this opportunity to share in this annual program of the Asheville unit of a great and wonderful service organization—the Young Men's Christian Association. It is a refreshing experience to be here in Asheville and Buncombe County and have this opportunity to share in so many worthwhile and outstanding activities during my brief visit. This is a great section of North Carolina with a rich history of accomplishments and achievements, as well as a bright and promising future for those who are willing to plan and work for it.

Each new trip to this beautiful mountain country impresses me again with the beauty, freshness, and vigor of this area. Buncombe County, formed in 1791 from Burke and Rutherford, is a natural and growing center of this western section. Asheville, the county seat which is named in honor of Samuel Ashe, governor of the state from 1796 to 1798, is a bustling and growing city of industry, business, retail trade, education, church life, and culture. Incidentally, I cannot discuss any locality in this state without thinking for a moment in terms of per capita personal income. According to the latest adjusted figures prepared by our Department of Tax Research, Buncombe County ranks tenth in North Carolina in per capita income—a tribute to the vigor of Asheville and Buncombe County and its people. Keep your eye on that figure and strive to help it grow larger because it is the per capita income of your people by which we measure, as a more or less rule of the thumb, the economic progress of this section and the state.

The YMCA is a wonderful organization. I know this from first hand experience of many years' standing. It has had a profound effect in my life, and I am grateful for the experience which I gained during many active years with the YMCA. I joined in 1910 the first industrial YMCA in the South. It was in my home town of Spray, North Carolina. The history of this remarkable movement reaches back to the beginning of the nineteenth century when religious activity in Europe and England had grown feeble under the shadows of war and turmoil. By 1815, the effects of this apathy and the distress of many people began to bring renewed vigor in England to home policies and politics, business, and religion. Religion had, to some extent, shifted its point of view and ceased to be so much a matter of doctrine or churchmanship, as a matter of practical life and helpfulness between man and man. There was a growing interest in practical Christian work, as well as a willingness of denominations and groups to cooperate in service for the common good. It was encouraging to see Christians forming the habit of working together in organized method to carry out their enterprises.

There was another great factor in the formation of the YMCA in England. With the dawning of a new social era, the great industrial revolution was beginning. Out of all this came the trend of people to leave the country and live in cities where manufacturing

offered jobs and economic opportunity. This was really the beginning of a trend which, to a certain extent, has never ceased. The Association movement was founded by a young man who moved from the country to the city. It was founded primarily for young men living away from home in cities where they came for the opportunity for advancement in stores, offices, shops, factories, universities, etc.

It was during this period of appalling indifference to religion among the multitudes of young men in English cities that the London Association was founded. With the rise of the city, its temptations and tendencies toward lawlessness, came people who were ready to support any organization which would carry the gospel of better life to their fellows. It has been described as an effort by young men to help themselves, an assertion on the part of Christian young men, of the dignity of their position as Christians and members of society. The founder of the first Association, of course, was Sir George Williams who gathered together two or three other men to hold prayer meetings in their bed rooms and invite other young men to attend. From the simple beginning, sparked by George Williams' courage, dogged persistence, and love for his fellowman, began a great world-wide movement. Founded primarily as a religious source, It soon recognized its social responsibility with the full realization that "faith without works is dead." From its beginnings in 1844 in England, the YMCA movement spread to North America in 1851 where it found a fertile and active field for growth under the freedom of worship of a democratic government. Again the growth and rise of cities in America brought about homeless conditions for thousands of young men who had no ties with home, church, or a better way of life. Immigration from Europe began to pour with increasing volume into our nation and between the years 1880 and 1891 more than 5,000,000 immigrants came to the United States—mostly from Europe. Many of these immigrants were young men who left their fatherland to seek their fortunes in the New World. They had no friends, no guidance—only hope for a better future.

The first period of the development of the Young Men's Christian Association on the American continent extends from the founding of the Montreal and Boston Associations in 1851 to the

permanent location of the American Committee in New York in 1866. This was largely a period of local effort with no general consciousness of a national or world-wide movement. The Boston Association clearly defined its purpose in its constitution, which said, in part: We intend to make this a social organization of those in whom the love of Christ has produced love to man. We shall meet the young stranger as he enters the city, take him by the hand, direct him to a boarding house, introduce him to the church and Sabbath School, and bring him to the rooms of the Association. By making his social atmosphere a Christian one, we believe the allurements of evil will be stripped of much of their power.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Association idea was welcomed in a great number of places. Your own Association came into being in 1889. From these local groups came the founding of a Continental Association and later of a World Alliance. The spiritual force generated by those dedicated men has continued through succeeding decades and generations to influence vitally the character of millions of young men throughout the world.

By 1954 there were 1,802 YMCA's listed in the Official Roster with a mighty program of good works which would shake the bones of the good Sir George Williams were he to return today from his everlasting reward. The decade since 1945 has been one of rapid expansion for the YMCA's of the United States, as well as a great growth in membership. At the end of 1954 there were approximately 2,100,000 persons on the membership rolls of YMCA's in the United States. This was an increase of more than 4 per cent over 1953 and represented the second year in succession in which a total membership in the excess of 2,000,000 has been reported.

Here in Asheville you have accomplished great things in more than a half century of devoted effort. Last year I understand that through generosity and hard work of many people you were able to pay in full the mortgage on your property, marking for the first time in over forty years that the Asheville YMCA was free of debt. Your broad program of activities touches the lives of many people and continues to grow in service and worthwhile influence. You have striven to help each individual grow in character,

strength of purpose, ability to lead, faith in God, and friendliness and good will toward others. To your president, the YMCA staff, the membership and other supporters I say *well done!*

America today, and justly so, is deeply concerned and moved by the problem of juvenile delinquency in all of its ramifications. Since the early 1930's our nation has undergone terrific upheavals and turmoil which have touched the lives of every family in our nation in some way. Many families and their children have suffered from the vast effects of this transition period. The YMCA has made a great contribution to better family life and better adjusted children through its well-balanced and outstanding programs.

One juvenile court judge with twenty years' experience said recently: "In my court, my chief concern in the rehabilitation of delinquent youth is to find a constructive substitute for a destructive conduct, because, from my personal experience, I have come to the conclusion that most youngsters go wrong simply because they have nothing else to do. It is an ironic situation where the very same qualities of energy, love of adventure, ingenuity, daring, and capacity for leadership—all of which makes good citizenship—can make these young people dangerous criminals."

Character-building for youth is one of the greatest responsibilities any adult faces. As parents, we have a big job of raising our youngsters and guiding them correctly into useful citizenship. It has been said by one philosopher that children are like arrows projected out into the world. Some parents take careful and deliberate aim with the bow and send the child forth on a true course toward good citizenship. Other parents by default send forth their youngsters aimlessly—but send them forth just the same.

Parental irresponsibility is at the root of much of the juvenile delinquency and disturbed emotional problems facing many of our young people. It is often pointed out that American life today leaves more and more parents with less and less time for their children. At the natural rebelliousness of imaginative, healthy youth, we must be patient and teach them to accept on faith alone the great truths and basic concepts which have made our nation great. This is not easy in an age of anxiety and international tension and fear. We must exercise good sense, maturity, and

consistent dealing with each other and with our young people if we will have them keep their faith and respect in what we have accomplished during past years and past generations.

In North Carolina we have been extremely fortunate in the low percentage of juvenile delinquency and similar activities. As you know, we have more than our share of children and young people, and we are immensely proud of this rich resource which we must educate, cultivate, and provide with an opportunity for the future.

I want to thank you for the privilege of being here and wish for the officers, staff, and membership the opportunity for greater service.

ADDRESS BEFORE DURHAM UNITED POLITICAL EDUCATION COUNCIL

OAK GROVE SCHOOL, DURHAM
March 27, 1956

[The Durham United Political Education Council was organized in July, 1955, and within a few months was showing signs of becoming an important force in local politics. Although its objectives were announced as being of a general political nature, its first efforts were directed toward maintaining segregation of the races in the public schools and recreational facilities of Durham County. In September, 1955, it had presented to the county board of education a petition said to have been signed by 10,000 persons urging the adoption of Governor Hodges' plan of voluntary segregation. This meeting, held in the Oak Grove School auditorium following a dinner in the school cafeteria, was the second county-wide rally promoted by the Council, the first one having occurred in November, 1955, with Beverly Lake as the speaker.]

It is a pleasure to be here with you tonight in one of your DUPEC meetings. I am always happy when I have the opportunity to talk to citizens about the problems of our state government—and believe me, we have many. It is good to have large groups of people organized for the purpose of keeping themselves informed on what is taking place in government. Ours is a people's government and may it always remain so!

Sometime ago I made the remark publicly that the Patriots of North Carolina could be a force for good. The same thing may be said about the Durham United Political Education Council, or other groups of citizens. This thought, stated in other terms,

means simply that any group of interested private citizens is capable of making good and lasting contributions to the welfare of our beloved state, if such groups keep themselves accurately informed on public matters and are furnished intelligent and responsible leadership.

It is my understanding that DUPEC is interested in all phases of government and in all public business. I have heard it said, however, that DUPEC was principally organized to support the candidacy of particular individuals for public office. I doubt seriously that this is so, but, of course, I am in no position to know with certainty. I would like to say to those who may believe or who may charge that DUPEC is a personal political effort that I, as governor, do not come here tonight in support of or against the candidacy of any individual aspirant to public office. I come solely in the interest of discussing some of the problems of North Carolina's government with some of the citizens of North Carolina.

It is my understanding that one of the principal interests of this group is the segregation problem as it may affect our public schools, and I shall tonight include a review of that problem in our discussion. However, one of the most dangerous aspects of the whole segregation problem is that we—both officials and private citizens—may become so intensely interested and concerned with it that we forget our state has many other problems, which, although not as dramatic perhaps, may be in the long run of equal importance.

For instance, Durham County will vote on April 17 on the question of issuing $4,200,000 in school bonds for new school construction. When you go to vote on this matter, concern over segregation problems should not be allowed to dictate your decision. To say this is not to say you should vote for or against the issuance of these bonds; it is to suggest, however, that this question should be decided solely on the basis of school needs and the county's ability to pay. To my way of thinking, one of the quickest ways to defeat plans to keep separate schools for the races is to refuse to provide needed school construction and improvements.

In short, we must not ignore or neglect our other needs and plans in our concentration on segregation matters!

Durham County is forward looking, is able to pay its way, and I hope it makes every effort to provide its schools that are needed.

I understand from your literature that you are interested not only in political problems, but in educational and cultural problems.

I am glad that this is so and you are to be congratulated on this broad range of interests. In Durham County you have a well-balanced economy and society. You have great educational institutions, including your world famous Duke University; and you have great industry, especially your tobacco and textiles. Your county offers many cultural advantages. You have good race relations. Your people in town and on the farms are of the finest, and I trust your citizenship and leadership will measure up to your advantages and opportunities.

Among our state problems is the low per capita income in North Carolina and it should be one of our chief worries—certainly it is one of mine. Our state, which contains more small farms than any other state in the nation, with the exception of Texas, has a population one-third of which are farmers or farm families, and we now stand forty-third in the nation with respect to per capita income. The United States Department of Agriculture has recently informed us that the national farm income dropped approximately $1,000,000,000 last year. I am told that this results in the farm per capita income being less than one-half that of the income of other segments of the nation's population.

A recent article in the *Progressive Farmer* has pointed out that in spite of the drop in the nation-wide farm income, Southern farmers gained $123,000,000 over last year. The writer adds, however, that this increase in Southern farm income resulted from modern mechanized farming, plus efficiency and diversification. These factors are for the most part not applicable to small farms but are limited to large operations on big tracts of land. Therefore, with the high percentage of small farms that we have in North Carolina, we are bound to feel the over-all drop in the national farm income considerably.

It is my firm belief that the real, ultimate solution to our farm problem lies in providing other sources of income for those farmers who are unable to compete successfully in the agricultural

markets for staple products, such as, cotton, corn, tobacco, etc. I have in the past, and will continue to do so, devoted a great amount of my time to helping provide such other sources of income. The development of small industries is one way of providing additional jobs for our rural population; increased processing of our food crops is another; better packaging and marketing of the things we already process is still another way; possible development of our mineral resources may be still another way; and there are many others. Time does not permit me to discuss in detail all that we are doing in these areas. Much of what has gone on has been highly publicized and you are already familiar with it. Suffice it here to say that we are looking into all of these possibilities and are doing something about them, and we can have high hope for gradual, but evergrowing, success for our efforts.

Another problem about which we are greatly concerned has to do with the less fortunate citizens of our state, the mentally ill, the destitute, and the prisoners. In our determination to raise the economy and push our state forward to a higher and better standard of living, we must not forget the ones of us who have been unable to keep up and who, if forgotten, would be left to live out their lives in hopeless misery and poverty. And here too, I am happy to say we are doing something about our problem. North Carolina has one of the finest programs in the United States for the care of the mentally ill. There remains, however, much to be done, and we will continue to strengthen the state's program in this area.

Our prisons and the prison system have improved greatly in recent months and years. We are looking carefully at the possibility of separating the prisons completely from the State Highway and Public Works Commission, and to better methods of prison care and rehabilitation. Money spent for rehabilitation is a sound investment. A reformed prisoner sent back into society as a useful citizen contributes to the state's over-all welfare; an unreformed prisoner can only continue to cost the rest of us money to keep him in custody. We are approaching our prison problems with this fact in mind and with the firm intention of rehabilitating every prisoner who is capable of being rehabilitated. We have

in mind giving work to prisoners on our highways, as now, and also doing more farm and forest work with our prisoners.

Our welfare program should be a source of pride to every citizen in the state. Just a few weeks ago, Dr. Ellen Winston, commissioner of public welfare, informed a conference in Washington, D. C., that North Carolina has the best-trained and the most highly-qualified staff of welfare workers in the United States. Such things as that do not come without some sacrifice on the part of all of us—that is, all of us who pay taxes; and we can be proud that our state and its people have assumed their duties and responsibilities to the unfortunates in the manner that we have. I think we need to check our methods and our programs regularly, and not continue unwise welfare practices just because of federal grants. Federal money and state money are printed at the same place.

Another problem which is serious in our state, but again one which we are moving forward on, has to do with higher education. As you know, the 1955 General Assembly created the State Board of Higher Education whose duty it will be to develop and coordinate an over-all plan of higher education in which all twelve of the state institutions of higher learning will participate. This is to the end that we may produce more and better-trained college graduates, and do so with as little waste of money as possible. Doubled enrollments in our colleges within the next fifteen years must be prepared for if our youth is to assume the leadership of the future and if our state and nation are to keep pace in a fast-moving world. It is my firm belief that the creation of the Board of Higher Education is a giant stride toward such preparation. We have engaged a distinguished director in Dr. Harris Purks and a distinguished assistant director in Dr. Paul Reid.

The maintenance, construction, and improvement of our highways is of course always of great importance to our state. The 1955 General Assembly, at my request, created a commission to study the operations and organization of the State Highway and Public Works Commission. This study commission has gone about its work diligently and effectively. The commission recently filed with me a progress report indicating that it is going very thoroughly into various matters connected with the Highway Commission—matters such as the need for and the training of highway

engineers; the need for improved accounting and record procedures; better administrative organization within the department, etc. With the real impetus for highway programming and construction, which is expected to result from federal highway legislation, we must have a Highway Department organized so as constantly to be at peak efficiency in every respect. We must be able to take full advantage of all opportunities of providing North Carolina the fine highway system it needs and deserves. Good highways have traditionally been of great importance to our state. You may be sure that this will continue into the future. North Carolina, in spite of its needs, is still in the forefront of states in highway construction.

We have mentioned just a few of the major fields of activity with which we must deal and about which we must think in our state government. There are others; in fact, there are so many others that we could talk all night and not cover them all; thus, many of these must await future discussion.

And now we come to the segregation problem. The South was handed this problem by the Supreme Court of the United States in the so-called Brown decision, handed down on May 17, 1954, and the implementing decision handed down on May 31, 1955. As a result of carefully planned NAACP propaganda, spread throughout the country by a national press uninformed and unappreciative of the conditions in the South, there has been widespread misunderstanding of the meaning of the Court's decision. An attempt, and a highly successful one until only recently, has been made to convince the people of the nation that the Supreme Court's decisions meant that all of the states maintaining separate schools for the children of different races would have to begin with "deliberate speed" changing their public school systems so as to mix the children of the different races. Those states declining to do so, insists the NAACP and its sympathizers, are defying the law of the land and should be forced by federal troops, if necessary, to cease the operation of different schools for the races.

This insidious, and, in the opinion of many, deliberate misinterpretation of the Court's decisions, has resulted in many Negroes being led to believe that if they do not insist on sending their children to schools formerly attended only by white children they are violating the law of the land. It has misled some well-

News and Observer Photo

Eleven new judges and four special judges of the Superior Court, appointed by the Governor under an act of the 1955 General Assembly increasing the number of judicial districts in the state. This picture was made on the occasion of the swearing in of the new appointees at the State Capitol, July 1, 1955. *Left to right, front row:* Clarence W. Hall, Malcolm C. Paul, Hugh B. Campbell, George B. Patton, Hamilton H. Hobgood, P. C. Froneberger, William J. Bundy, George M. Fountain, and Governor Hodges; *back row:* L. Richardson Preyer, W. A. Leland McKeithan, Hubert E. Olive, Susie Sharpe, Raymond Mallard, J. Frank Huskins, and Malcolm B. Seawell

The North Carolina Judiciary assembled in the Hall of the House at the State Capitol on the occasion of the swearing in of fifteen newly appointed judges of the Superior Court, July 1, 1955. This was said to have been the largest number of judges ever to assemble at one time in the history of North Carolina. Seated (left to right) are justices of the Supreme Court: William H. Bobbitt, Jeff D. Johnson, Jr., William A. Devin, Chief Justice Maurice Victor Barnhill, Emery B. Denny, R. Hunt Parker, and Carlisle Higgins (Associate Justice J. Wallace Winborne was absent on this occasion). Governor Hodges is standing with hands on the shoulders of Chief Justice Barnhill. Superior Court judges in the picture (*all standing*) are: William Y. Bickett, Walter J. Bone, William J. Bundy, W. H. S. Burgwyn, Hugh B. Campbell, Leo Carr, Francis O. Clarkson, Walter E. Crissman, George M. Fountain, J. Paul Frizzelle, P. C. Froneberger, Allen H. Gwyn, Clarence W. Hall, Hamilton H. Hobgood, J. Frank Huskins, Walter E. Johnson, Jr., W. A. Leland McKeithan, Raymond Mallard, Clifton L. Moore, Dan K. Moore, Chester R. Morris, Zeb V. Nettles, Q. K. Nimocks, Jr., Hubert E. Olive, Joseph W. Parker, George B. Patton, Malcolm C. Paul, F. Donald Phillips, J. Will Pless, Jr., L. Richardson Preyer, J. A. Rousseau, Malcolm B. Seawell, Susie Sharpe, R. Hoyle Sink, Henry L. Stevens, and Clawson L. Williams.

intentioned and sincere white people to insist that now and at once steps must be taken to see that children of all races begin mixing in the public schools in order that we may not become a region of outlaws.

I have tried on countless occasions, including a speech I made in New York some weeks ago, to make clear that the Supreme Court has not required any state to take any affirmative action toward mixing the races. As Judge John J. Parker of the United States Court of Appeals has said: "What the Court has decided, and *all* that it has decided, is that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains."

So far as anybody is aware, no court has ever told or will ever tell a state or a parent that children must be sent to a mixed school. North Carolina has at no time defied the segregation decisions of the Supreme Court, nor have we disobeyed a law in this connection. Because the various Southern states disagree with the decision of the Supreme Court doesn't mean they are disobeying a law. In Alabama where its legislature passed a resolution declaring the Supreme Court's decision null and void, a Negro woman was admitted to the University of Alabama as soon as the federal court ordered her admission. True it is that she is not now there, but this did not result from defiance of the court decree. It expelled her as it had a right to do. Alabama obeyed the court decree, notwithstanding the language of its legislature.

We are not and do not intend to be a region of law breakers; but like any other region, or any other people, we do not intend to go out of our way to do something we do not want to do in order to carry out somebody's mistaken notions of what is best for us. Not only do we *not* intend to go out of our way to do this, we *do* intend to go out of our way in every lawful manner, and I emphasize the word *lawful,* to avoid doing that which our people do not want to do and do not believe is best.

The report of the Advisory Committee on Education will be made public very soon, and so it would not be appropriate at this time for me to discuss future plans and courses of action which the state may take. Such plans will be made known when the report is released in a few days. To keep the record straight, however, I would like to read you a very brief summary of a few

of the statements I have made on this problem so that you will know exactly where I stand.

In a statewide speech delivered on August 8, in which the plan of voluntary separate school attendance was proposed, I stated: "Those who would force this state to choose between integrated schools and abandonment of the public school system will be responsible if, in the choice, we lose the public school system. . . . and find, to our eternal sorrow, the personal racial bitterness which North Carolinians of both races have avoided so successfully."

On September 29, I stated, in a press conference, that if the voluntary plan was not accepted, the state would resort to other defenses, such as local option.

A few days later, Attorney General William B. Rodman, Jr., with our approval, explained to a DUPEC audience here in Durham that local option is designed primarily to permit communities that, sometime in the future, may be faced with an integration problem as a result of a court order or otherwise, to close their public schools if they wish and to try other methods of educating their children.

In a statewide speech on November 30, we stated: "We are opposed to mixing the races in our schools. We think the overwhelming majority of the people in North Carolina are also opposed to mixing white and colored children. . . ."

In a speech in New York City, delivered on January 20, 1956, I said:

> The Supreme Court decision overturned the law as that same Court had pronounced it on countless occasions for some sixty years. This the Court did without citing a single legal precedent for its action, and with no explanation except that social conditions required a change. . . . The provisions for change provided by the Constitution itself were ignored to satisfy the conclusions reached by nine temporary occupants of the Supreme Court. Eventually, if such a method of making decisions is followed, there will be a decision which conflicts with the customs and mores of other parts of the country as seriously as this one does with those of the South. Perhaps then the rest of the United States will realize the extent of the power which nine men assumed when they made their segregation decisions—and perhaps then it may be too late.

Many people in the North are now beginning to see this problem in a new light.

In a statement on interposition, issued on February 2, 1956, I said that it had been agreed that

> The Advisory Committee should consider possible wording of a resolution to be recommended to our General Assembly, which will reaffirm North Carolina's position with the other Southern states in emphasizing the strong resentment our people feel toward the unjustified usurpation of power by the Supreme Court of the United States. . . We must have a determined point of view in the South which will awaken the rest of the nation to the dangers inherent in what seems to be the Supreme Court's attitude that all ultimate power lies in that Court.

In announcing my candidacy, before a hometown audience in Leaksville, on February 4, 1956, I said:

> Those of you in my home community know me well enough to realize that I usually say what I believe and think, but I like to be informed before I speak out. My position on the Supreme Court decision and segregation has been stated on many occasions, but the problem is so varied and difficult and so many ideas and opinions have been expressed that an anxious public can easily get confused.
>
> Let me again make my position clear.
>
> I do not agree with the Supreme Court decision and I think it usurped the rights of the states and the Congress in its decision.
>
> I do not favor mixing the races in the schools, and I believe the vast majority of white and colored citizens feel the same as I do.
>
> My plan of voluntary choice of separate schools is still working and can continue to work.
>
> The Advisory Committee, which I appointed, has recommended—and I approve—the policy which declares that no child shall be forced to attend a school of mixed races against the wishes of his parents or himself.
>
> If incidents arise which challenge this policy, we propose to have legislation which will provide tuition grants or transfers along the general lines of the Virginia proposal.
>
> At a later date, I shall present to our citizens, and the same matter will be presented to our legislature, the full details of a program embodying the basic principles which I have just mentioned.

At a press conference on March 2, we said, that it was our hope that the Report of the Advisory Committee would include specific recommendations for the accomplishment of the already declared purpose of the committee and the governor to continue the education of our children, but, at the same time insure that no child in North Carolina will have to attend a school in which the races are mixed. We added that if such recommendations

are made, they will doubtless require a special session of the General Assembly to deal with the problem sometime during next summer.

Again at a press conference, this time on March 15, we expressed the opinion that the Southern Manifesto, in which 101 Southern Congressmen expressed their joint protest against the Supreme Court's usurpation of power, "is a good thing and is in agreement with the spirit and language of which we have been talking about in North Carolina."

The excerpts I have just called your attention to are just some of my statements on this problem; however, they should be sufficient to leave no doubts as to how I feel about this subject.

There is one further thought I would like to leave with you tonight and it has to do with the coming primary in which many throughout the state will be candidates for the Democratic nomination for public office. In this primary there are apt to be many candidates attempting to make an issue out of the segregation problem. This problem is the most important one facing our state and of course it must be discussed by every candidate. However, I do not believe that segregation versus integration is much of an *issue.* The whole matter is a problem that ought to be discussed, but to have an important issue, there would have to be a substantial amount of disagreement among a substantial number of our people as to how we feel about mixed schools. It is my opinion that in North Carolina there is not a great deal of disagreement as to how we feel about mixing the races. There may well be some difference of opinion as how best to accomplish our goals, but generally speaking, and with a few exceptions, most of us feel substantially the same way on this subject.

What we must watch in North Carolina is that we do not allow individuals, and that includes all of us, to put their personal interests above the best interests of the state. Our good state is not, and must not become, a demagogic state. We must preserve our public schools and our other public institutions and services, and we cannot afford to destroy them or seriously impair them for the sake of anyone's ambition or desire for power or glory.

I am quite sure that members of DUPEC share my concern in this regard. May I close by saying that I join with you in the determination to build a better North Carolina. Thank you.

ADDRESS AT ART MUSEUM DINNER

RALEIGH
April 6, 1956

[Housing a collection valued at more than $2,000,000, with another $1,000,000 worth to come from the Kress Foundation, the North Carolina State Museum of Art would possess some of the prize art treasures of the Western Hemisphere. The formal opening of the museum took place on the evening of April 6, 1956, and was immediately preceded by a dinner at the Sir Walter Hotel, at which the Governor was one of the speakers. More than 700 people attended the dinner, which was said to have been the largest ever held at the Sir Walter.]

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests from Many Lands, and Fellow North Carolinians:

This is, of course, a great occasion for our good state. It represents the culmination of the dreams and hopes and plans of many North Carolinians over quite a number of years. Time does not permit that I call the names of all those who through the years brought us to this splendid hour, but I feel that the sum total of our efforts are symbolized by that gracious lady, Kate Arrington, and our toastmaster tonight, Robert Humber. Mrs. Arrington was for twenty-five years the president of the State Art Society, leading at first a small but loyal group who were dedicated to the appreciation of art in North Carolina. Mr. Humber, a native North Carolinian, returned to us from France in 1940, bringing with him a sort of dynamic idealism which has been contagious among our people. He also brought to us his friend, Carl Hamilton, of New York, who, although not a citizen of North Carolina, has rendered devoted and distinguished service to our art program. May I publicly thank Mr. Hamilton and others through him for the help they have freely given us.

Let me say at the outset that North Carolina has been most fortunate in the organization of its collection to have the advice and counsel of one of the greatest art scholars of our time—Dr. William R. Valentiner, who is now serving as director of our museum. He is so well known in the art world that nothing that I can say can add to his stature. We are indeed grateful to him for being willing, like Cincinnatus, to leave his retirement and come back to serve us. We salute you!

In apportioning credit on this wonderful occasion, I can only say that there is glory enough for all, but I must cite one incident: when the fate of this art program was pending in the North Carolina House of Representatives, it was Representative John Kerr of Warren County who arose and spoke in such a moving and eloquent way that he turned the tide toward victory for the art bill.

I wish at this time on behalf of the people of North Carolina to express gratitude to the generous donors whom we honor here tonight. Your gifts which are so deeply appreciated will be carefully preserved and treasured through the years. We hope you will like what we have tried to do. I am sure that your willingness to help us was influenced by the fact that the founding of our museum was an act of democracy, representing the will of the people of North Carolina acting through their representatives in the General Assembly. You must have felt that a people who would do such an unusual and unprecedented thing would have an appreciation of, and could be trusted with the custody of, great works of art. In this connection, let me say that the collection you will see tonight is not an end but a beginning. We hope through the generosity of our friends to grow and expand through the years.

We regret that Mr. Rush Kress, because of illness, could not be with us tonight, for it is the magnificent offer of the Kress Foundation to give us a million dollars worth of art that has laid the basis for all that we have done. What great satisfaction he must get from such acts of generosity!

I feel that this event that we celebrate tonight is closely related to the history of our good state, and that it logically grows out of a mental attitude that has dominated our people for more than half a century. In 1900, as all North Carolinians know, there came to the governor's office a man with a vision who saw a great future for our people. His name was Charles Brantley Aycock, and he, along with his lieutenants, James Y. Joyner, and Charles D. McIver, launched a program of universal education, which ushered in an era of progress for us. This dream of Aycock, which has been implemented by other educators through the years, has resulted in our great public school system and in many institutions of higher learning. Education as visualized by Aycock

and his followers was broad and comprehensive, embracing not only things that are useful and practical, but also those intangibles that nurture the soul of man. So North Carolina as a state has given financial encouragement to a state symphony orchestra and has aided in the production of the symphonic drama. Viewed in this light, the creation of this museum is a further enlargement of our educational system, for it will be an institution of learning to which teachers, scholars, and students may come for knowledge and inspiration.

It is a pleasure to welcome here the distinguished representatives of seven great nations whose art is represented in our collection. We welcome you as cultural ambassadors of good will. Your presence here underscores the international character of all great art. Take back to your country and your people our heartfelt thanks for your visit among us.

Mankind is beginning to prize more than ever its poets, its musicians, and its painters. Today it is not uncommon for nations to celebrate men of peace rather than men of war. Recently I noticed that the Kingdom of Holland is issuing a commemorative stamp celebrating the 350th anniversary of the birth—not of a king, not of a soldier, but of that sensitive painter of the human soul, Rembrandt. If you will go to Germany today and ask a well-informed citizen as to who is the greatest hero of his people, instead of mentioning Bismarck or Frederick the Great, he may in hushed tones pronounce the word "Goethe!"

We will open here tonight a treasure house of western culture, reflecting the hopes and aspirations of mankind for 400 years. You will be aware of the long range of the centuries when you see in our collection, for instance, a quaint and primitive "Christ Before Pilate" painted by a Spanish master many years before Columbus made his famous voyage to the New World. In this same collection, you will also see a cheerful, modern scene "Weaning The Calf" depicting the joy and happiness of American youth. It is by the American master Winslow Homer, who did not die until 1910. Thus our collection bridges the centuries.

Yes, these treasures of the past have been preserved for many years by loving hands. Let us hope that we will be faithful trustees and pass on to future generations in safety this artistic inheritance.

The poet has said:

"All passes, art alone
Enduring stays to us;
The bust outlasts the throne,—
The coin, Tiberius."

So, when North Carolina decided to found a museum of art and to bring here representative works of the great masters, it was a recognition of the fact that "life is short," but "art is long" and that by investing in artistic creations that have stood the test of time, we are affirming our faith in the eternal verities which alone survive.

As I look into the faces of you who have come here to rejoice in the opening of this museum and as I think of those who are here with us in spirit, I cannot fail to sense the greatness of this hour. In the words of Peter on the Mount of Transfiguration, "Lord, it is good for us to be here!"

ADDRESS AT SYNOD-WIDE CONVOCATION FOR CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

LAURINBURG
April 10, 1956

[Twenty-five hundred Presbyterians assembled on this occasion to inaugurate a campaign for $3,000,000 toward establishing a consolidated Presbyterian college at Laurinburg and for $500,000 for campus Christian work on non-Presbyterian college campuses. The Governor mingled with the delegates and ate barbecue to the accompaniment of bagpipe music before making his speech.]

Thank you for this opportunity to speak to you here this afternoon as you launch your campaign to raise $3,000,000 for the consolidated Presbyterian college and $500,000 for Campus Christian Life, your religious program for non-Presbyterian college campuses. It is always a pleasure to speak to such a distinguished group.

I congratulate the Presbyterians on their selection of Laurinburg as the site of your new consolidated Presbyterian college. May I also commend you for your unceasing efforts on behalf of

education in general. No one can read the history of North Carolina without conceding to Presbyterians both priority and primacy in education. Indeed those who are not Presbyterians have paid tribute to Presbyterian influence in education more unreservedly than have Presbyterians themselves. The late Dr. Kemp P. Battle, a distinguished Episcopalian, said that the Scotch-Irish, another name for Presbyterians, gave to North Carolina not only many of its leaders in peace and war—the Grahams and Jacksons and Johnstons and Brevards and Alexanders and Mebanes and hosts of others—but, above all, most of its faithful and zealous instructors of youth, such as Dr. David Caldwell, of Guilford, and Dr. Joseph Caldwell, of the University, Dr. David Ker and Mr. Charles Wilson Harris, the first professors in the University, and that progenitor of a line of able and cultured teachers and founder of a school eminent for nearly a century for its widespread and multiform usefulness, William Bingham, the first. It has been said that Presbyterians have been more thoroughly devoted to education than any other denomination. It has meant life as well as light to them; it has made them independent and patriotic, strong and noble. They were really our first teachers and during the latter half of the eighteenth century they were well-nigh our only ones. The historian, Dr. Charles Lee Smith, a Baptist, once said "higher education owes its first impulse to the Presbyterians Church and Princeton College. To the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians occupying central and Piedmont Carolina is due the lasting honor of having established the first academies in the province, and it is said that it was through their influence that the clause providing for a university was inserted in the initial constitution of the state." How much the citizenry of North Carolina owes to such Presbyterians as David Caldwell, Joseph Caldwell, Elisha Mitchell, William Joseph Martin, Calvin Henderson Wiley, and Charles Duncan McIver, to name only a few of the all-time greats.

I am very much encouraged by recent events which have turned eastern North Carolina into the Promised Land of church-related higher education. As I told the State Board of Higher Education last Friday, we need more community colleges in the state, and I hope we have a lot of competition between us Methodists and Presbyterians and others in building colleges. Never before in

our history has the state needed so many additional colleges and teachers and workers to staff them.

Just how does a church group go about selecting a site for a new college? What were the requisites for the location of such an institution of higher learning at Laurinburg? Here's the story: The Synod of North Carolina meeting at Davidson College September 2-4, 1952, adopted a recommendation of its Executive Committee on Higher Education to the effect that a "thorough study of the educational institutions of the Synod . . . be undertaken, and that a request be made of the Ford Foundation for $25,000 to provide the funds for the study . . ." Pursuant to that the Fund for the Advancement of Education (Ford Foundation) made a grant of $50,000 for the study. The synod, with only 125,000 members at the time, was endeavoring to support three junior colleges and three senior colleges. A group of experts engaged to advise a committee of the synod in the study recommended the merger of Flora MacDonald College (senior), Peace College and Presbyterian College (both junior colleges). The synod at its 142nd meeting at Barium Springs in 1955 voted to merge the three institutions referred to above and set up a board of trustees to perform all of the necessary requisites towards the establishment of a new college in the eastern part of North Carolina. The board composed of thirty-two members was organized on October 3, 1955, with W. H. Neal of Winston-Salem as Chairman. In all, twenty towns in eastern North Carolina manifested an interest in the location of the new college and seventeen of them went all out in their efforts to obtain it. The board established as criteria for selecting the town eleven requisites, as follows:

1. Characterized by a vital church life, permeating the whole community.
2. Exhibiting a wholesome moral and cultural environment.
3. Offering the college the opportunity of rendering the largest possible service to the church, the state, and the nation.
4. Offering wide community interest and general support.
5. Possessing a substantial Presbyterian constituency.
6. Distinguished sufficiently as a population center, capable of providing a representative enrollment of day students.
7. Providing adequate transportation facilities.
8. Characterized by financial ability sufficient to provide not

only a substantial initial gift, but also generous annual financial support.

9. Making available a well-located campus site of approximately 200 acres, or more, with utilities such as power, water, telephone, local bus service, sewerage, city fire and police protection.

10. Providing adequate restaurants, hotels, motels, stores, recreation facilities, hospital facilities, and general medical care.

11. Recognized as a progressive and growing community.

After three months of very earnest study of brochures prepared by the towns, and visitation of the towns, representatives of the towns were heard by the board on behalf of their respective towns, following which the board eliminated twelve towns, leaving in the finals Fayetteville, Laurinburg, Lumberton, Wilmington, and Rocky Mount. The board reached its decision on the location of the college at Laurinburg on March 6. Among other requisites for which Laurinburg was chosen was that the citizens of Scotland County pledged in excess of $3,000,000 towards endowment for the new college.

Thus Laurinburg—home base of Scotch-Irish heritage, Presbyterianism, McNairs, Pates, Joneses, etc.—became the officially designated site of North Carolina's new consolidated Presbyterian College.

Although you Presbyterians are one jump ahead of the Methodists, they are working to expand their horizons in the field of Christian Higher Education. Recently, Dr. James E. Hillman, director of the Division of Professional Service of the State Department of Education, made a study of Methodist higher education in the North Carolina Conference. He found that North Carolina Methodists need to expand, that we are not doing our share. With about 175,000 Methodists in the fifty-six eastern counties comprising the N. C. Methodist Conference, our denomination ranks second to the Baptists in number; Presbyterians are third.

Dr. Hillman reported that as of October 1, 1955, there were 1,500 students enrolled in Baptist colleges in the conference, not counting Wake Forest College because it soon moves to Winston-Salem or Southeastern Theological Seminary because it admits only college graduates. The figures include students at Campbell, Chowan, and Meredith.

He also noted that Pineland-EMI at Salemburg, which "is Baptist in background and heritage" and "serves the Baptist constituency almost as much as the Baptist colleges," has an enrollment of 163.

Flora MacDonald, Peace, and Presbyterian Junior College now have a combined enrollment of 676.

"Initially, the new Presbyterian school would not accommodate as many students as the existing three colleges can now accommodate," his report said, "but I have been informed that this new school is to provide for a minimum of 600 students in dormitories, with a contemplated maximum of about 1,200 dormitory students."

To Dr. Hillman's way of thinking, these enrollments compare with 320 students in a Methodist college in the conference area since Duke University "cannot be claimed as a Methodist institution which specifically served the conference nor even the state." The 320 students, "mostly from the conference area," are at Louisburg College.

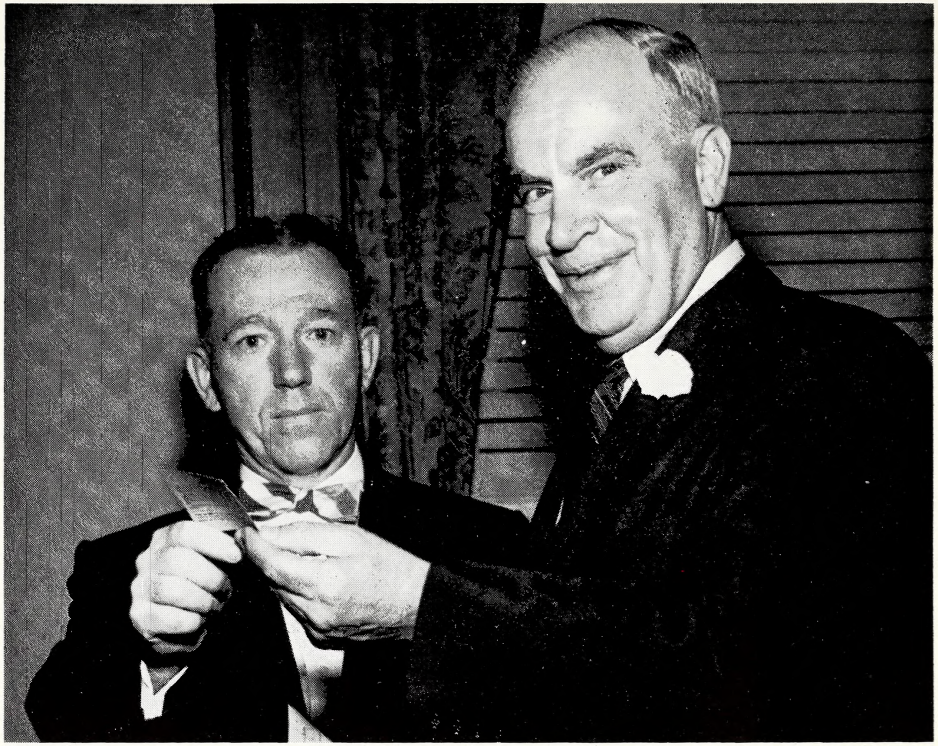
The study found there were about 12,000 white high school graduates in the conference in 1945-55. This compares with about 28,100 in the state as a whole. Of the conference total, the rural graduates outnumber the city graduates by about two to one.

Dr. Hillman's report noted that of the total number of North Carolina high school graduates who attend college, the percentage from the city units is appreciably higher than from the county or rural units. It added: "This should not argue against the need for increased college facilities, but only emphasizes the importance of finding ways by which more rural graduates would be encouraged to, and find ways by which they could, attend college."

To build a new college with dormitory space for 600 students, Dr. Hillman's report said, "at least $3,000,000" would be required for buildings and equipment, minus the cost of a site.

Such a school's annual operating budget, the report said, would be from $600,000 to $700,000 of which, "according to the national average," 75 per cent could be derived from students via tuition, fees, etc.

From other sources, "endowment, annual church support, and gifts from individuals," would come the remaining $150,000 to $175,000 per year.



News and Observer Photo

Governor Hodges gets his fishing license, July 29, 1955, from J. Thomas Williams, chief finance and personnel officer of the North Carolina Wildlife Commission.

The Governor and Mrs. Hodges at the twenty-eighth annual convention of the North Carolina Food Dealers Association, King Cotton Hotel, Greensboro, August 23, 1955.

"Certainly such financial support . . . would meet the financial requirements for accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, which is a *sine qua non,*" the report said.

The recommendations that senior colleges be established at Fayetteville and Rocky Mount were arrived at in a closed session of Methodist leaders at Wilson.

If Louisburg College eventually relocated at Rocky Mount as a senior college, it would be in a town that boasted a population of 27,697 in 1950. To relocate it presumably would entail approximately the same financial requirements as establishing a new college at Fayetteville, since the Methodists plan to retain its assets at Louisburg for "educational and other church-related activities." This decision is not a final one, it must be understood.

The college's Long-Range Planning Committee said the present capacity at Louisburg is 350 and its present plant worth about $1,500,000. To bring it up to snuff in its present size, the committee said, would require $500,000 immediately.

To make the college a senior institution at its present site, the object of a vigorous campaign by Franklin County citizenry, would require at least $2,000,000 for physical expansion, improvements, and equipment alone.

Higher education in America is being examined more closely today than at any previous time in history. Almost two thirds of our states, in some fashion, are surveying their higher education problems or organizations. Over the years, American higher education has played an important role in shaping the lives and livelihood of our people. Through its instructional offering, its research undertakings, and its extension, adult education, and general public service programs, higher education contributes immeasurably to the vitality and maturity of our society.

In a recent Council of State Government Report it was said:

> The principal value of higher education for the individual lies not in the potential economic advantages it may confer but in its capacity to make life more meaningful and worthwhile. The principal value of higher education for society is to be found in its training for effective citizenship. In our nation this value is all the more essential since in a democracy all decisions rest finally with the people. With research pushing back the boundaries of knowledge so rapidly, it becomes im-

perative that the opportunities for access to higher education be broadened, that increasing proportions of our people be informed on matters of vital importance to themselves and their fellow citizens.

The growth of American higher education has been phenominal. Although America's total population nearly doubled during the half century just ended, college-age population—age groups eighteen through twenty-one—increased no more than 45 per cent. Resident enrollment in the nation's colleges and universities increased nearly 925 per cent during the same fifty years. One significant trend was the rapid growth of junior colleges or "community colleges." In 1930 there were 436 institutions of this type with a total student body of 74,000. In 1950 there were 634 institutions of this type with a total enrollment of 560,000 students.

In an education-minded state, our colleges and universities are literally bursting at the seams. State institutions, for example, have already enrolled 2,000 more students this year than last year. Most private institutions are having the same experience. Yet North Carolina ranks next to the bottom of the states of the Union in the percentage of its residents of college age in attendance at institutions of higher learning. The landslide of students brings increased costs. Professional education, for example, is particularly expensive. More money is needed for teachers, buildings, equipment, etc.

Private colleges and universities in North Carolina are doing an indispensable job. They educate approximately 47 per cent of all students in higher education. They should take care of at least 50 per cent. In the early days the figure was 70 per cent. These private institutions deserve our warmest support, appreciation, and help. There is a place for these schools, their programs, and what they mean to our society.

We need all the educational institutions we have and more to meet the challenge of today and the future. North Carolina is rich in its greatest resource—our youth. We must utilize that resource and nurture it. We must stop the erosion of our intellectual leadership to other regions for the lack of opportunity in their own state.

I commend the work of the Presbyterians past, present, and future, and wish you continued success as you begin a new era

of progress in Christian higher education. We challenge Laurinburg and its neighbors to live up to the expectation of the Presbyterians and the public. Thank you.

ADDRESS AT CONFERENCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION

SALEM COLLEGE, WINSTON-SALEM
April 18, 1956

[Governor Hodges was the keynote speaker at this Conference on Higher Education which was attended by officials from about fifty colleges and universities in the state. The meeting was held in the old chapel at Salem College, the Governor speaking from the same platform that was occupied by Governor Charles B. Aycock when he addressed the Fourth Conference on Education in the South on April 18, 1901.]

Chairman Ramsey, Dr. Purks, Presidents and Other Representatives of Private and Public Junior Colleges, Community Colleges, Four-Year Colleges and Universities in the State of North Carolina.

It is a pleasure to be with you on this occasion which is one of the few, if not indeed the only, conferences of presidents and representatives of all our institutions of higher learning in this state. It is very appropriate that this conference should be held here at Salem College and in this room and on this date. Because it was exactly fifty-five years ago today, and in this room that Governor Aycock welcomed the historic Fourth Conference on Education in the South.

A number of prominent Southern educators were here to join with several of the great names in philanthropy from the East. Among these were Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and our own distinguished Walter Hines Page. It seems quite clear that this historic conference had much to do toward setting the pattern of thinking which led to the formation of the General Education Board established by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Sr., in 1902.

At the time Governor Aycock welcomed the Fourth Conference on Education he had recently pledged that this state would put a school in every district in order that within ten years *no* child would reach the age of twelve without being able to read and write.

In those days this pledge seemed fantastic. From 1866 to 1900 the forces of education in North Carolina were shackled and silenced by the chains of poverty and despair. A noted historian in writing of the era has said: "North Carolina entered upon the period with her public assets dissipated, her industries destroyed, her railroads wrecked, her educational institutions closed, her public debt piled up in crushing proportions, and with a political problem that for two generations absorbed those energies that should have been left free to develop economic, social, and intellectual resources of the state."

In 1880, some fifteen years following the cessation of the War Between the States the superintendent of public instruction reported that the average value of a schoolhouse in the state was exactly $47.67. The average monthly pay of teachers was less than $25 per month, the average term less than three months, and the total annual pay of a teacher less than $75. The total enrollment of all our colleges was less than 1,000.

But the silence of educational forces in North Carolina during those dark years was temporary, and not everlasting; transitory, and not permanent. It was the deceptive quiet of waiting for release from captivity—not the silence of death or hopeless surrender. Aycock had discovered its true nature during his campaign for governor, and in his inaugural address of 1901, after discussing his own goals and promises concerning public education, he said: "I had loved the North Carolina people before that time, but I never knew and appreciated the best qualities of many of our citizens until I saw the owners of many thousands, as eager for the education of the whole people as I was myself. Then I knew that the hope and task before us . . . was not an impossible one."

The people were, as Aycock said, eager for the education of their children, and in truth the task was found not an impossible one.

Now fifty-five years later we have public schools which, judged by relative standards, hold honored places in the nation; we have a distinguished group of colleges and universities; our state is a recognized and respected leader in education among the states of the nation, and I think the people are still eager for the education of their children.

We have in North Carolina two of the thirty-five universities

which are members of the Association of American Universities. One of these is the University of North Carolina, the oldest state university. Throughout the past fifty years the University has steadily moved to its honored position among the universities of the world. The other is Duke University which, though younger, has taken its place among the foremost universities of our time.

The state supports two land grant colleges: North Carolina State and Agricultural and Technical College. The growth of these institutions has been spectacular; their facilities rank among the best in the nation; the service which they render is incalculable. We have at Woman's College in Greensboro the largest residential college for women in the nation. It is second only to Hunter College in New York in total enrollment. We have at North Carolina College at Durham, a respected counterpart of the University in that its offerings include professional work in law and the doctorate in certain fields. We have seven other state-supported four-year colleges and teachers colleges: I refer to East Carolina College, Fayetteville State Teachers College, Elizabeth City State Teachers College, Appalachian State Teachers College, Winston-Salem State Teachers College, Pembroke State College, and Western Carolina College. In the challenging years which lie before us, all of these institutions must and will move forward to even greater service in their respective academic areas.

When we add to these the forty-five fine senior colleges, junior colleges, and community colleges which, in addition to Duke University, make up the pattern of private, church related, or municipal institutions of higher education, we find a worthy base upon which this state can build in its efforts to meet the challenge of opportunity which presents itself in greater measure each year. We can indeed take pride in our institutions of higher education.

The State of North Carolina will spend this year for the academic operations and special services of our public institutions of higher learning, approximately $20,500,000 from tax-derived funds. When we add amounts spent which are derived from tuition fees and other receipts the total expenditures for state-supported higher education will be roughly $40,000,000 for this year. Place with this figure an estimated $20,000,000 to be spent by private and municipally supported colleges and universities and the total expenditures for higher education, public and private, in North Carolina this year approximates some $60,000,000.

Glancing briefly at state expenditures for public schools beneath the level of higher education, we find a total of roughly $133,500,000 which does not include amounts paid by state government for debt services on school bonds and state contributions to the retirement system on behalf of school personnel. Nor does it include an estimated $22,000,000 being spent by local governmental units for the regular nine months' term and vocational education facilities. Finally we can add the approximate $11,000,000 expended in the state by the federal government for the school lunch program.

A grand total of these figures shows the staggering amount of over $226,000,000 being spent in North Carolina this year for the education of our youth.

If the pledge of Governor Aycock seemed fantastic in 1901, how fantastic would have appeared, at that time, a prediction that in 1956 the total sum expended for education, public and private, including the public schools, would approach a quarter of a billion dollars.

As we view the astonishing recovery from the dark days of 1901, we can take great pride. Yet, if we permit this pride to become a sedative which causes us to sleep upon the laurels which we, of the year 1956, did not win, we will indeed prove to be unworthy of the heritage bequeathed to us by the hardy souls of years ago; we will watch the world go by; we will forfeit the torch of leadership which those who have gone before have placed in our hands.

We have our troubles today. Conditions never seem favorable to greater expenditures for education and other state services. Yet, when we look back at 1901 we should really feel ashamed to whine or to wring our hands or to growl about constraints. Shall we take refuge in despair when, compared to those who lived in 1901, we really do not know the meaning of hardship and of trouble? Why should we not earn the right to our heritage by rolling up our sleeves and dedicating ourselves to the tasks ahead? I believe North Carolinians will meet the present challenge if they are given all the facts.

I am not so naive as to suggest that we can accomplish our task without greater financial support from both public and private sources for expenditure at all levels of educational effort. We will need more money—much more money from state and local and

private sources including our wonderful and generous church membership. But neither am I so naive as to suggest that money alone can do the job. The task will require effort, sacrificial effort, ideals, hard work, and dedication. These things cannot be purchased with money. Yet these things blend together to make up the stuff from which greatness is fabricated and from which our future will be carved. Money will come if professional educators and leaders generally do their jobs properly.

If it is necessary, and I think that it is, for our state and local governments to recast their concept of the level of support for our schools and colleges, and to make progressively larger appropriations which are well beyond current expenditures if we are to meet larger enrollments, then I ask you: Would it not be appropriate for our schools, colleges, and universities to do a bit of recasting of their concept of the task ahead, and to join the state and the communities in their effort, by eliminating low priority programs, by strengthening fundamental programs, by testing the performance of our schools and colleges against national and international norms, even as we test our salary scales and expenditures per pupil or per student against national and international norms?

In 1901 Governor Aycock's seemingly fantastic program had, as a major objective, the elimination of illiteracy, the attainment by every child of the ability to read and write. Our colleges in 1901 confined their attention to a relatively simple curriculum made up of rather fundamental studies. Look at us now. Too many of our schools and colleges appear willing to meet uncounted whimsical suggestions for special efforts which have little justification except on the assumption that everything which should be learned should also be taught. Shall we, in our schools and colleges, attempt to offer instruction relating to each of the more than 25,000 occupations? Shall we permit our schools and colleges to become tools which aid, abet, and promote the birth of *professions* rather than an increase in necessary professional and fundamental services? Do not our institutions, our accrediting bodies, our professions, sometimes tend to become ends in themselves, rather than means toward worthy ends? Does not sometimes a college president, a faculty, or a board of trustees think in terms of his or its own glory only?

Have we not, during the past quarter century, tinkered with the curriculum, diluted it, and played up excessively to pampering trends and experiments? Have we not yielded to the temptation to make things easy for students—yes, even for ourselves? Have we not mistaken "going to school" or "going to college" for *getting an education?* Is schooling simply becoming the socially acceptable thing to do and a means of piling up an assortment of credits which, by definition rather than by test, place the holders in preferred classifications? Have we not made the more fundamental mistake of permitting pupils and students and parents and society generally to assume that the responsibility for the *learning* process rests exclusively upon the teacher and professor, while the role of the *learner* has been played down? Is not the educational system of this nation, at all levels, honeycombed with vested interests competing for jurisdiction, for funds, for prestige?

Isn't it a mistake to give the impression that everything which anyone should or might want to learn must find itself described in a catalog and be *taught* by someone? Have we not exalted tests of aptitude and either resisted or ignored or resented tests of achievement? Have not educators at one educational level criticized performance in other levels without self-disciplined self-criticism of their own efforts? Is it not true that the colleges have criticized the high schools, the high schools have criticized the elementary schools, the vocational education people the academic, and the academic the vocational? Have we not displayed a bit of self-righteous clannishness straight across the board? Does our state and nation not suffer because of this? Is it not true that across the board, at all levels, and both state-wide and nation-wide, our trouble is that deep down in our hearts we realize that we are all at fault, our homes and parents, our teachers, our public schools, our professors, our colleges and universities: that we are reluctant to attempt what one university president has described as radical reassessment—honest self-appraisal—ruthless self-criticism? Haven't we as parents been satisfied to send our boys and girls to college without really knowing why—or without checking on what they accomplished when they get there? I feel strongly that as parents we have a much greater responsibility than we have heretofore assumed.

Is it not true that in a nation which for years has spent greater sums on education than any other nation, we find ourselves a nation which is lacking in the use of languages of other nations at a time when understanding is imperative? Is it not true that for all of our technology we find that we are lacking in the potential—or intellectual capital investment if you wish—that is necessary to sustain and to develop it further? Have the fabulous salaries offered mathematicians, physicists, chemists, and engineers produced enough of these or even stimulated on a widespread basis a willingness to learn fundamental and discipline subjects? Have we not exalted teaching how to teach at the expense of mastery of that which is to be taught? Haven't we too often forgot the unique joy of teaching and instead treated it as any other job?

Does not our time require *more learning* on the part of more people rather than less learning on the part of all people?

Is it not true that our schools and colleges simply cannot "teach" everything? Is it not true that somewhere along the line each person must be on his own without benefit of teacher? Does it not then follow that priorities exist in the choice of what should be learned by those who are so fortunate as to be taught? Is it not our obligation to make it possible for more people to learn without benefit of teacher? Should our ultimate objective be for the teacher to teach or for the learner to learn?

Many people are afraid that unless this nation becomes a nation of learners, our schools and colleges will be branded as failures at a time when and if, God forbid, this nation finds itself caught short of learning at a critical moment when a vast amount of learning is necessary.

I propose these questions in a mood of great concern for our state and nation, and I propose them with the deepest respect and admiration for our educational institutions and for those who labor within them.

Furthermore, I hasten to add that forward steps have been and will continue to be taken by the state to help you find the answers and to help you correct whatever is found to need correcting.

One such step is to be found in the creation of the North Carolina Board of Higher Education. Authorized by the 1955 General Assembly, pursuant to a recommendation made by the distinguished Commission on Higher Education—a recommendation

in which I, as Governor, joined wholeheartedly—this board and its staff should be able to throw the clarifying light of objective analysis on the program and plans of state-supported institutions of higher learning. This toward the end that high priority needs will receive high priority support and toward the end that every such institution will be able to make its full and proper contribution to the state without spending the institution's efforts and the state's money on halfway measures which either should be done without or should be assigned completely to some one institution rather than partially to several.

North Carolina cannot afford to buy that which it does not need at the expense of that which it must have. It is the high duty and obligation of the Board of Higher Education, working in conjunction with the faculties and administrative personnel of individual institutions and their boards of trustees, to identify for the state those things which we must have in higher education and those things which we cannot afford. The board must also accept responsibility for showing us how to secure the things which we must have as economically as possible in order that there will be more of the things which we can afford, and to insure the public's continuing support.

Of course, the services of the Board of Higher Education are designed primarily for state-supported institutions. I am confident, however, that its work will also provide much that will be helpful to church-related and other privately owned colleges and universities.

The economic facts of life which require any private enterprise to produce a salable product do much to keep private colleges and universities from developing and attempting to market plans and programs which do not offer the most for the dollar. Our publicly supported institutions, on the other hand, have perhaps not felt this sort of pressure very greatly in the past as much as they may in the future; and this along with the disadvantages inherent in having to accept as students practically all who express a wish to attend, whether qualified or not, has meant that, considering the nation as a whole, private colleges could as a general rule turn out a more well-rounded graduate than the general run of public colleges. However, any shortcomings along these lines in public higher education are not likely to continue, if they do in

fact exist in North Carolina. The church-related or private college should continue to emphasize its personal contact with the student and its close ties with its local community.

Not only will the work of the Board of Higher Education raise the efficiency of public higher education; other steps will also raise the efficiency. For example, the agreed upon admission tests to be administered by the University of North Carolina will do much to permit raised standards with resulting better programs and finally better qualified graduates. The decision to use these tests was a courageous one, and I hope other public institutions will follow this example. I hope also the high schools and our public education officials and leaders will accept and meet the challenge to them which college admission tests are bound to present, and that they will see in these tests a positive value, since by testing we can find many boys and girls who, though not planning to go to college, will stand out clearly as boys and girls who should be in college. I am confident that this will be done in the fine spirit of determination to do whatever is necessary to insure the best education possible for our youth.

Let us also take a look at the possibilities in community colleges. It seems to me that in the very near future North Carolina will be wise to begin making plans for establishing such colleges in the various areas of the state where there is sufficient population to furnish enough students to justify operations. Such institutions can provide college courses parallel to those offered in regular junior colleges; they should also offer terminal and adult education courses; and thirdly they should offer technical courses to meet the needs of modern industry in a state which is determined to lead the Southeast in the development of industry. Above all, they can provide a way for poorer students to continue their education without the expense of living away from home. Much has been said about cutting down on the number of unqualified persons admitted to our colleges and universities, but an even more important need is to make it possible for all students who *are* qualified to attend college.

I know that we have, in this state and nation, scarcely scratched the surface of the support potential which ultimately must be allocated to education by all of us, government, corporate, and individual. But I feel also that if those of us who are so sincerely

convinced of the need for a deeper well of learning for all of our citizens do not begin to appraise our own efforts and our educational philosophies, and to challenge the public while we are challenging ourselves, we shall be guilty of cultivating the haughty spirit which can precede a fall.

So Governor Aycock, after fifty-five years, we stand in the midst of the fruits of the effort which you and other leaders of your time started. Great things have been accomplished. We find ourselves today on the threshold of other great challenges: a challenge to refuse to slumber on the then high plateau which we reached following the great surge which began at the turn of the century; a challenge to eliminate the chaff within and the barnacles attached to the present educational structure; a challenge to cultivate in all of our people a respect for learning, a desire for it, *and a willingness to study in order to achieve it.*

The people of this state believe in education; the people of this state, from tax funds state and local and from private fortunes and modest private means, will support it. Let us in our schools and colleges also demonstrate an agreement upon what education is, a willingness to make our institutions means toward worthy ends. Together then, all of us, citizens, parents, legislators, schools, colleges, universities, teachers, and professors, can and will leave the present plateau and climb to greater heights of learning and of service, in a manner befitting the prestige and leadership of the State of North Carolina of which all of us, including private and public institutions of higher education, are a part.

Our schools and colleges and the state will meet the test of leadership if:

a) We obtain greater support for our schools, colleges, and universities, both public and private, and

b) Our schools, colleges, and universities rededicate themselves to effort, to intelligent economy, to testing, to self-discipline, and to learning.

Both, I think, are necessary. Let's be on our way.

Thank you.

ADDRESS BEFORE COMBINED MEETING OF PARENT-TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS OF CABARRUS COUNTY

CONCORD
April 20, 1956

[Juvenile delinquency and North Carolina's approach to this problem were the main topics dealt with by Governor Hodges in this address delivered at Concord before the combined parent-teacher associations of Cabarrus County.]

I am glad to meet with you here at the Concord High School to discuss some educational matters of great interest to all of us. I also want to talk to you in some detail about a related problem—juvenile delinquency and North Carolina's positive approach to this problem.

Cabarrus is one of our finest Piedmont counties, with a long history of industrious people, productive textiles, and a profitable agriculture. The county was formed in 1792 from Mecklenburg after a very close vote in the legislature. Stephen Cabarrus, the speaker, cast the deciding vote for the new county—hence its name.

I believe that textile manufacturing first came to Cabarrus in about 1839, but when Mr. J. W. Cannon entered the field in 1887 there was an impetus begun which has never ceased. Today I understand your county ranks in the first five counties in total industrial employment, with textiles providing at least 85 per cent of this amount. Time does not permit me even to review some of the major accomplishments and records of Cabarrus County. You have done much here with what nature provided, and North Carolina is proud of Cabarrus and its people.

Your record in public education indicates the substantial interest of everyone in your schools. With 15,000 children enrolled, Cabarrus County has worked hard to provide the best available education, buildings, and training. I understand that you have added seventy-five classrooms, for example, since 1945. Keep up the good work. Keep up your interest. Your schools deserve your earnest, wholehearted support. The PTA here and throughout the state has a proud reputation of campaigning for the welfare and future of our children.

On Tuesday evening of this week I had the privilege and pleasure of speaking to the annual convention of the North Carolina Congress of Parents and Teachers in Charlotte. Perhaps some of you were there. I emphasized some of the major problems facing us in public education, including adequate financing, mental discipline through parental responsibility and proper educational training, and the segregation decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. With reference to adequate financing, I pointed out that North Carolina will spend $139,250,000 for public schools in 1957-58, even with teachers' salaries at the present level. Somehow, we are going to have to meet these great expenditures and the localities themselves will have to begin bearing a larger proportion of the load, perhaps on a matching-fund basis with a formula based on the ability of each locality to help meet its own needs.

Discipline—both mental and social—is a vital need for our children today. It should begin, of course, in the home where basic personality traits of the child are formed in the pre-school years. As parents we must not expect our teachers to turn spoiled and unruly youngsters into educated young ladies and gentlemen. On the other hand, our children should not be pampered at school. Their minds must be challenged and toughened by the mental discipline of subjects such as the natural sciences and mathematics. I am aware of the problems involved here, including the lack of competent teachers, but we must strive to produce more graduates who are interested in and capable of learning physics, mathematics, chemistry, etc., so that we may furnish our complex technological society with the skilled men necessary to keep it running and growing.

On the vast subject of problems created by recent decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court having to do with segregation, I cannot go into any great detail at this time. However, I would like to say a word about the work of the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education. First, let me say that there does not exist any group of citizens more dedicated to the saving of our public schools than the members of that committee. I cannot overemphasize this point. Throughout, in attempting to deal with this very serious problem, their efforts, like the efforts of most of the rest of us, have been and will continue to be devoted to saving

the schools. In fact, that goal is what makes the effort necessary in the first place. It would take no special ability or brains, or even work, to formulate a recommendation that the state abolish the public schools. If that is to be our course of action, we don't need any committee to study the situation. No, abolishing the schools is no solution; it is rather an admission that circumstances or lack of effort and ability have prevented a solution.

True it is that the committee's recommendations, if adopted, would in the event of "an intolerable situation" make possible the closing of a school or schools in a particular community if such a community or school district should so vote. But these recommendations are submitted as needed "safety valves" in order to prevent the development of a condition which the committee believes would result in the abandonment of *all* our public schools. It is to be remembered that under the committee's recommendations if a school closes, it will have been closed by the community in which the school is located. I submit that whenever conditions in a community are such that the citizens of that community will vote to close their schools, then the usefulness of those schools (because of situations which we hope will never develop) has deteriorated to a point that they may as well be closed. Furthermore, if the people themselves reach the conclusion that such an action is necessary, then I for one stand on the proposition that the people should have the right and the machinery to take that action. And we hope through a special session of the General Assembly this summer to secure legislation which will preserve the peace as well as our schools.

What I want principally to leave with you concerning this problem is that the committee, after diligent study and prayerful deliberations, has submitted recommendations formulated from a determined desire to save the public schools of North Carolina. It is with this same spirit of determination that I have fully approved the committee's report and recommendations, and it is in that spirit that I commend them to you. I hope each of you will have the interest and take the time to study this report and help your local school boards and members of the General Assembly from your counties to work out this problem.

When I talked to the state-wide PTA in Charlotte on Tuesday night, I explained to these 500 or more representatives of the

more than 300,000 members of the various Parent Teacher Associations of the state a phase of the Supreme Court's decision that is so often misunderstood. In the talk preceding mine at Charlotte, the speaker said that the Supreme Court had ruled segregated schools were now unlawful and that we would have to proceed to do away with them "with deliberate speed." I told the audience that such a statement represented about the same kind of feeling and opinion that up until a few weeks ago upwards of 90 per cent of the people had. Actually the Supreme Court has not said any such thing, as North Carolina could conceivably keep its schools for an indefinite time on a segregated basis if it were done on a voluntary basis and not by force of state law. All the Supreme Court has ever said was that a public school could not deny anyone from attending a public school because of race or color.

Now, let's take a close and penetrating look at a problem which troubles the heart and conscience of every parent, every teacher, and every person interested in the welfare of our youth.

What is being done about juvenile delinquency in North Carolina?

What are the facts about the present situation and how did it develop?

What are positive steps that may be taken to improve the situation for the future?

These are questions which it is pertinent to consider as North Carolinians view one of the nation's great problems—juvenile delinquency.

It should be stated at the start that North Carolina has a relatively favorable record in the area of juvenile delinquency with other states. However, there is no disposition on the part of those concerned with child welfare or the general welfare of the state to be satisfied with present attainments or to relax their efforts to improve the situation.

It would be well to review something of the development of the regard for children and their protection and welfare so that we can view the present situation with the perspective of history to help us.

The status of children under the laws of England prior to the establishment of the American colonies was a two-sided affair.

With respect to protection of child's property and his person and with respect to his immaturity so far as his ability to manage his own affairs, the common law declared him to be an infant until he reached the age of twenty-one years. This had advantageous aspects and it was often said, with some justification, that a child was the favorite of the law.

On the other hand the status of infancy was not quite so comfortable with respect to a child's status under the criminal laws and his responsibility for his criminal acts. Children fourteen years of age and over were presumed to have the capacity to perform acts with criminal intent and were therefore liable for violations of the law. Under some conditions children between the ages of seven and fourteen were subject to treatment under the law as adults.

If you want a dramatic example, in 1890 there was a thirteen-year-old boy brought before a Cabarrus County Superior Court judge on a charge of stealing $1.30. The boy was an orphan who lived in a primitive two-room log cabin with distant relatives who apparently cared little about him. For his crime, he was sentenced to a county chain gang for three years and six months, "at hard labor." That was justice for wayward youth then.

There is more to the story, however. The sentencing of that youth was eventually to lead to the establishment of state reformatories for delinquent youths. A Concord newspaperman, the late J. P. Cook, witnessed this trial and his heart sank when he saw this lad chained, shackled, and led away to jail as a common criminal. From his editorial efforts came state-wide interest and support which eventually led to the establishment of the Stonewall Jackson Training School here in Cabarrus County in 1907. Here is another moving example of what just *one* man can do when he is willing to fight for what he believes to be right and just.

This attitude of stern justice was brought over to America with the common law and remained imbedded for many years in substantially unmodified form in judicial decisions and statutes of the several states. Each state through its courts of equity took over the role of protective guardian of the person and property of children within its borders while at the same time through its criminal courts it meted out discipline and retribution in

accordance with these inherited principles. It was not until 1899 that the first special court for children was established under an Illinois act in Chicago as a division of the Cook County Circuit Court. In this new court the concept of the protective role of the state was extended to children who violate the law, dealing with them as wards of the state entitled to the care, custody, and discipline which should have been provided by the parents.

There were contemporaneous movements in other states which resulted in the enactment of juvenile court laws based on the same principle. This idea gained in acceptance throughout the United States as the validity of the concept was tested and upheld on both constitutional and sociological grounds so that today there is surprising uniformity in the fundamental approach to juvenile delinquency in the laws of all the states. While there is still much shifting of details, the principle upon which the juvenile court is based has found almost universal approval in this country.

In North Carolina the first juvenile court act was passed in 1919. That act was fairly comprehensive in nature and although modified many times the framework has remained essentially the same up to the present.

The North Carolina juvenile court act established a juvenile court in each county as a separate department of the Superior Court. It further provided that cities having a population of 10,000 or more could maintain a juvenile court exercising jurisdiction within the territorial boundaries of the city. There has been further provision for the establishment of additional juvenile courts under special circumstances. In 1929 legislation was enacted authorizing the establishment of domestic relations courts and providing that where such courts were established they should also serve as the juvenile court for that county or city. All the power, authority, and jurisdiction of the juvenile court were made applicable to these courts. Provision for district courts was enacted by the 1955 General Assembly. There are now 106 juvenile courts in North Carolina. Of these ninety-two are county juvenile courts in which the clerk of Superior Court acts as judge, six are domestic relations courts, eight are juvenile courts with special judges, and of this latter number six are city juvenile courts.

The judges of these special courts, I am told, meet periodically

with representatives of the public welfare program so that philosophy and policies may be clarified and there will be sound, mutual understanding of the best available ways for meeting the needs of children who come before our courts.

Court reports of juvenile delinquency in these several courts that deal with juveniles are usually divided into three main categories: (1) delinquency, (2) dependency and neglect, and (3) special proceedings. The first category, delinquency, is the one under which are lumped all the various illegal acts which are committed by youngsters. The second category, dependency and neglect, is self-explanatory. It involves no wrong on the part of the child and the court actually acts for his protection. The third classification, special proceedings, usually consists of questions of custody and also provides for legal protection of the child.

One problem in all efforts to combat juvenile delinquency is the problem of obtaining the facts. Officially the only facts are juvenile and domestic relations court records because legally a child is not a delinquent until so declared by a court. In terms of age, eighteen and under is the age span usually dealt with by the juvenile courts throughout the country, but in North Carolina the juvenile and domestic relations courts have jurisdiction only to the sixteenth birthday.

Bearing out the state's relatively favorable position are figures compiled by the State Board of Public Welfare over a span of years showing delinquency hearings before juvenile courts, the number of children held in jail, the population of the state's five training schools, and other pertinent facts. Such data present the over-all picture with full recognition that any community may from time to time have a particular child or children who are outstanding delinquency problems.

For the five-year period from July 1, 1929, to June 30, 1934, an average of 2,612 juvenile court delinquency cases per year resulted in a rate of 6.7 cases per 1,000 persons eleven to fifteen years of age in the state's population; for the period 1934 to 1939 the average rate was 6.1; for the five years 1951 to 1955 the average rate 7.1. It can be seen that in spite of some variations in the number of juvenile delinquency cases as related to the child population, the incidence has remained substantially low since the late thirties.

Nationwide, the statistics contrast markedly with North Carolina's facts in this regard. Juvenile court delinquency cases in the nation as a whole in 1952 were up 65 per cent since 1940 according to a compilation of juvenile court statistics made by the United States Children's Bureau. This undoubtedly reflected a serious increase in delinquent acts and also better reporting over the years.

The trends in the types of cases heard in the juvenile courts in this state confirm the gradually improved situation in North Carolina. There actually appear to be fewer serious offenses proportionately charged in recent years than in the records of these courts fifteen and twenty years ago.

In 1929 to 1934, the distribution of charges was as follows: robbery, burglary, unlawful entry, and other theft—51 per cent; truancy—7 per cent; being ungovernable—4 per cent; sex offense—slightly more than 2 per cent; running away—2 per cent; and all other—34 per cent.

In 1955 the distribution of offenses in juvenile courts in this state was: robbery, etc.—49 per cent; truancy—16 per cent (the maximum age of required school attendance was raised from thirteen to fifteen in 1945-1946 and enforcement intensified); being ungovernable—9 per cent; sex offense—2 per cent; running away—4 per cent; and all other—20 per cent.

Also reflecting the situation with respect to juvenile delinquency in the state are the facts concerning the number of children held in county jails. In 1936 a total of 1,231 children were reported as having been held in county jails during the year. This number dropped to 500 in 1941-1942. During the last fiscal year, with a much larger child population, there were 558 children reported as being held in county jails. While this is a number which must continue to be a serious challenge to greater effort, there has been progress over the years.

The records show that, taking into account the increasing child population and the opening of the school for Negro girls, there has been a slight decrease relatively over recent years in the number of children in the state's five training schools, which are administered by the Board of Correction and Training. The General Assembly of 1943 placed all the training schools under this one board, rather than each school having a separate board.

Conditions in the home and in the community have been found

to be a major factor in the extent of the juvenile delinquency problem. Studies of thousands of cases of delinquency brought into the juvenile courts of North Carolina show that in about half of the instances the delinquent child comes from a broken home—a home broken by separation, divorce, or death. Proportionately more delinquency is found in poverty-stricken homes, sub-standard homes, and poverty level sections of the community than in sections with medium and higher incomes. While conditions of poverty do not necessarily lead to delinquency, such an environment seems to be the best breeding ground for anti-social behavior.

It is no accident that our juvenile delinquency rate is not going up while it is going up in many other parts of the country. Our juvenile courts, which consist of the clerk of Superior Court in ninety-two of the 100 counties and fourteen special courts in the other eight counties and six cities, because of strict legal regulations and because of a consecrated type of personnel are doing a creditable job. Subject to staff limitations and physical conditions, the state's correctional institutions are doing an effective job. Increasingly, the activities of the public schools, the public health departments, and the public recreation groups are making valuable contributions.

However, the public agency that does most, especially in the way of prevention of juvenile delinquency, is the state and county public welfare departments with their major emphasis on child welfare services. One instance of public welfare activity is the fact that there are now 115 professionally trained and full time child welfare positions in the county welfare departments, as compared with only eight such workers ten years ago. County welfare departments provide more than 20,000 specialized services to children in a typical month.

In this connection it is well to mention that I have recently given my approval to the plan of the State Board of Public Welfare for setting up a position of supervisor, juvenile delinquency services, to make possible increasingly more effective administration within the State Board of Public Welfare for carrying out functions it already has under the law in this field.

Many non-public agencies carry on youth programs which help prevent delinquency, such as churches and civic groups. Such character building agencies as Boy Scouts, 4-H Clubs, and special

camps provide important channels toward productive citizenship.

Several counties have recently established up-to-date special detention facilities for children in trouble who cannot remain in their own homes or be cared for in specialized foster homes. Among these counties are Buncombe and Wake, and other large counties are considering such facilities. I understand that children from other counties may be accepted for care when space permits. We need more of these specialized homes.

While I emphasize the community responsibility in this problem, I must always ask the question: Do we as parents do our part in teaching and training our children how to live with our fellow man? Crime experts, whose statistics show that roughly half of the car thefts and burglaries, and about a fifth of robberies and rapes, in 1,000 American cities were committed by youngsters not yet eighteen, point to the amazing record of the Chinese kids in our large cities such as New York and San Francisco. Among the Chinese in these cities, there is almost *no* juvenile delinquency. What is the reason? The answer revolves around their close-knit family life and family pride. Children are trained from earliest childhood to ask themselves constantly: "Will my parents be proud of me for doing this . . . or will they be ashamed?" A Chinese father considers a properly raised son his greatest wealth. Respect, courtesy, and politeness create a sense of security and a sense of honor in the Chinese household. Perhaps there is much we could learn from the clever Chinese!

It is fortunate, of course, that there is now a keener awareness of the need in North Carolina for constructive community planning in the area of juvenile delinquency. All will agree that there are never enough services to that end and that each child is individually a major concern. Acquaintance with existing services and cooperation toward improving them will be the objectives of all who share concern for the welfare of North Carolina's children. When our best efforts toward prevention of juvenile delinquency fail, it is essential that we have adequate treatment programs. The Governor's Youth Service Commission authorized by the 1955 General Assembly has been devoting major effort toward identifying ways in which both the preventive and treatment approaches to juvenile delinquency might feasibly be strengthened both in the immediate future and on a relatively long-time

basis. I commend this commission and its chairman, Mr. Nat Crews, for their good work.

Among pertinent current questions the following might be suggested: Do we have adequate preventive programs to meet the needs of children who are in danger of becoming delinquent? Are children with behavior difficulties referred early enough by the various groups by which they come in contact to social agencies? Are we doing enough through our foster home program to make it possible for every child who needs this type of care to have the opportunity for a good home with affectionate and understanding foster parents? Do we see that every child, irrespective of handicapping circumstances within his own family group or the community, has adequate opportunity for development into a good adult citizen? Are we keeping balance among our programs to meet the varied needs of children since programs for children are interrelated and must advance together? Are our training schools staffed satisfactorily to meet the needs of children who require this type of care? To what extent do we need to expand our institutional facilities for children in trouble at this time? Are we justified in treating a sixteen-year-old boy or girl as an adult offender or should we raise the juvenile court age?

We are glad that with respect to juvenile delinquency we can see concrete results from our emphasis upon preventive programs. We know that it is economically sounder in terms of dollars and cents and the welfare of children to provide basic services needed by children so they will not get into such trouble that they must come before the courts. This means that we need more extensive programs of welfare services for children within their own homes. It means that we need to be able to provide specialized care as needed to children who are not developing normally whether it be physically, mentally, or emotionally. We know that we need far sounder planning so that we may provide the particular type of care which a given child needs at a given time, whether it be within his home, within a good foster home, or within a carefully selected institutional setting.

In North Carolina we have gone a long way toward providing basic welfare services to meet the needs of children and to offer preventive services in terms of the juvenile delinquency problem.

Our state's greatest resource is our young people. We must

make every effort to prepare them for the responsibilities which lie ahead in a complex and tense world today. The problem of juvenile delinquency deserves our best thought, our best planning and our most vigorous action. Let's all do our share—*as parents,* teachers, citizens, and taxpayers. Thank you.

STATEMENT BEFORE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON, D. C.
April 24, 1956

[Governor Hodges and a number of other state officials had gone to Washington on this occasion to testify before a Senate Appropriations subcommittee in behalf of a House-adopted amendment adding $5,386,000 in Civil Defense appropriations earmarked for draining North Carolina canals, streams, and ditches of trees and other debris left by high tides and winds during the four hurricanes of 1954 and 1955. Senators W. Kerr Scott and Samuel J. Ervin, Jr., also attended the hearing in support of the Governor's request. Later in the day the Governor conferred with Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks in an effort to get reimbursement from the Bureau of Public Roads for $250,000 spent by the state in repairing "federal paved roads" damaged by the hurricanes.]

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Committee.

I am grateful for this opportunity of appearing before you on behalf of the following amendment:

Funds Appropriated to the President, "Disaster Relief."

"For expenses necessary to carry out the purposes of the Act of September 30, 1950 (Public Law 875), as amended, authorizing assistance to states and local governments in major disasters, $5,386,300 to remain available until expended."

The legislative history of this amendment will show that it was accepted in the House of Representatives as the result of efforts of the Congressional delegation from North Carolina. This money is needed in our state because of very serious and dangerous conditions existing as a result of the hurricanes which our state suffered in 1954 and 1955. Before attempting to explain the specific need for this specific amount of money, with your kind permission, I would like to give you some of the background information concerning the damage done by these hurricanes, in

order that you may have a clearer picture of our over-all condition in eastern North Carolina, and thus, be better able to evaluate the need for the specific amount provided in the amendment.

The entire economy of eastern North Carolina has suffered a devastating and staggering blow as a result of hurricanes Hazel, October 15, 1954; Connie, August 12, 1955; Diane, August 18, 1955; and Ione, September 20, 1955. Practically every farming and business operations in the eastern part of our state have been retarded and adversely affected. These storms have been so severe that it has been conservatively estimated by our engineers that we have lost from fifteen to sixty feet of our entire coastal area adjacent to the Atlantic Ocean.

The great damage which we sustained as a result of hurricane Hazel was caused by the terrifically high winds and the accompanying high water. Luckily, we did not suffer a great crop damage as a result of this storm for most of our crops in the area had been harvested and sold. Farm property, however, suffered a tremendous impact and loss. We had more than 25,000 farm homes and buildings destroyed and damaged at a loss of more than $50,000,000. Our standing timbers in the area were given a terrific pounding by the winds, and we suffered a loss thereby in blown down and uprooted trees something more than $3,000,000. The hundreds of tributaries leading into our navigable waters were clogged, and dammed by the thousands of fallen trees and debris. The many drainage district canals and ditches were likewise clogged and rendered useless by the fallen trees and debris. Our farmers have exhausted their means and resources in an effort to drain their farm lands, but are unable to clear out the tributaries and headwaters which are so vital in the drainage of the surrounding farm lands.

The condition just described has created a tremendous health hazard in that ideal breeding grounds for all types of mosquitoes now exist in the large areas of stagnant water pent up by the clogged canals, ditches, and streams. Local health officials and the State Health Department have been struggling for many months, with inadequate manpower and materials, attempting to eradicate these millions of disease-carrying pests. Their task can never be accomplished unless they are furnished greater financial aid than has so far been provided for drainage and stream clearance. We

have done our best, but the resources of the localities and of our state have simply not been great enough to provide what is necessary.

To give you some idea of the great and destructive force of hurricane Hazel, we had nineteen persons killed, approximately 4,000 homes destroyed, and 1,000 commercial and industrial buildings demolished. In fact, we had one little community which was completely wiped out. Before the storm there were 357 buildings in the town and after the storm, there were only five buildings which remained on their foundations. The total property damage as a result of hurricane Hazel amounted to more than $125,000,000.

As a result of Hazel, the insurance companies processed 130,000 losses and paid out only $22,000,000. The President of the United States declared the storm area "a major disaster area" under Public Law 875. The President allocated to the stricken area $1,500,000 for clean-up operations and the temporary restoration of essential public facilities as provided by said law. Up to this time, we have had twenty-eight approved projects under this program for a total of $1,467,637.30. There has been paid out to date under this allocation $1,141,890.07. This leaves us, as a result of hurricane Hazel, a net loss in the area of more than $100,000,000.

None of the funds just mentioned were used to remove the debris, fallen trees, and wreckage from the headwaters of the various waterways so they could render satisfactory drainage to the agricultural lands.

When Connie, Diane, and Ione arrived during August and September of last year, the storm area was still staggering under the blows of Hazel. The torrential rains, which fell throughout the area, in one instance measuring 15.25 inches in a twenty-four-hour period, together with the terrifically high winds and pressures which pushed the waters inland out of our sounds, flooded approximately 2,650 square miles, or 25 per cent of the total land area of the twenty-two coastal counties. I am advised by the engineers and other experts that this situation was greatly aggravated by the clogged conditions of our headwaters and streams which were left in dire need of clearing as a result of hurricane Hazel.

As a result of these storms of 1955, the President of the United

States again declared the storm area "a major disaster area" under Public Law 875. The President allocated to the area for clean-up operations and the temporary restoration of essential public facilities the sum of $2,500,000. Under this program we have had submitted to date seventy-eight projects for federal grants. We have had approved by the Federal Civil Defense Administration sixty-eight projects for the sum of $2,328,168.60. This amount which has been approved includes the amount of $232,745 which was spent in an effort to eradicate and control the mosquito menace. There has been paid out to date on all of the approved projects for the 1955 hurricanes the sum of $710,225.29.

Some of our richest and most productive farm lands are located in the area which the storms embraced. Many of these productive farms were served by drainage districts. These suffered untold damages from debris being deposited in the canals and ditches—these drainage systems being the lifeline of our agriculture in many of the storm stricken eastern counties.

In twelve of our counties, we have had 45,328 acres of our crop lands covered with salt water, which renders the land useless from two to three years. In thirty-one of our counties, we have had 86,590 of our acres of crop land covered with fresh water.

Most of the inundated fields were in growing crops which were all destroyed. The affected farms are for the most part small and provide the only source of income for the families living on them. The impact on the Red Cross and public welfare services was heavy and has been heavy on the welfare services since that time. Many of these farms have not drained sufficiently at this time to permit the planting of crops.

One of our eastern towns which was thirty-five or forty miles from the ocean had more than forty blocks completely inundated from high water for several days, which cost untold damage to private and public property.

The damages which we sustained as a result of the three 1955 hurricanes amounted to more than $193,000,000. Agriculture suffered the great bulk of the loss from the storms, amounting to $131,000,000. One-third of North Carolina's population consists of farmers and farm families, and we have more individual farms than any state except Texas. A blow of such serious proportions to agriculture upsets the economy of our entire state.

The amount of agricultural damage was tremendous but

becomes even more significant when compared with the total value of agricultural production in the area. The following figures, showing the relationship between damage to specific crops in 1955 and the total value of these crops in 1951 (the latest year for which adequate figures are readily available), provide a significant measure of the true extent of the agricultural losses in the coastal area as a result of the hurricanes.

	Estimated loss from 1955 storms	1955 losses as per cent of 1951 value
Corn	$14,000,000	63
Soybeans	5,000,000	49
Peanuts	5,900,000	33
Cotton	1,800,000	33
Tobacco	11,500,000	18

The hurricane damage from these several storms was cumulative. The 1955 storms, although much less severe in potential destructive force than 1954's Hazel, were able to inflict a great amount of damage because of the fact that Hazel, striking a year earlier, destroyed many of the natural and man-made defenses against the hurricane.

As a result of these storms, the entire area was subjected to a tremendous health hazard caused by the millions of mosquitoes which hatched in the stagnant waters throughout the area. This situation became such a menace to the health of the people that it was necessary to use all local and state public health personnel and to call upon the United States Public Health Service to send experts and engineers into the area to advise and assist in our local efforts. In an effort to eradicate this mosquito menace, federal funds in the amount of $232,745 were used and state and local funds in the sum of $72,729. This health project did a great deal of good but did not remove the cause which will remain in the area until proper stream clearance and drainage is provided, which condition was brought on as a direct result of the hurricanes. Unless the stream clearance is accomplished before the summer weather sets in, it is highly possible and probable that we may face in the storm area a malaria fever epidemic of great proportions.

Apart from the impact of pest mosquitoes upon humans and animals, it should be emphasized that mosquitoes transmit several

diseases, including malaria, yellow fever, dengue fever, and both eastern and western equine encephalitis. In the years immediately prior to the 1955 hurricanes, these diseases were, fortunately, not a serious health problem in North Carolina. But the tremendous increase that has occurred in mosquito breeding poses a correspondingly increased hazard that some of these diseases may become serious health problems.

An example of what might happen is the outbreak of equine encephalitis in approximately twenty eastern counties late in the summer of 1955. Several hundred (estimates begin at 500) horses and mules died from this disease, which is spread by mosquitoes. This disease is also transmissible to humans, but fortunately only one suspected human death was reported last year. However, there is cause for apprehension as to what may happen in 1956 and future years, with conditions favoring prolific mosquito breeding and with the virus known to be present in the bird population, from which mosquitoes may spread the virus to humans as well as farm animals. Certainly, public health considerations justify vigorous mosquito control efforts, including restoration of natural drainage channels.

Unfortunately, the insurance coverage in the storm area was very small and inadequate when compared to the tremendous losses sustained by farmers, businesses, commercial fishermen, private properties, and public properties and facilities. As a result of the 1955 hurricanes, the insurance companies processed about 40,000 claims and only paid out $5,750,000 which leaves a net loss to the area of approximately $185,000,000.

In order that you may be fully advised as to the damages which we have sustained in North Carolina as a result of these four hurricanes, which have visited us within the past eighteen months, I am attaching hereto an itemized statement in which are the figures we arrived at based on surveys of local authorities and officials, local civil defense directors, engineers from our office, reports from the American Red Cross, reports from the United States Department of Agriculture, reports from the Federal Housing and Farmers Home Administrations and from personal surveys and observations. We feel that they are reasonably accurate and can give you some idea as to the staggering blow delivered to the economy of eastern North Carolina, during the past eighteen months.

Now we come to the need for the specific sum mentioned in the amendment under consideration. Many of our counties and towns attempted last year to procure funds under Public Law 875 for the stream clearance and drainage necessitated by the gravity of the farming and health situation. These projects were prepared after careful surveys by soil conservationists and health officials within the area and they contain maps of the affected areas and a complete breakdown as to the costs of the projects. They were submitted to the Federal Civil Defense Administration, and after much delay and many meetings by FCDA officials, United States Department of Agriculture officials, and representatives of the United States Army Corps of Engineers, were returned to us disapproved on the grounds that they were beyond the scope and authority of Public Law 875.

Since the time when these projects were disapproved, there is every indication that the Federal Civil Defense Administration has broadened its interpretation of the scope of Public Law 875. The amendment we are here to support will, it is contemplated, provide the FCDA with the money to carry out essential projects of this nature which, under this broader scope, can now be favorably considered. The total amount requested to date by North Carolina for these projects is $5,386,300.

There is one further point I would like to make while here today, and that is that North Carolina as a state has made, and will continue, to make every effort to help take care of our disaster needs with our own resources. For instance, our state agencies, such as the Highway Department, Agriculture Department, etc., have expended considerable amounts from their normal budgets for administrative purposes in connection with these disasters. The Council of State authorized the expenditure of $27,000 for the study which resulted in the report which has been handed to you. Along with these expenses have been those incurred as a result of calling out the National Guard in several instances. Finally, I would like for you to know that we have created a new office in our state government, called the director of hurricane rehabilitation, and the man filling this office, Colonel Harry Brown, formerly with the Battle Creek office of the FCDA, has been given the full-time job of doing everything possible, through the

planning and installation of protective devices, to minimize the damages we may receive from any future hurricanes.

In short, the State of North Carolina is doing all it can to meet its own needs through its own efforts. This we will continue to do, but we need your assistance. We have serious health and economic problems in eastern North Carolina as a result of the clogged condition of our streams and drainage facilities. It is imperative that we have relief or we will be faced with possibly disasterous consequences. The amendment under consideration today would be a great step toward providing us this relief. Thank you.

STORM DAMAGE TO STATE AS A WHOLE HURRICANE HAZEL

OCTOBER 15, 1954

The following is our best estimate based upon information obtained from personal surveys, reports from local civil defense authorities, the Red Cross, Farmers Home Administration and other sources:

Estimated damages to public highways, public utilities, state and municipally owned property	$10,000,000

ESTIMATED DAMAGE TO PRIVATE PROPERTY

4,000 dwelling houses completely destroyed or suffering major damage, estimate at $7,500 average	$30,000,000
20,000 dwelling houses sustaining minor damage estimated at $1,000 average	$20,000,000
10,000 farm buildings completely destroyed or suffering major damage estimated at $4,000	$40,000,000
15,000 farm buildings sustaining minor damage estimated at $700 average	$10,500,000
1,000 business buildings completely destroyed or sustaining major damage estimated at $5,000 average	$ 5,000,000
4,000 business buildings and personal property sustaining minor damage estimated at $1,000	$ 4,000,000
Estimated damage sustained by churches, church property, private colleges and schools	$ 1,000,000
Estimated damage to standing timber	$ 3,000,000
TOTAL ESTIMATED DAMAGE IN NORTH CAROLINA	$123,500,000

ESTIMATED DAMAGES SUSTAINED IN NORTH CAROLINA AS A RESULT OF HURRICANES CONNIE, DIANE, AND IONE:

1.	Public utilities	$ 2,000,000.00
2.	North Carolina state-owned property	500,000.00
3.	North Carolina state highways and bridges	1,500,000.00
4.	Farm crops and other agricultural losses	106,629,248.00
5.	Cost of mosquito control program	500,000.00
6.	Services and contributions to disaster area by state departments	565,982.96
7.	Private property damage other than agricultural	49,520,000.00
8.	Damage to public property of counties, cities, and towns	7,839,500.00
	TOTAL DAMAGE IN NORTH CAROLINA	$169,054,730.96*

*The above figures were arrived at soon after the storms and according to our best available information. Based on the research in preparing the *North Carolina Hurricane Rehabilitation Project,* the damages for the 1955 hurricanes now exceed $193,000,000. Of this amount it has been determined that the agricultural losses amount to $131,000,000.

ADDRESS BEFORE MEETING OF ROANOKE RAPIDS AND WELDON ROTARY CLUBS

ROANOKE RAPIDS
April 30, 1956

[The state's prison system and the problems created by the growing prison population were discussed at length in this address made by the Governor at Roanoke Rapids before a joint meeting of the Weldon and Roanoke Rapids Rotary Clubs. The occasion was a sixteenth anniversary celebration by the two clubs, both having been chartered on the same day in 1940.]

It is good to be here with you tonight in this meeting which celebrates the sixteenth anniversary of these two oustanding civic clubs. I understand both of your organizations received your charters on the same night in April, 1940, and I want to commend you for the fine record of service to your community and to this section of North Carolina during the past sixteen years. As a veteran in Rotary work and its activities, I know the value of your program. I also know the value of having an active group of men who perform unselfish service to their community and to

their fellowman. Keep up the good work, don't get too satisfied, and keep your aims high for the future.

It is always a real pleasure to return to the great county of Halifax, a great agricultural county with a rich and varied land, considerable forest and woodlands, and stable, hard-working rural people. This is a very old county and the first mention of settlers reaches back to 1714, with some land transactions going back to 1720. The first products of Halifax were typically colonial—rice, indigo, flax, beef, hides, furs, deerskins, naval stores, etc. The great Roanoke River provided a very convenient means of water transportation for commodities from Halifax. Hunting and fishing were two of the greatest pleasures and greatest benefits during colonial days. The Roanoke Valley is still one of North Carolina's greatest game preserves, and I hope that we will always be able to have plentiful game and fish in this great section. I know how concerned you have been about the rockfish situation and everyone concerned—local, state, and federal—have joined in the battle to keep the rockfish in this great river.

In later years, industry came to Halifax and became an important part of your economy. We all recognize what the large textile plants of Roanoke Rapids have meant to this city and this county. The paper company is another great industry. Eastern North Carolina now understands the value of industry and is looking for more. There is a great future here as our agriculture strives to survive the transition which it seems to be undergoing. As the small farm and the small farmer become displaced, there must be other means of making a living or supplementing the living which can be made on a family-size farm. I have repeatedly indicated my interest, of course, in both new industry from out of state and the creation and development of local industry which can start out small and grow for the future. It was my pleasure last week to have a part in handing out the first loans to an eastern North Carolina concern from the Business Development Corporation, an organization set up primarily to make available venture capital on a long-term basis to worthwhile small industries in North Carolina.

In passing, may I also pay tribute to the great leaders and great leadership which Halifax County has furnished North Carolina since our very earliest days. During the past two General

Assemblies, I have enjoyed serving with or working with Joe Branch, Frank Pittman, and Lunsford Crew, as well as your other Senator from the Fourth District, Cam Weeks of Edgecombe.

Sometime ago I stated my intention of trying to deal with some of the major problems and major areas of activity in our state government in some of these talks which I have been making around the state. Tonight, if I may, I would like to discuss with you a subject of great interest and great importance—our prisons and prisoner rehabilitation. As you know, crime and punishment have been great public responsibilities since the earliest days of civilization. Man's effort to govern himself and provide law and order have always created great problems, great debates, and soul-searching questions which often went unanswered.

In ante-bellum North Carolina, the criminal code was so harsh that there were at least twenty-eight crimes for which the legal penalty was death. Since jails were scarce and there was no state penitentiary, the criminal was either hanged and quickly buried, branded and turned loose to nurse his wounds and support his family if he could, or whipped and sent on his way. Efforts for reform of the code and the treatment of prisoners were repeatedly turned down by the legislature, and in 1800 a bill to establish a penitentiary was defeated after a hot debate. In 1815 Governor William Miller reminded the legislature that "the end of punishment is the prevention of crime. If that end can be obtained by a system which substitutes the reformation of the offender in place of frequent capital punishment, there certainly is room for a change . . . for history attests the fact that the progress of correct principles is slow and that they must finally make their way by patient and diligent inquiry, by fair, candid, and liberal discussion." By 1846 the proposition of establishing a state prison was submitted to a vote of the people and they voted against it. Punishment still included the pillory, the whipping post, the branding iron, and the death penalty for many offenses which are now punished by imprisonment.

Following the Civil War, the tragic days of Reconstruction brought increased crime and upheaval and the eventual construction of a state prison in Raleigh during the years 1870-1884 and more county jails, county chain-gangs, etc. Some far-sighted citizens still had visions of a state prison where men would be

Photo by Miles Hughey

Governor Hodges opens the Eastern Belt tobacco market at Rocky Mount, August 25, 1955.

Photo by Miles Hughey

Dedication of the William B. Umstead State Park, August 28, 1955. Standing with Governor Hodges (*to the right of the entrance sign*) are Mrs. William B. Umstead and her daughter, Merle Bradley Umstead.

reclaimed and retrained for useful citizenship, but counties and the state continued to view prisoners as necessary evils who should be as self-supporting as possible. Prisoners were used for all types of common labor, public hire, road work, or labor in county work houses. The ball and chain, shackles and irons were commonplace as security methods in work houses, jails, and county road camps. Problems of health, sanitation, and maintenance of discipline were staggering.

I shall not dwell on the historical aspect of our prisons and prisoner rehabilitation except to point out that our early penal system had a wide diversity in the methods of handling prisoners in state prisons, state prison camps, county jails, and county chain gangs. It is an unpleasant fact that politics influenced to a great deal the administration of the system. May I point out here that the situation was not greatly different in other states across the nation. As a matter of fact, a federal inspector of prisons in 1923 made a shocking report of the condition of county jails across the United States, called them "crucibles of crime," and castigated such widely separated locations as Phoenix, Arizona; Kansas City, Kansas; Camden, New Jersey; Louisville, Kentucky; Princeton, West Virginia; Gainesville, Georgia; and Chestertown, Maryland —just to mention a few. Great reforms have taken place in the United States and in North Carolina in improving our county jails, although there is still plenty of room for improvement. Our state prison system here in North Carolina has struggled uphill but has experienced many improvements when viewed against the dreary history of the early days. Many conscientious and dedicated men and women have devoted their efforts to helping improve, in various ways, our state prison system. Governors, legislative leaders, churchmen, and others have chipped away at the apathy, lack of interest, and disregard which the public exhibited for prisoners or their rehabilitation.

When Colonel William F. Bailey became director of prisons on September 1, 1953, this was the twelfth time in twenty years that a change had been made in the executive leadership of the prison system. Lack of continuity in administration, therefore, had been a major factor in problems facing the prison system. For many years the director had been appointed by the State Highway and Public Works Commission and could be removed at any time

by the commission with the approval of the governor. The power to appoint and to discharge at will prison personnel subordinate to the director was vested in the commission. The chairmanship and most of the membership of the commission had been changed by every new governor since the establishment of the Highway Commission in 1933. These changes, of course, influenced the selection, promotion, and retention of prison employees all the way down the line.

Here are some of the other problems which Colonel Bailey, a conscientious and able administrator, found as his inheritance from down through the years in the prison system. The rapid turnover of personnel precluded effective training programs. There was a lack of tested leaders ready for the responsibilities of the next higher position. Key positions were vacant throughout the system. There were no immediate, trained subordinates responsible to the director for system-wide supervision of such important functions as business operations, farming operations, industries, and service. General insecurity, long hours, low pay, and disagreeable working conditions caused discontent at all levels and employee morale was very low.

It should be remembered that the prison system was placed under the State Highway and Public Works Commission in 1933—the depths of the depression. There was then an acute need for new housing facilities for the prison population whose rate of growth had been accelerated by adverse economic conditions. Most of the limited funds available to the Highway Commission for prison construction during the depression years were spent to build brick cell blocks on permanent camp sites in order to get road prisoners out of insecure and unsanitary temporary wooden shacks and caged wagons. The minimum amount necessary was spent to renovate the Central Prison, which had become a dangerous firetrap crowded with nearly twice its normal capacity in 1933. These were all emergency measures that were not expected to provide adequately for the long-term needs of the prison system.

World War II caused the prison population to drop from a high of around 9,700 in 1940 to a low of around 5,700 in 1945. During the war years with a smaller population and scarce materials, construction almost ceased. Looking back now, it should have been obvious that the prison population would increase following the

war years and there should have been studies made to determine the nature and scope of future needs for permanent improvements in the prison system. A thorough, long-range program covering renovation and construction of inmate housing facilities would have been invaluable and would have saved the state many of the problems which resulted.

By 1950 the need for permanent improvements in the prison system was again acute. Public attention was focused on this need when Dr. Austin H. McCormick reported the results of his survey made during the first quarter of 1950. While accelerated construction began almost immediately, requirements increased at a more rapid rate.

Since 1933 dependence had been placed upon road work as the means to keep most prisoners constructively employed. Less than 10 per cent of the able-bodied male prisoners were employed on prison farms or in prison industries. However, the increased use of machinery for road construction and maintenance had resulted in a steadily decreasing need for prison labor on the roads while the prison population was steadily growing. In face of this dilemma, no sound plans had been formulated to provide alternative employment and thus prevent the corrosive effects of inmate idleness that appeared inevitable unless new outlets for inmate labor could be discovered.

For some years there had been an increasing interest in rehabilitation of inmates, and the Prison Department had accepted this as an objective, but little progress had been made. Most prisoners were received and assigned to units and work without the guidance of professional diagnosis and classification, although a beginning had been made toward classifying those passing through Central Prison. There simply was no realistic program of vocational education to prepare prisoners for self-supporting employment upon release.

Colonel Bailey found one of his most serious problems to be the lack of adequate and specific policies under which the prison system could be operated. A new set of rules and regulations had been in the process of adoption, but these rules and regulations did no more than delineate the framework of broad policies and establish the general organizational structure within which specified functions were to be performed.

Policy decisions and operational procedures were determined largely by the individual officers in charge of the ninety-six prison units. Different policies and procedures were being followed in similar units with no apparent justification for the divergence other than the personal preference of different unit heads and the lack of a statement of uniform requirements which would apply throughout the system. The natural consequence of the lack of written departmental policies was administrative anarchy. This also made sound budgeting impossible, and furthermore it had not been customary either to formulate budget requests at the unit level or to force the different units to operate within the limitations of the budget as finally formulated. It was a fact that although the Prison Department was set up in the budget of the State Highway and Public Works Commission as a self-supporting activity, prison expenditures had exceeded prison receipts in fifteen out of the twenty years between 1933 and 1953.

In the face of these overwhelming problems, Colonel Bailey began to assemble a staff and plunged into the building of sound administrative practices in the development of an effective organization. One of his first moves was to restore harmonious relations with and between the State Highway Commission and the Prison Advisory Council, as well as to raise employee morale, improve the treatment of inmates, and attempt to win the support of the press and the confidence of the general public. The director asked for and received the full cooperation and able guidance of the commission's chairman, A. H. Graham, and the Prison Advisory Council chairman, Dr. William McGehee. Use was made of research services of the Institute of Government at the University of North Carolina and of other sources of information on sound penal practices.

The marriage of the Prison Department and the State Highway and Public Works Commission has never been a happy one but merely one of convenience. Possible separation of the two agencies has frequently been discussed. Dr. McCormick made this one of his chief recommendations in his report and survey of the prison system, and this recommendation received wide publicity, general editorial support in the newspapers of North Carolina, and the endorsement of the Prison Advisory Council. Governor William B. Umstead, in his inaugural address, expressed his belief in

the principle of separation. However, he also expressed his conviction that the problems involved should be considered by a commission charged with the responsibility of making a study of all administrative units of the state government with a view to possible reorganization in the interest of efficient and economic administration. The Commission on Reorganization of State Government was authorized by the 1953 General Assembly, appointed by Governor Umstead, and began its studies in the fall of 1953 under the chairmanship of Mr. William B. Rodman, Jr., who is now the attorney general of North Carolina. The progress made by the Prison Department under the direction of Colonel Bailey impressed the Reorganization Commission, yet the large areas of uncertainty concerning the effects of separation upon inmate employment and prison costs caused the Reorganization Commission to conclude that a gradual readjustment of relations between the Highway Commission and the Prison Department would be better for the state than complete separation effective by one stroke. Accordingly, in a report submitted to me in November, 1954, the Reorganization Commission recommended measures that would give greater autonomy to the Prison Department and facilitate determination of the feasibility of complete separation at a later date.

A bill implementing the recommendations of the Reorganization Commissoin received the support of all officials and agencies concerned and was enacted into law by the 1955 General Assembly. This legislation did several things: provided that the director of prisons shall be appointed by the State Highway and Public Works Commission with the approval of the governor for a four-year term overlapping that of the governor by one year, and may be removed by the commission with the approval of the governor but only for cause after notice and hearing; vested in the director the power to appoint, promote, demote, and discharge personnel subordinate to him; transferred administrative responsibilities from the Highway Commission to the prison director to be administered by him in accordance with law under rules and regulations established by him with the approval of the Prison Advisory Council, the State Highway and Public Works Commission and the governor; and prohibited prison supervisory personnel from using their positions to influence elections or the political

action of any person. This was an important piece of legislation and has already resulted in much good. One of the very best provisions in that bill was the prohibition of prison supervisory personnel from participating actively in behalf of political candidates. Frankly, we all know that too often our prison system was used as a political dumping ground for patronage jobs. There is no place for political favoritism or political payoff in our state prison system.

In my message to the 1955 General Assembly, I expressed the opinion that the prison system should be separated from the State Highway and Public Works Commission if and when separation is shown to be feasible. By joint resolution, the 1955 General Assembly directed the chairman of the Highway Commission, the Chairman of the Prison Advisory Council, and the director of prisons to take measures to determine the feasibility of separation and to submit a report to the governor for transmission to the 1957 General Assembly. These three officials engaged the Institute of Government to coordinate this research and prepare reports upon measures taken, results obtained, and facts determined. Much work has already been accomplished on this study. The State Highway Commission is estimating its requirements for prison labor and products over the predictable future, devising a formula for fixing a fair rate of pay for prison labor hired, and identifying property that would be transferred to a separate prison system. The Prison Department assumes responsibility for determining, with the assistance of the Prison Advisory Council, (1) the number of prisoners for whom constructive work must be found in the years ahead, (2) the potential market for prison labor and prison products and the requisites for taking maximum advantage of this market to reduce inmate idleness and prison costs, (3) policies, programs, personnel, and facilities required to carry out a long-range plan based on an analysis of immediate and future needs for an adequate system, and (4) budget estimates for the prison system operating under the State Highway and Public Works Commission and a second set for a separate department. When this study is completed, it should prove to be a valuable tool in helping all of us, including the legislature, to determine where we are going with the future administration of the Prison Department.

Long-range planning for the prison system is not easy because there is no satisfactory method of predicting changes in the size and composition of the inmate population. However, an analysis of the past and present populations of the prison system and estimates of the future prison population to 1975 have been made and the figures are extremely interesting.

There are now in our state prison system 9,700 male prisoners, with three estimates being made on total population for 1960, 1965, 1970, and 1975. The low estimates assume that crime rates will not rise after 1955. The medium estimates assume that the 1950-55 rate of increase in the proportion of prisoners to the total state population will be maintained. High estimates assume that crime rates will continue to rise as rapidly as they have during the past five years. Let's take a look at the medium estimates, which should be reasonable, as follows: 1960, 11,300; 1965, 13,100; 1970, 15,100; 1975, 17,400. These figures are not very encouraging, but they are realistic and must be considered carefully in any long-range planning for the Prison Department.

Any basic program for the prison system or prisoner rehabilitation must, of course, reflect the general attitude of our people toward this matter. I believe the people of North Carolina want a modern, efficient penal system which will make every reasonable effort to treat prisoners fairly and rehabilitate them for a useful life back in society through useful employment, vocational training, etc. Our constitution directs the General Assembly to keep steadily in view that all penal institutions shall be made as nearly self-supporting as is consistent with the purpose of their creation. The General Statutes declare that it is public policy to provide for the gainful employment of all able-bodied inmates of the state prisons. Priority for the labor of male inmates is given to road work, and all who can be economically employed in such work must be so employed with the State Highway Commission. Inmates not needed on the roads may be used in work on prison farms, prison industries, forestry work, or hired to other state agencies, counties, or municipalities. In using prison labor for other than road work, preference must be given to the needs of the State Highway and Public Works Commission and to other state uses.

How do we employ our prisoners? In years past the Highway

Commission found work in road maintenance and related activities for as many as 8,000 male prisoners. So long as road work required a great amount of hand labor the use of prisoners on this scale was economically feasible. Today, however, machines can do a better job in less time and at a lower cost on most operations formerly performed with hand labor. Chairman Graham estimates that not more than 6,000 prisoners can be economically employed in road work at present, although another 1,000 are being accepted by the Highway Commission because other employment cannot be found for them now.

It has been long recognized in North Carolina and in other states that prison industries can serve a useful and profitable part in the operation of our prison. A survey which the state has made recommended that:

1. We recognize that well-equipped and well-managed industries manufacturing products of good quality for sale under the state-use system are profitable to the state and valuable as vocational training for prisoners.

2. We establish a Division of Industries in the Prison Department under a qualified officer responsible directly to the director of prisons.

3. We develop a diversified industrial system manufacturing products for sale to state, county, and municipal institutions and agencies and by vigorous salesmanship take full advantage of the legitimate market they represent.

Since these recommendations were made significant improvements have been made in prison industry. Production has increased substantially. A soap plant has been put into operation and the metal plant is busy handling the state's requirements for license tags. A new sewing room has been constructed at the Woman's Prison.

In an effort to step up the production of our state-use industries, as well as the sales of these prison products, Mr. George Randall, Jr., of Mooresville, former member of the General Assembly from Iredell County, was employed in August of 1955 to work with the Prison Department as a special consultant in this field. It has been his job to promote sales of the products and services, coordinate production, investigate possibilities for new or expanded operations, and make recommendations respect-

ing additions or expansions. He quickly developed close liaison with the Division of Purchase and Contract to see what products could be made for possible use by state agencies. An effort was also made to determine why prison products were not purchased in particular cases and then measures were initiated to overcome discovered defects in the production or sales techniques. Careful attention was given to the attractiveness of packaging and labeling as well as to the quality of the product. An attractive trademark was developed for the products and a catalog of prison products was prepared and distributed to all customers and prospective customers. What were the results? In the last six months of 1955 sales of prison industries products exceeded those for the second half of 1954 by more than $72,000—or an increase of about 20 per cent. We are encouraged by these results and hope that these increases will make available useful employment for many more prisoners in this type of work with a much higher rehabilitative value. Yet even if sales increased to where all existing industries reach peak production, fewer than 500 prisoners can be given industrial employment unless present facilities are expanded. In other words, *less than 5 per cent* of the state's prisoners can be given industrial employment with existing facilities operating at their maximum capacity. We must somehow work out a higher diversified industrial program to include many small plants rather than a few large ones. The object is to minimize competition with private enterprise while providing varied industrial employment to more prisoners.

Expansions which are needed might include a metal-working plant, clothing plant, printing plant, soap and chemical plant, cold storage plant, and paint plant. Investigations are also being made in other fields to see what other states do and how successful state-use industries have been there.

Yet the fact remains that North Carolina prison industries now employ *244* prisoners on an average out of a prison population in excess of *10,000*. Our prison population is more than double that of Maryland, yet out of a total prison population of approximately 4,500, Maryland employs around 1,500 prisoners in manufacturing operations conducted in twenty prison shops and factories. Virginia, with a prison population of approximately 5,500 employs about one-third of them in a diversified industrial

program. Pennsylvania also employs about one-third of its 7,200 prisoners in industries. As a further means of assisting a prison system industrial program, Colonel Bailey and Mr. Randall are convinced that a well-written state-use law, clearly defining the authorized market for prison products, and containing compulsory purchase provisions, is needed in order to increase substantially the number of prisoners who can be given industrial employment in North Carolina. Many other states have taken this step in various ways.

We know that prison costs are high. Did you know that approximately one-sixth of the total cost of the aid for dependent children in North Carolina has been made necessary by the fact of the fathers being in prison. The State Department of Public Welfare reports that more than $1,500,000 are required each year to care for the dependent children of prisoners in this state. For some reason, strangely enough, the percentage of cases in North Carolina where the father is in prison is double that for the nation as a whole.

The question seems to be whether it is better for the state to pay its prisoners incentive wages, and thereby reap the benefits of increased production while enabling the prisoners to contribute to the support of their dependents and accumulate savings to tide them over the rough days following release, or whether it is better for the state to lose the benefits of wage incentives, continue to support prisoners' dependents with welfare money, and continue to gamble on whether or not the prisoner released without adequate funds can find food and shelter without resorting to further crimes. In view of the high rate of second and third commitments, it would seem that this gamble is seldom won by the state.

Food requirements for the entire prison system are tremendous and every effort is being made to provide, where it is reasonable and practical, as much of the foodstuffs from the prison farms as possible. This includes pork, beef, milk and milk products, eggs, poultry, potatoes and other vegetables, fruit, etc. A master plan for vegetable gardens is being drawn up for use in the prison camps system. This plan will help the camps supply most of their needs for fresh vegetables in season.

There are land limitations on what can be produced on prison farmlands totaling approximately 16,000 acres. Crops are raised

on 6,500 acres, with 3,400 pasture and 5,400 acres in woods. Studies reveal that this farm acreage now controlled by the prison system is sufficient to produce that portion of the food requirement for 11,000 inmates. But more farm land will be required to meet the needs of the future prison population which will very soon exceed 11,000 prisoners at the present rate of increase.

Despite this huge farm operation, we still utilize less than *5 per cent* of the total prison population in farm work. This is particularly unfortunate in view of the fact that many prisoners that are now employed on prison farms come from rural communities and will return to farm work after their release. Very few have much knowledge of scientific techniques and proper sanitation. It would definitely be in the state's interest to provide these prisoners with as much training in modern farming methods as possible during the period they are in prison.

No mention of the prison farm system would be complete without a word about the Caledonia Prison Farm located here in Halifax County near Tillery. By far the largest and the most productive farm in the prison system, Caledonia covers 7,300 acres and is now a unit that more than pays its way, despite many of the vicissitudes in its long history with the state prisons. After being owned and operated by the State Prison for many years, Caledonia Farm was sold at auction in 1919 to various bidders. These bidders, with the exception of two, were unable to meet their payments. Practically the entire farm was repossessed by the State Prison in 1923, 1924, and 1925. In 1925 construction began on a new brick building designed to accommodate 750 prisoners. This building, built with prison labor, was occupied early in 1927. By 1955, it had deteriorated to the point where it was condemned by the State Insurance Department. General neglect of physical facilities on the farm had produced a condition requiring an expenditure of more than $300,000 to straighten things out. These funds have been made available out of highway surplus.

We have examined employment of prisoners on highways, prison industries, and prison farms. There are several other forms of employment which should be utilized and which are under serious consideration now. The Prison Department hopes to operate extensive forestry operations in the woods owned by the Highway Commission and considered part of the prison farms. It has been

estimated that there is approximately 3,000,000 feet of saw timber available and that a complete timber operation conducted over a full year would require for each 100 acres about five prisoners employed for about 200 work days. This would include felling trees, classifying timber, logging, sawmill operation, taking the timber from the mill and stacking, reforestation, and fire protection and maintenance. The Forestry Division of the Department of Conservation and Development is anxious to use prisoners to fight forest fires and is considering whether prisoner labor can be used in other phases of its forestry program. Experience in other states shows that forestry work can be done by prisoners, including employment in state nurseries and reforestation projects as well as fire fighting, fire prevention by clearing trails, removal of dead wood, construction of fire breaks and dams, and controlled burning. The fact that forestry work is frequently in remote areas makes it particularly suitable as outside work for prisoners, whereas common free labor is sometimes unavailable in the numbers needed.

Our forestry experts point out that state-owned forests have generally been on the downgrade because of the lack of manpower and proper maintenance since the closing of the CCC program in the early 1940's. The public and the prisoners would benefit greatly if a way can be found for employment of prison labor in conservation and improvement of state-owned forests. Our state institutions and agencies hold large areas of woodland aggregating nearly 300,000 acres. Marshlands held by the State Board of Education are not in the 300,000 but they may prove to be well worth the employment of prisoners. Watershed areas and wildlife refuges might be worked into the program.

It should be pointed out that in most instances institutions and agencies controlling state-owned forest lands have little or no funds appropriated for forestry maintenance and improvement. Therefore, these institutions and agencies are not able to hire prison labor for this purpose and will not be until the appropriation is made by the General Assembly. However, it appears that arrangements might be worked out under which the Prison Department would conduct forestry operations desired by other state agencies and institutions and defray the costs by selling timber

cut in accordance with the plan approved by the state forester as one that would improve the state forestry assets.

This approach, with the employment of prisoners to improve our forestry in North Carolina, appeals to me a great deal. It has been pointed out that we can conduct most of our forestry operations with prison labor housed in existing permanent camps. Only in a few instances will it be necessary to establish small camps of a temporary nature.

As you know, North Carolina suffered damages from four hurricanes within a period of approximately one year, with public and private damages running into the hundreds of millions of dollars. Despite some federal aid and the use of all available state and local funds, there remains much flood, hurricane, and soil erosion control work to be done. We are looking into the possibilities of using prison labor for some of this badly needed activity. At the moment we have made arrangements with the National Park Service to provide labor to make bough mats which are needed in an erosion project along North Carolina's Outer Banks. Prison labor will also be used in conserving sand dunes and other hurricane protection measures to protect our roads and highways along the coast. It is expected that prison labor will be used increasingly in control work of an emergency nature and in projects designed to prevent or to lessen soil erosion and other destructive consequences of storms and floods.

Our prison system now includes Central Prison, a separate institution for women, two prison farms, two minimum custody units for youthful first offenders, a sanatorium for tuberculous prisoners, and eighty-six other prison units classified as camps but clearly to be distinguished from the movable or semi-permanent camps operated by the state. A new maximum security facility for particularly troublesome prisoners is nearing completion. The new prison sanatorium at McCain is a rather radical departure in solving the problems presented by male and female prisoners who are suffering from tuberculosis. I have also suggested the possibility of similar units at the state hospitals for the mentally abnormal. At present only psychotic prisoners can be accommodated at the state hospitals and the wards are crowded. Many psychiatrically deviated inmates must now remain in prison units without staff or facilities for properly handling and treating.

There is also a growing need for better facilities to care for other chronically ill prisoners. A study is being made to determine how best to meet all requirements for increased medical facilities within the prison system.

In this talk tonight I have attempted to discuss at some length and in some detail one of the great responsibilities of the State of North Carolina—our prisons and our prisoner rehabilitation. I am greatly encouraged at the progress which has been made in recent years. Nearly $2,000,000 has been spent since the fall of 1953 for improvements and additions to our prisons. Additional projects now under way or authorized will cost more than three-quarters of a million dollars. But actually this is only a beginning. There is a great backlog of badly needed renovation and construction. Meanwhile, the number of prisoners committed to the custody of the director of prisons is increasing at a rate faster than new facilities can be provided.

This all leads to the question of what are we going to do in North Carolina about our growing prison population. As one answer, I should like to call your attention to an experiment now being tried in the State of Wisconsin with prisoners sentenced for misdemeanors. This is always a substantial percentage of the total prison population and yet these inmates are generally treated like felons in general accommodations, employment, restrictions, etc. In North Carolina we have an average of approximately 50 per cent of misdemeanor prisoners out of our total population. Wisconsin became greatly disturbed over its large number of misdemeanor prisoners who were sentenced fairly short terms, lost their jobs, put their families on welfare, and returned to society later with little future and certainly in no financial condition to resume support of their families. As a means of getting around this dilemma, prison authorities in Wisconsin worked out an arrangement with the courts whereby a misdemeanor prisoner could be given an opportunity of continuing on his job, provided he spent each night and each week-end in jail or in prison like other prisoner. Furthermore, his salary or wages during his imprisonment would be handled by prison authorities who saw that an adequate portion went to the prisoner's family and enabled them to stay off the welfare rolls. This experiment is so new that I do not know the results yet, but the idea and the concept appear

to make sense. In the case of the short-term prisoners, can we somehow work out an arrangement which would both enable them to continue outside employment and yet be confined on off-the-job hours and days? I believe that this—like many proposals and experiences in other states—deserves serious consideration.

Thank you for your interest in North Carolina, its problems, and its approach to the great responsibility of government. I wish for all of you continued success in the months and years ahead, and I hope that both of your civic clubs will continue your fine service. We do have a wonderful state in which to live and in which to raise our children. Working together unselfishly, we can accomplish a great deal. I know that each of you will do your share. Thank you.

ADDRESS OVER STATE-WIDE TELEVISION NETWORK

May 18, 1956

[Political overtones are more apparent in this address than in the Governor's earlier "Reports to the People." As indicated in the last paragraph, he was now a candidate for the Democratic nomination to succeed himself in office. The address, which was delivered on the day following the state Democratic Convention in Raleigh, was made in the studios of Station WBTV at Charlotte and was carried over a state-wide television network.]

Fellow Citizens of North Carolina:

I would like to talk with you tonight on some of our state's problems and opportunities. I love North Carolina and have great faith in her future. It has been an experience of great satisfaction to serve the wonderful people of this state. I would like at this moment to thank you thousands of citizens who have supported me with your best wishes and prayers during this strenuous eighteen months I have served as your governor. You have been most friendly, and I have been encouraged and inspired by your statements of good will and support.

I have conscientiously tried to serve the people of this state without fear or favor. I like people and do not always concern myself with whether or not they supported me in the only other political campaign in which I have ever engaged. Nor do I get deeply concerned if they do not agree with me on the things I

think or want to do. If people do a good, honest job, I am for them!

When I ran for lieutenant governor, it was the first political office I had ever sought. For more than thirty years I worked in the textile industry of this state. In this previous campaign I received support from people in the Democratic party without regard to factions. I have found that in trying in every way to help forward the interest of the people of our state, they have given their support in the finest spirit possible.

In November of 1954, following the death of Governor William B. Umstead, I succeeded to the office of governor. Some political friends advised me to replace incumbent appointees with my own supporters, but I didn't try to do any such thing. The people who were in office, including my personal office staff, were kept. They were doing a good job and are still doing a good job. The appointments and reappointments I have made have been principally on the basis of merit and the kind of job that the people were doing. My chief concern then, as it is now, was to give to the people of North Carolina good government. I think most people like that point of view. This applies not only to the man who holds a state job, but to the public as well.

My approach to the job as governor has been that of a businessman who wants to know where he stands now and where he is going. One of the first things I did after coming into office was to set up a file called my "Looking Ahead" file. I realized very soon that the government of the state was big business and that it needed all the best effort and ability which we could give it. I wrote to banks, utility companies, and other institutions both in North Carolina and other parts of the country and asked them what their plans were for the next ten years, what their growth would be by 1965 and how they generally felt about the future. These same questions were also asked certain key department heads in our state government. I wanted to know their thoughts and plans. If they hadn't begun to think along this line, they were encouraged to do so and asked to give us estimates of what the state might be facing during the next ten years.

The figures furnished by not only the banks and utility companies and other institutions, but by our own department heads, were both interesting and staggering.

Photo by Charles Cooper

Governor Hodges observes Hurricane Ione at Atlantic Beach. This picture was made at midnight, September 18, 1955, as the hurricane reached its full fury of seventy-five miles an hour.

News and Observer Photo

Governor Hodges testifying at Raleigh before a Congressional subcommittee in regard to North Carolina's reaction to the Hoover Commission's recommendations on water resources and power, September 28, 1955.

For example, public school enrollment is expected to go up from 1,100,000 now to 1,400,000 in 1965, while college enrollment in state supported schools would increase from 25,000 to 45,000 during the same period. It is estimated that our prison population will rise from the present 10,000 to around 15,000 by 1965. From the business and industrial people came firm estimates of increasing growth, development, expansion, and many surprising goals for the future.

Besides the regular work of running the state, which now collects over $325,000,000 per year of your money and mine, including receipts from fees, etc. and the grants from the federal government which bring our state spending up to nearly $400,000,000 a year, we have had other unusual and critical problems to face. I refer particularly to two of these; namely, the hurricanes which have struck North Carolina in the last eighteen months and the segregation decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

Time will not permit detailing all the things the state has done or is trying to do in connection with the damage caused by the four hurricanes. Our private and public losses in North Carolina from these storms will run well over $300,000,000. Our people have been wonderful in picking themselves up and starting again after suffering terrific losses, and their philosophy remains "business as usual." Everybody has been affected one way or the other. It has particularly hit our farmers and our people in the eastern and coastal counties. We have a terrific amount of work remaining to be done. I have given much time and will continue to do so in trying to secure aid and to make long-range plans for relief from the hurricanes which have already struck us and to minimize damage from future hurricanes. We will need the cooperation of all our people and all our officials in local, state and federal governments in handling this tremendous task.

With regard to the overshadowing problem of the segregation decisions, I would like to say that I have been proud of the people of North Carolina in the way they have acted. They feel strongly, as I do, about the Supreme Court decisions; and they are determined, as I am determined, not to mix the races in our schools. My stand is one of positive opposition to integration, and I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of North Carolinians support me in this opposition.

We have had a distinguished committee discussing and studying this problem now for many months. The members of the committee feel, as we all do, that our schools must be preserved, as they are the bedrock of our progress. The committee's report was made public a few weeks ago, and it has received the overwhelming support of county and city officials and of the public in general. This report declares that North Carolina parents shall not be compelled to send their children to mixed schools. This report recommends that, if needed, tuition grants be given to prevent such action and that local option be allowed for communities to decide what to do with their schools if intolerable situations arise. I expect to call a special session of the General Assembly this summer to enact legislation to take care of the situation. I am confident that we can save the peace as well as the schools.

One of our biggest jobs in North Carolina is to raise our per capita income and to raise the standard of living for our 4,250,000 people. It will not be more than ten or fifteen years before North Carolina has over 5,000,000 people. We must come up the ladder from the forty-third place among the states in our per capita income, and I feel sure that we will do so. We must get a greater amount of industry in our state, not only because of the additional dollars it will bring us in our annual income, but in this the most rural state in the Union we must recognize that our agricultural economy is changing, that more and more people will, through necessity be leaving the farm and jobs must be found for them. This applies particularly to our young people. I have given much time since I have been in office in helping and encouraging people to develop small industries and small businesses and to build up all sections of the state. I think that you as citizens should know that 52 per cent of our manufacturing payrolls in North Carolina is now concentrated in ten of our 100 counties.

To meet the needs of a growing state, we need a tax structure that is more modern and attractive. We have our Tax Commission composed of distinguished citizens who are studying this problem and will be presenting their report in the coming months. I might say in passing that if you take into consideration our taxes as a whole in North Carolina by combining the state and local taxes we rank well as compared to other states. We must always keep in mind that North Carolina is about the only state in the Union

that supports all roads and a nine-months' school term with state funds. There is no county road tax and less than half of our local school units have any supplementary school tax.

Our people deserve and will expect more and more state services in the form of public schools, colleges, mental institutions, health services, prisons, welfare services, and many other things, plus a good efficient administration of these governmental agencies. Furthermore, they will support all these things with their taxes, their cooperation, and their vote if they are kept fully informed, and if the state employees, as well as officials they elect, give the state government honest service. Most employees and department heads do render good honest service to the state.

I have discussed during the past months and will up until the primary the various problems and issues in North Carolina. Tonight, I'd like to discuss one of the more important problems of our state; namely, our system of public highways. All our highways are supported at state level from funds and fees collected from our people, plus federal appropriations. We stand among the best in the nation in the total amount of paved roads (more than 35,000 miles) and in our program in general. Our primary roads need attention as do the roads of other states. The auto mileage on our main roads is increasing rapidly. A federal highway bill which seems reasonably sure of passage will give to North Carolina for its upwards of 700 miles of interstate highways more than $300,000,000 in fifteen years. This is in addition to more than $20,000,000 annually we get presently from the federal government. We spent last year in North Carolina for construction of our highways around $45,000,000. This is in addition to our upkeep and betterments. We will be spending larger sums than ever, and it is important that our needs be considered from an over-all state point of view.

I would like to ask a question at this point. What good are our highways if we are going to continue killing our people on them? I am very hopeful that the people of this state will become so aroused that everybody concerned, including the individual driver, will make it a point to drive safely and save human lives.

What pride can we have in our highways if we are to litter our roadsides and highways with debris? Are we as citizens to throw out of our cars paper, trash, lighted cigarettes, etc. which cause danger

and ugliness and which acts do not reflect the true character of our people who are generally clean, lawful, and orderly? I can visualize North Carolina with its highways wider and safer, with boulevards by-passing congested towns and cities but with easy access to them. These boulevards will be beautified with plantings of native shrubs and trees; they will be clean and our citizens will be proud to keep them clean. And the wayside junk and trash yards will be moved or hidden either by patriotic owners on a voluntary basis or by law through an aroused citizenry.

Ahead in North Carolina there is a great future for our rural population which now enjoy the conveniences and comforts of modern living. We will have from our farms a greater variety of crops and vegetables and fruits, dairy and beef products and other things which will bring us a greater cash income through proper marketing and will bring us more wholesome living, but with less economic danger than now prevails with our chief cash crops.

Our wonderful state will not overlook the cultural and the spiritual as we move onward and upward. We are deeply religious and are building churches by the hundreds. Church related colleges are growing rapidly, too.

Our state has just opened a beautiful art gallery in Raleigh. Its collection of original paintings compares favorably with any gallery of its size. We are the first state to open such a gallery. Our folk dramas, our symphony, grass roots opera, planetarium, and other educational and cultural programs give zest and enjoyment to our life.

We look after our people's health, physical and mental. Our schools and colleges are of the best; but we must do more—much more—in their support, both as individuals and as local and state governments. Let's not falter as we look ahead!

With your help I want to do everything possible to serve our state. One individual can do only so much, but I have a simple faith that people will respond to leadership and to challenge. If we can further develop in North Carolina a spirit of cooperation, of team play, there is no limit to what we can accomplish. The man on the street, the woman in the home, those who labor in the factory or on the farm, the teachers in our schools, the preachers in our pulpits—they all believe that honest endeavor is the

badge of service. One should expect honest endeavor on the part of public servants, regardless of party affiliations or of the positions they hold!

Tonight, I am asking for your support and your vote in the Democratic Primary, Saturday, May 26. Our party has for more than fifty years given good service to North Carolina. It has given efficient and stable government to a growing state. In our state convention, held yesterday, we pledged ourselves to continue this service for all the people. I am proud to be a candidate for the nomination of governor on the Democratic ticket. I hope we Democrats on May 26 will have the largest vote in the history of our primary.

Thank you and good night!

STATE-WIDE RADIO SPEECH

May 25, 1956

[This frankly political speech was made over a state-wide radio network on the eve of the state Democratic Primary of 1956. Since there was no serious opposition to the Governor's nomination to succeed himself, the outcome of the primary was never in doubt. The results were: Hodges, 401,082; Tom Sawyer, 29,248; Harry P. Stokely, 24,416; C. E. Earle, Jr., 11,908. All three of the Governor's opponents were residents of Charlotte.]

This is Luther H. Hodges speaking. I would like to chat with you about the primary tomorrow. It is an important day in the life of our state. I want to see you vote and, of course, I would like to have you cast your vote for governor for me.

This has been an unusual campaign. Many people have expressed the idea that we need not have campaigned for the office. These friends who said this were, of course, being nice, and I deeply appreciate their faith and confidence in me. Indeed, I am extremely grateful to the wonderful people of the state for the support and encouragement they have given me over the past eighteen months.

This campaign for governor has been different from any other campaign for governor in many years. I am told that the last governor who died in office was Daniel G. Fowle in the year 1891. At that time, Lieutenant Governor Thomas M. Holt succeeded

him but did not run for the full term of four years as governor. Incidentally, Governor Fowle was the first governor to have lived in the present Mansion at 200 Blount Street. There is in one of the rooms at the Mansion a very large double bed made oversized because, the story goes, Governor Fowle slept with his grandson, and he was kicked by the young fellow pretty often, and he had a bed made large enough so that he could sleep apart from him, even in the same bed. The original oversized bed that was bought for the Mansion when Governor Fowle moved in is still there and is used from time to time by our son.

The last man who served as governor and ran for governor for another term was Thomas J. Jarvis, who succeeded to office in February, 1879, when Governor Vance resigned to enter the United States Senate. Jarvis was then elected to a four-year term of his own. The Constitution of North Carolina prevents a person from succeeding himself in the term that immediately follows the term he has served. In my case, I was elected lieutenant governor and succeeded under the constitution to the governorship upon the death of Governor William B. Umstead on November 8, 1954. Since I was not elected to my present office by the people, I therefore was eligible to offer myself for a full four-year term.

I am reviewing these facts so that you can understand clearly what the situation is. Since 1880, therefore, nobody has, while being governor, run for the office of governor. While this happens often in other states with no constitutional limit on governors' terms, it has put me and the office in unprecedented circumstances. In my own case, I have tried conscientiously to keep the two jobs of being governor and being a candidate as separate as possible. I have tried to continue being governor, and it so happens that this period during which the campaign has been waged has been one of the busiest periods of my service as governor. I have not wanted to shirk my duties as governor, and yet I have not wanted to take the campaign for granted.

Some of my friends have asked in a constructively critical fashion why we opened headquarters in April—why we were taking the campaign so seriously and were spending money on it. All of these are good questions and I feel that I should answer them. You as the voters and citizens have a right to know. I have not wanted to be presumptuous and assume I didn't have opposition, or that

I would win the primary without working hard. When I ran for lieutenant-governor, I worked hard. I went into all hundred counties and stayed constantly on the job. Under the pressures of my present office, I was not able to do that this time, but I had a lot of volunteers who wanted to help. I, therefore, agreed to open campaign headquarters at the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh, and it has been open since April. The manager of the campaign is a long-time friend who is working on a volunteer basis, as are all the other men. He is Harold Makepeace of Sanford. Hugh Morton of Wilmington has done volunteer work in connection with the publicity. This includes newspaper, radio, TV, films, and other advertising. They naturally have gotten help from other volunteers. My fellow townsman and friend, B. C. Trotter of Leaksville, has worked very closely with the campaign headquarters. I could not begin to name the number of people from all walks of life who have volunteered their services and who have helped in many constructive ways.

I have only mentioned those who have given substantially full time to the campaign since we opened the headquarters. We have a small paid staff, headed by Mrs. Annie Cooper, of Raleigh, who is experienced in handling campaign headquarters.

In a Democratic primary covering such a large area as North Carolina and involving a tremendous number of people, it is obviously impossible for a candidate to have the opportunity to see and talk with all voters, yet the rank and file of Democrats have a right to know what sort of man they are voting for, his background, his education, his experience, and, most of all, what he thinks and believes about government and the great issues of the day. So I feel that it is the duty of a candidate for the high office of governor to make an effort to acquaint the voters with his views and his plans for a greater North Carolina. So the spending of funds for this purpose is not just politics in the ordinary sense, but is a part of the great democratic process by which voters are informed so that they can make wise decisions.

Also I felt that it was extremely important for me to open headquarters away from the governor's office. I did not use the facilities of the governor's office in my campaign. I felt that this would be wrong, so I opened headquarters so that all political activity could be carried on separately from the governor's office,

which, after all, does not belong to me but is supported by the taxpaying public.

When I announced in my home town of Leaksville on February 4 that I would be a candidate for a full four-year term, subject to the Democratic Primary on May 26, I said that I would discuss the issues and problems facing the state between that time and the primary. I have tried to do this conscientiously. I shall not repeat the things I have said, but I would like to tell you briefly some of the subjects I have covered since that time in speeches to groups and in information given to the press.

My speeches and remarks have covered such matters as my continued opposition to mixing of the races in the public schools; natural disasters and hurricane rehabilitation; ways and means of raising our low per capita income; traffic safety; industrial development by locally-financed small industries, expansion of our present industries, and location of new out-of-state industries; future needs in public education; our Research Triangle project for research industries; forestry; agriculture and its many problems; our prisons and prisoner rehabilitation; civil defense; welfare; highways; water—flood and droughts; the responsibilities of citizenship; medical care; mental and public health; problems of higher education; tuberculosis and improved care for the state's tuberculous prisoners; and industrial safety.

These subjects in one way or another, affect the lives of each of us and deserve careful consideration and constructive action. My comments and suggestions seem to have been well received and I have confidence that the people of North Carolina will support the kind of programs which I have sponsored. I have felt this not because of overconfidence, but because I believe the people would like someone to represent them who had a positive, long-range, courageous program, and who was willing to speak out on problems affecting the growth of the state.

As I stated in Leaksville on February 4 when I announced my candidacy, it is my belief that the people as a whole are not interested in a campaign of mudslinging or condemnation of what other candidates are doing without bringing out anything on their own side. I do not mind a good, clean fight. I do not mind having differences of opinion if they are honest differences, but this state deserves, and should always have, clean campaigns.

During the last few weeks we have had in North Carolina, as usual, a series of meetings under the regular Democratic party organization plan. We started several weeks ago with our precinct meetings all over the state. At that time the chairmen of the precincts were elected or re-elected, delegates were elected for the county convention, and the following Saturday, in all the counties of the state, there were county conventions held, and the procedure was substantially the same as that of the precinct meetings. During this past week we had our state convention, while preceding the actual meeting of the convention, there were meetings of the various Congressional Districts to elect officers, representatives and delegates to fill positions according to the party organization. These positions included delegates to the National Convention to be held in Chicago in August.

These meetings have all been a part of the workings of the Democratic party in North Carolina—from the grass roots to the state levels. This activity has been leading up to the big day for North Carolina Democrats—Primary Day. Tomorrow, May 26, is that day—the one day in each four years that the voters can name their choices as candidates for the majority of public offices.

From 6:30 tomorrow morning until 6:30 tomorrow night, you, the voters, will have your day. This is the only time and the only way you can voice your choice for governor, lieutenant governor, a United States Senator, members of the National House of Representatives, members of the North Carolina General Assembly, and many other state and local officials. The nominees selected by you on Saturday will be the Democratic candidates in the November elections, when we do battle with the Republicans. And, so Saturday is a very important day.

There are approximately 1,200,000 registered Democratic voters in North Carolina. Strange to relate, only about half of this number vote; 615,000 is the largest vote we have had in the primary. This means that in the past about 600,000 registered voters failed to express their preference for the people who would operate their government.

Many of the 600,000 have been voting for years, but there are at least 250,000 young men and women in our state who have come of voting age since 1952 who will cast their ballots for the first time tomorrow. I welcome each of them to the ranks of

Democracy. Many of them have borne arms in defense of our country. I now invite them to support the continued fight for freedom by way of the ballot. The full responsibility of this fight will be on their shoulders in a few years. Why not get into the thick of the battle now?

In our land the Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, which gives every citizen the right to criticize his government and its officials—a privilege which many citizens exercise. Unfortunately many who criticize do not avail themselves of another equally important guarantee of the Constitution—that of voting. I am one who believes in action. Isn't voting a far more effective method of selecting candidates than just talking about them?

I have great faith in the fine men and women of North Carolina. They have always responded to every emergency, in time of war and peace. Sometimes the problems of peace are as pressing and puzzling as the difficulties brought on by war.

May I remind you citizens of North Carolina that your state is now faced with some serious problems. These problems must be faced and solved by you and your elected officials.

It would be helpful to those entrusted with finding the solution of these complex problems if the registered voters would turn out in mass tomorrow. In my own case, I hope for your vote of confidence in me as your governer—an expression that you have faith in our efforts to solve these problems in a satisfactory manner, and in accordance with your wishes.

So far as those of us in the Democratic party are concerned, we should, after tomorrow night, close ranks, get behind those who have won, extend a hand of friendship to those who have lost. We are all Democrats—we are all working to give the best service we can to a system of party government, and through the party, service to our state and nation.

May I again thank all of you for your many kindnesses to me. I have been all over the state, covering every section. I have been in a majority of the counties for speeches or appearances since I bcame governor eighteen months ago. It has been a stimulating and rewarding experience to meet you, to be in your towns and counties, to know of your problems, share your troubles, to know of your successes, to learn of your ambitions and hopes for the future. I hope I can continue to be a part of your efforts and help

you in some small way to achieve better things for your own region and a greater future for the North Carolina we all love.

Thank you and good night.

ADDRESS AT PEMBROKE STATE COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT

PEMBROKE
May 31, 1956

[The Governor's schedule was crowded at commencement time. This address at Pembroke State College on Thursday was followed by a similar one at Chowan College at Murfreesboro on Friday and by appearances at the Woman's College at Greensboro on Sunday and at both Duke University and the University of North Carolina on Monday.]

I am happy to have the opportunity to speak to the 1956 graduating class of Pembroke State College, their families and friends, and members of the faculty, staff and student body.

This is a great day for each of you. I rejoice with you at achieving this important milestone in life and wish you well as you take up new responsibilities elsewhere.

You are a fortunate group in that you have had the opportunity to obtain a college education. You have been further blessed in attending a small college where you can receive individual attention from your teachers and each can know the other as a friend. One of the nicest things about going to college is the friendships you make, and here at Pembroke you have a fine fellowship not often found in larger colleges and universities.

While students here have worked, studied, and played, the college has been growing too under the capable leadership of Dr. Wellons who has served the college in a fine way for the past fourteen years. I know you are sad at the thought of his retiring July 1. All of us who know Dr. Wellons commend him for the dedicated and able service he has rendered this institution all these years and wish him much happiness and success as he begins a new phase of his life.

Commencement is a good time to review briefly Pembroke's past and then look ahead to its prospects for the future. In 1887,

under the influence of Honorable Hamilton McMillan, representative from Robeson County, a law was passed providing for the establishment of a normal school for the Indians of Robeson County. The law stipulated that only those above fifteen years of age might attend, and then only if they signed a contract to teach at least one year. The law appropriated $500 from the State Treasury for maintenance only and carried a further provision that, if a building were not provided and the money not actually used for the maintenance of the school, the legislature of 1889 should repeal the act.

The legislature appointed W. L. Moore, Preston Locklear, James Oxendine, and James Dial, Sr., as trustees to carry out the provisions of the act. With the authority of the legislature these men elected three other trustees, J. J. Oxendine, James Braboy, and Ollen Oxendine. These Indian trustees were given full power by the state legislature to do all things necessary to inaugurate a normal school.

With a subscription an acre of land was purchased opposite New Hope Church, and a two-story building was erected. W. L. Moore, a Robeson County teacher, was elected the first principal and teacher. Work began in the fall of 1887 with an enrollment of fifteen students. In 1889 the legislature raised the appropriation to $1,000, and a like sum was granted for many years thereafter. Like many worthwhile ventures, Pembroke had a slow and difficult beginning.

In 1909 a new site for the school was purchased at Pembroke, and the legislature appropriated $3,000 for a new building. During the following years the faculty was enlarged, new high school courses were offered, and vocational training for both boys and girls was begun. In 1921, under a bill sponsored by Judge L. R. Varser of Lumberton, the legislature appropriated $75,000 for the erection of a more modern building. A high school standard rating was granted in 1924.

While the legislature by act of 1887 had created a normal school, work of normal level was not begun in regular session until the fall of 1926. By June, 1928, the first normal class was graduated. In 1953 two years of college work were being given in addition to the normal work. Growth continued and in 1938 the first three-year college and normal diplomas were awarded. The increased enrollment made it necessary to enlarge the faculty.

In the fall of 1939 the high school was separated from the college, and removed to a new building on a separate site off the campus. This made possible further expansion of the college faculty and the addition of the senior year. The first degrees were awarded in 1940 to members of the graduating class of the four-year standard college.

In the summer of 1940, Dr. Owen Hand Browne was selected from the teaching staff to serve as acting president. He continued in this capacity until August, 1942, when Dr. Ralph D. Wellons was elected president.

The name of this institution has been changed several times since it was first established in 1887 and designated as "The Cherokee Normal School." The legislature on March 8, 1911, changed the name to "The Normal School of Robeson County." The next session of the legislature on March 11, 1913, changed the name to "Cherokee Indian Normal School of Robeson County." In the year 1940 the legislature changed the name to "Pembroke State College for Indians," and in 1949 the legislature changed the name to its present one—"Pembroke State College."

The college has undergone considerable expansion during the years since it became a four-year liberal arts college. Chief emphasis has been placed on the enrichment of the curriculum, increasing the size of the library, the construction of new buildings, the construction of roads and walks, and the beautification of the campus generally.

I was interested to learn that Pembroke College has conferred 334 degrees thus far and that the present occupations of graduates include such fields as teaching, homemaking, preaching, merchandising, home demonstration work, retailing, farming, insurance, etc.

Today, Pembroke State College has nine modern, well-equipped academic buildings plus the residences and president's home, with dormitories for men and women and a library with over 23,000 volumes. The value of the physical plant has been quadrupled since 1945 and is now valued at approximately $1,000,000.

Dr. Wellons tells me that he is delighted with the initiative shown by students in recent student activities. He is particularly pleased with the establishment of a Student Association whose

constitution is patterned after the constitution of the Student Association at State College in Raleigh. Along with this organization there has been an expansion of the whole student activity program with a high degree of coordination of activities within it. He reports that the yearbook has grown from a very small book to a 200-page volume with a quality that can well be compared with some of the best college yearbooks in the country. He also informs me that the students have undertaken the operation of a snack bar and that a student manager operates the college book store, with the assistance of a faculty member.

I congratulate you upon the initiative and accomplishments which you as students have shown this year. This very initiative constitutes a significant part of the foundation on which the future college is to be built. I know that you are interested in the future of the fine institution and that you will continue your interest and support in years to come.

And now let's see what your president, faculty members and members of the board of trustees hope Pembroke may be in the next couple of decades. They visualize Pembroke as a regional, coeducation four-year liberal arts college within the North Carolina system of higher education. To meet this goal would, they say, require such permanent improvements as a student union building, a dormitory for men, a dormitory for women, cottages or apartments for married students, a central heating plant, a humanities building, more emphasis on agriculture and forestry, a dining hall and cafeteria.

As for the curriculum, they believe that a wider variety of course offering and an increased content in the same are necessary. They also advocate continued emphasis in teacher education with possibility of offering a master's degree in this field. Other suggestions include increased offerings in pre-professional courses, the provision of terminal courses to provide training in certain occupational areas, a better division between liberal arts and teacher education courses, and provision for extension courses.

They hope that future students will be characterized by higher scholastic ability, more maturity, a greater sense of responsibility and a more serious attitude. Enrollment under such circumstances could reach 500 to 1,000.

These are just a few of the hopes and dreams of those who are

closest to Pembroke. Whether these plans will ever materialize depends upon many things—one of which depends entirely on the type and amount of interest and support you give.

And now for a larger look at higher education in the nation and in our own state. Higher education in America is being examined more closely today than at any previous time in history. Almost two thirds of our states in some fashion are surveying their higher education problems or organizations. Over the years, American higher education has played an important role in shaping the lives and livelihood of our people. Through its instructional offerings, its research undertakings, and its extension, adult education, and general public service programs, higher education contributes immeasurably to the vitality and maturity of our society.

One recent national study said:

> The principal value of higher education for the individual lies not in the potential economic advantages it may confer but in its capacity to make life more meaningful and worthwhile. The principal value of higher education for society is to be found in its training for effective citizenship. In our nation this value is all the more essential, since in a democracy, all decisions rest finally with the people. With research pushing back the boundaries of knowledge so rapidly, it becomes imperative that the opportunities for access to higher education be broadened, that increasing proportions of our people be informed on matters of vital importance to themselves and their fellow citizens.

The growth of higher education in this country has been phenomenal. Although America's total population nearly doubled during the half century just ended, college-age population—age groups eighteen to twenty-one—increased no more than 45 per cent. Resident enrollment in the nation's colleges and universities increased nearly 925 per cent during the same fifty years. One significant trend was the rapid growth of junior colleges. In 1930 there were 436 institutions of this type with a total student body of 74,000. In 1950 there were 634 institutions of this type with a total enrollment of 560,000 students.

In an education-minded state, our colleges and universities are literally bursting at the seams. State institutions, for example, have enrolled 2,000 more students this year than last year. Most private institutions are having the same experience. Yet, North

Carolina ranks next to the bottom of the states of the Union in the percentage of its residents, of college age, in attendance at institutions of higher learning. The landslide of students brings increased costs. Professional education, for example, is particularly expensive. More money is needed for teachers, buildings, equipment, etc.

Private colleges and universities are doing an indispensable job in our state. They educate approximately 47 per cent of all students in higher education. They should take care of at least 50 per cent. In the early days the percentage was 70 per cent. These private institutions deserve our warmest support, appreciation, and help. There is a place for these schools, their programs, and what they mean to our society.

North Carolina has taken a forward step in higher education by the creation of the North Carolina Board of Higher Education. Authorized by the the 1955 General Assembly, pursuant to a recommendation made by the distinguished Commission on Higher Education—a recommendation in which I, as governor, joined wholeheartedly—this board and its staff should be able to throw the light of objective analysis on the program and plans of state-supported institutions of higher learning.

As a result of such analysis, the institutions will be able to make their full contribution to the state without spending their efforts and the states' money on halfway measures which are unnecessary or which should be assigned completely to one institution rather than partially to several.

It is the duty and obligation of the Board of Higher Education, working with the faculties and administrative personnel of individual institutions and their boards of trustees, to point up those things which are absolutely necessary in higher education and those things which we cannot afford. It can show us how to secure the necessities as economically as possible.

Not only will the work of the Board of Higher Education raise the efficiency of public higher education, but other steps such as the new admission tests to be administered by the University of North Carolina will do much to permit increased standards with resulting better programs and better qualified students. The decision to use these tests was a courageous one and I hope other public institutions will follow this example. I also hope the high schools and our public education officials and leaders will accept

Photo by Gus Martin

Governor Hodges poses in the costume in which he played the part of Colonial Governor Charles Eden at the 250th anniversary of the town of Bath, October 3, 1955.

Greensboro News Photo

On the platform at Greensboro immediately preceding the Governor's speech at Agricultural and Technical College, November 4, 1955. Seated (*left to right*): Nile F. Hunt, coordinator of teacher education, State Department of Public Instruction; J. W. Seabrook, president, Fayetteville State Teachers College; J. Harris Purks, acting president, University of North Carolina; Governor Hodges; F. D. Bluford, president A&T College; and Charles T. Hines, chairman of the Board of Trustees of A&T College. Standing: Samuel Duncan, supervisor of Negro high schools, State Department of Public Instruction.

and meet the challenge which college admission tests are bound to present, and that they will see a positive value in these tests, since by testing we can find many boys and girls who should be in college. I am confident that this will be done in the fine spirit of determination to do whatever is necessary to insure the best education possible for our youth.

We need all the educational institutions we have and more to meet the challenge of today and the future. I am happy to see much interest in new colleges on the part of the different denominations in our state and I hope that this will continue. North Carolina is rich in its greatest resource—our youth. We must utilize that resource and nurture it. We must stop the erosion of our intellectual leadership to other regions for lack of opportunity in their own state.

I hope that all of you who are graduating here today are planning to find work in your chosen field in your own state. There is plenty of work that needs to be done to build up our great state and I sincerely hope that you will use your talents and abilities to make your future and your destiny here in North Carolina. There is opportunity for all who are willing to work hard for it.

In closing, may I use the words of a former college president in another state, who told his graduates that, "Your consciousness has been extended to look before and after—you have heard something of the glory and of the shame of man's history. You cannot say that you did not know that there have been saints and prophets and poets who have offered to humanity a more excellent way. . ." Above all, he said, it is your right and privilege to be "the conscience of the world today, pricking the souls of men whenever these standards are in danger of being set aside, or threatened by newfangled heresies, or old error freshly disguised . . . to enjoy and defend and pass on to those who come after you the freedom to know and to learn . . . to uphold the claims of the intelligence and the imagination against all the forces of stupidity and dullness and vulgarity . . . not in pride and vain boasting, but in a spirit of gentleness and humility."

You and the thousands of other college graduates can do much to help yourselves, your communities, your state and your nation. I know you will not fail. Godspeed on your life's journey and may every success and happiness that you desire be yours. Thank you.

ADDRESS AT THE NORTH CAROLINA BAR ASSOCIATION CONVENTION

MYRTLE BEACH, SOUTH CAROLINA
June 15, 1956

[Efforts to improve the judicial system and the administration of justice in North Carolina received considerable attention during Governor Hodges' first two years in office. A partial solution of the problem was devised by the 1955 General Assembly which increased the number of resident Superior Court judges from twenty-one to thirty-two and reduced the number of special judges that were appointed by the governor (*S. L., 1955,* Chs. 129, 1016). That there was need for additional improvement in this respect was the burden of this address by the Governor before the fifty-eighth annual convention of the State Bar Association.]

Mr. President, Members of the North Carolina Bar Association, Wives and Guests:

I am both pleased and honored to have the opportunity of addressing this group of distinguished members of the bench and bar here in convention at Myrtle Beach. Naturally, I could wish that the scene of this occasion was in North Carolina instead of South Carolina; but if we have to go to another state in order to secure beach hotel accommodations which permit a meeting of this size, our sister Carolina is a good place to be.

Although I am not of your profession either by training or practice, I have a high interest in your problems. Admittedly, my immediate concern does not grow out of any overwhelming desire to make your lives as lawyers and judges any easier or your pay any higher, and to that extent may differ from your own concern. My interest is based primarily on the direct connection you and your affairs have with government and the public good. Many of the problems of the legal profession are, in a very real sense, public problems. If they are not solved, the public suffers; if they are, the public benefits. It is in this spirit, therefore, that I come to you tonight. Of course, if in this effort, it happens that your lives are made easier and your pay higher, I will be happy for you; but your greatest pay will, as always, come from an inner satisfaction of a job well done.

This is too festive an occasion to talk a great deal about

problems, but there are one or two things we can talk about in which you probably will be interested.

When I assumed the office of governor in November of 1954, a great deal of interest was being expressed throughout state circles in the judicial redistricting bill. I watched with interest the progress of this bill during the 1955 General Assembly. It was supported by your organization and by other organizations of lawyers throughout the state, including the Council of the State Bar, the Judicial Council, and the General Statutes Commission. Because of the potentially great effect of this legislation, I considered it my duty as governor to become informed concerning it and to take a position regarding it—either for or against.

After discussing the matter at length with Chief Justice Barnhill and with many other people, including a great number of laymen, as well as lawyers and judges, it appeared to me that the bill was a justified request on the part of the bench and bar and would result in an improvement in our Superior Court system. The legislation, therefore, received the unqualified support of the governor's office. I would like parenthetically to take note of a fact which makes me very proud indeed. Of the eleven regular judges appointed as a result of the passing of this bill, only two had opposition in the May primary; and both of them were nominated without too great difficulty. I, of course, felt that good people had been selected; but it was especially pleasing to have the selection of these judges approved in this fashion by the people of our great state.

Getting back to the subject at hand, I want to say to you that during the lengthy discussions and inquiries with respect to the redistricting bill, I was quite surprised at the extent to which at least some of the general public has lost its respect for the courts of our state as institutions capable of rendering swift and inexpensive justice to the rich and poor alike. Many of the lay members of the legislature and even some of the lawyer members insisted that although the Superior Court dockets were in arrears, additional judges would not solve the problem. They argued that the cases that were piled up were not tried because the lawyers did not want to try them. They stated that the judicial manpower of the state would be adequate if its time were not wasted by technicalities and dilatory tactics deliberately engaged in by the

lawyers and condoned by the judges under a system which places a premium on indulging such tactics under the guise of professional courtesy. I shall not take time to mention all of the criticisms levied against the profession. We all know that many of them have no justification in fact; however, I have a pet saying to the effect that if the public thinks you are a "so and so," you are a "so and so" until you prove differently. In my humble opinion, the legal profession has a little job of proof on its hands.

Furthermore, I am afraid there are some criticisms which are to a great extent justified. Certainly, they seem justified to the most sympathetic of laymen, among whom I count myself. As to these, something must be done if our courts are to regain the place of respect that they once had in the public's esteem. For one thing, we must continue to improve both the efficiency and speed with which litigation is handled in our Superior Courts. Much has already been accomplished in this field during the last year or so, but we must do even more. I am informed that on July 1, 1955, there was a backlog of 32,408 cases pending on the Superior Courts' dockets of this state. Of this number, 6,510 were criminal cases; and 25,898 were civil in nature. Some lawyers tell me that many of these were "dead" cases. If that is so, then this is an excellent example of extremely poor public relations on your part, to say nothing of bad housekeeping. What would you think of a manufacturer who sat down to estimate his future needs for manpower and equipment with his books full of "dead orders"? I wish you gentlemen and your colleagues would keep in mind the fact that the State of North Carolina, in addition to being a party to criminal cases, is also a party, although usually a silent one, to every civil case on the docket, and is the party who always suffers when needless delay takes place. Delay causes expense far beyond amounts assessed as court costs!

Justice, however precise and fine it may be, is wholly inadequate if it arrives too late or if it bankrupts the litigant in the process. A balance must be struck between precision and refinement on the one hand and efficiency and speed on the other.

The state is increasingly aware that Chief Justice Barnhill and the judges of the Superior Court, with the cooperation of people all along the line, have performed a magnificent task since July 1 of last year in cutting down the vast backlog of cases. Between

July 1, 1955, and December 31, 1955, the 32,408 cases which were on the Superior Court dockets were reduced to 24,708. This means that 7,700 more cases were disposed of during the last six months of 1955 than new cases were instituted. That is excellent progress, even if much of the litigation disposed of was "dead wood." Another indication of progress is to be found in a study of the use of court terms by judges during the last fall term. Of 3,190 days of court scheduled during the period, 2,553 days were held. Thus more than 80 per cent of the court days provided were actually utilized in the disposition of judicial matters. The most recent study previous to this one (1952) showed only 70 per cent utilization of court days provided. I am also informed that preliminary figures for 1956 indicate that the judges are going to better the 80 per cent figure this year.

The analysis of these figures is indeed a hopeful sign, and I trust that the judges in the different districts of the state will be aware of their individual contributions to the over-all picture. The day is probably not far away when members of the general public, as well as members of the bench, will be watching this sort of analysis with considerable interest. Much praise is due for the job that has been done and is being done, and I have so stated on many occasions.

More serious in the over-all picture than the conditions of the dockets of the Superior Courts is the picture presented by the courts inferior to Superior Courts. The innumerable city and county courts of both civil and criminal jurisdiction constitute, to the layman at least, an illogical and confusing puzzle. Costs can and do vary 300 per cent from county to county; and I am told of a regrettable fact, if it's true, that many local governing bodies look upon the police courts primarily as a source of income rather than a place for the dispensation of justice. Of course, you and all the rest of the state are familiar with the picture presented by our system of justices of the peace with the antiquated and much-complained-of fee system.

It is in these lower courts that the great majority of our citizens receive their impressions of our judicial system; and certainly, if we are to secure public respect and support for our courts, something must be done at that level. I am particularly interested in the part our courts must play in doing something about the

horrible slaughter that is taking place on our highways as a result of traffic accidents. How much longer will the public tolerate the drunken driver, the racing driver, the reckless driver? More directly, so far as you are concerned, how much longer will the public tolerate what often appears to be the courts' tolerance of these menaces to human life and safety?

Here in the field of highway accidents, violation of speeding laws, etc., you can, as judges, solicitors, lawyers, and court officials, bring a new day to our good state. You can turn things upside down, inside out, and get the praise of the public. You can also get the everlasting gratitude of mothers who fear for the safety of their children and wives who are constantly concerned about their husbands as they drive on our highways.

I shall not quote statistics. Let me make a simple appeal to you. Please team up with your governor, the Highway Patrol, and other enforcement agencies to stop this slaughter and see that uniform justice is given. I sincerely believe that our state tries to treat everyone alike so far as arrests and charges are concerned (if I am wrong, tell me so); but I am deeply concerned that charges are occasionally reduced, the guilty are often treated lightly, or their cases are not given proper attention.

Our trouble is not always the solicitor, nor always the judge; no, it's too often the people who serve on juries. Speaking of juries, I would like to read you a letter I received last month from a clerk of the Superior Court for whom I have a great deal of respect.

> My dear Governor Hodges:
>
> I offer these suggestions for your safer, saner, and more life-saving program of driving on the highways.
>
> I have lived almost daily in the courts of my county for the past thirty years. I have seen the jury system at its worst and at its best. The jury system in North Carolina today is on trial for its life. I know one judge who outspokenly condemns it as a farce and a very faulty method of a justice trial. I do not agree with the good judge who takes this position. But I do say the jury system has its weaknesses, and I have seen it reach its most dismal nadir. It always shows up at its worst when dealing with men who drink whisky and try to operate cars on the highways, and who otherwise violate the motor vehicle laws. Meantime, men in my county get almost helplessly drunk, are arrested by the State Highway Patrol, or other officers of the law, and are incarcerated

in jail overnight. Then in the teeth of such strong evidence on the part of the state's charge of drunken driving, some of these fellows have the temerity to appeal to a jury of twelve men, and at the trial a jury will retire after hearing the evidence and the court's charge and return a verdict that acquits the man under indictment.

Now it seems to me if something right at this point of our court procedure could be worked out to arrest or to reverse this tendency, that infinite good would be contributed to your safety campaign.

The records of our court here in my county courthouse will support the view I am now presenting to you.

Our whole court system, including the jury system, must be improved. What can we do?

Last year at the convention in Asheville, Chief Justice Barnhill and I requested your president to appoint a special committee from your organization to advise us as to how the state could improve our entire court system. The president granted our request and gave us a committee with the jawbreaking name of "The Committee on Improving and Expediting the Administration of Justice in North Carolina." The name of that committee is no bigger than its task, and I want publicly to thank your association for providing this help.

I would like now to state why we chose the North Carolina Bar Association as the agency which would best serve the purpose we had in mind. First, you are not a tax-supported or an official agency of the state; and therefore, in investigating a department of the state, you should not only be free from any political pressure in fact, but also free from any charges of political pressure. Second, and equally important in my mind, is that your association was chosen because it appeared that you represent an element of the legal profession which is awakening to your responsibility to the public. The citizens of this state through the press have observed your growing tendencies the past several years to bring the spotlight of truth on the deficiencies of your profession. We all believe in your sincerity and have confidence in your desire and ability to solve the problems which face you for the best interest of the public at large and not for selfish professional advantage. Third, it is your obligation as lawyers to find solutions to these problems of which you are an integral part.

I have been pleased indeed with the careful manner in which

the committee from your association has gone about its preliminary work of analyzing the task ahead. The committee chairman, Mr. Spencer Bell, informed me some time ago that to do the job as it should be done would require an answer to the following broad question: Is the system of courts we have in the state adequate; and if not, why not, and what should be done to make it so?

We realized at the outset that before a satisfactory answer to all the facets of this question could be expected, the true facts concerning our existing court system would have to be ascertained. Not only would we have to have the true facts, but we would also have to be able to convince the public that our facts had been carefully gathered and honestly reported. And, of course, gathering and reporting the facts can be only the first phase of the over-all task. Next must come a careful analysis of the facts and the formulation of recommendations based on the analysis. Finally, the recommendations must be implemented if we are to show any real results.

To gather the facts will take a great amount of field work and research by a competent staff. It is estimated that the field work and research will take at least one year. To analyze the facts will require not only the professional competence of your committee and other members of your association but also the advice and counsel of other professional groups, such as the Judicial Council, the General Statutes Commission, the State Bar Council, the Association of Clerks of the Superior Court, etc. To formulate proper recommendations will also require the help of all these groups as well as perhaps some interested and informed lay leaders of the state. It is estimated that the analysis and recommendation stage will take at least six months. The final stage of implementation which should be timed to secure action from the 1959 General Assembly will require the combined efforts of all previously mentioned groups, plus the interest and support of an informed public.

A project of this magnitude we knew would take not only a great amount of devoted work but also a substantial amount of money. Therefore, we began trying sometime ago to secure the funds necessary to do the job. I am happy to announce to you tonight that we have succeeded in securing from private

foundations—namely, the Richardson Foundation of North Carolina and New York, the O. Max Gardner Foundation of North Carolina, and the Martin Cannon Family Foundation of North Carolina—the sum of approximately $70,000 which will be made available to the association and in turn to the committee for the accomplishment of the task ahead. You and I, and for that matter the entire state, can be grateful for the generosity of these great foundations; and I take this opportunity to express publicly my deep appreciation to them.

As governor of the state, I am placing my confidence in your association and the members of your committee. I also believe that the best part of your membership will accept this challenge. I hope and believe that the result of the study your committee is undertaking will furnish the people of the state a guidebook for the improvement in the administration of justice in North Carolina at all levels, both in the immediate future and for the years to come. We must continue to talk about it, work at it, and keep it before the public. As head of the executive branch of your state government, I pledge you and your efforts along this line my continued cooperation. It is my sincere belief that this can be a great beginning of one of the most outstanding services ever rendered a state.

Thank you!

ADDRESS BEFORE THE ROTARY CLUB OF NEW YORK

June 21, 1956

[While on a six-day industry-hunting expedition to New York, Governor Hodges made several television appearances and this speech before the New York Rotary Club. His address before the Rotary Club was in the nature of a homecoming, since he had once served as president of this club while living in New York as an executive of the Marshall Field textile empire. Preceding his Rotary speech the Governor appeared on the nationally televised "Strike It Rich" program and by correctly answering four questions won $400 for a North Dakota farmer whom he represented by proxy. The farmer told the program that he needed the money to buy a milking machine.

The Governor's speech, which was delivered before a packed house of Rotarians, was made at the specific request of the New York Rotary Club, and his subject—segregation—was selected by the club. Although advance copies of the speech had been sent to all New York newspapers, press

associations, and other media, and although two representatives of the *New York Times* were present with copies in their hands while the Governor spoke, and came up and questioned him on several points following the speech, no account of the speech appeared in the *Times* or in any other New York newspaper. This was interpreted by the Governor and his friends as an indication that the New York press was not interested in a moderate, reasoned approach to the segregation problem but apparently was looking only for radical and inflammatory statements from Southerners. Some months later the editor of a newspaper in Orlando, Florida, heard about this episode and wrote an editorial sharply critical of the action of the *New York Times* in ignoring the speech. The matter was thus brought to the attention of the managing editor of the *Times,* who made an investigation and sent Governor Hodges a letter of explanation and apology.]

During the correspondence with Bill Walsh, program chairman, concerning what I should talk about today, I submitted three possible subjects which it seemed might be of some interest to this group. The subjects submitted were:

a. What did the Governor of North Carolina Say to the Governor of South Carolina or How to be the Governor of a Modern State
b. Educational, Economic, and Industrial Progress in the South, with Particular Reference to North Carolina
c. The Story of the School Segregation Situation and the Course Being Followed by the Supreme Court

Your chairman was asked to select the one he felt you as a group would prefer. He selected "c"—I suppose because he felt that as the governor of a Southern state, I would be able to bring you some first-hand information as to how we in the South are trying to meet the enormous problems resulting from the segregation decisions of the United States Supreme Court. And, of course, I do have such first-hand information, at least insofar as my own state, North Carolina, is concerned. Furthermore, a detailed review and explanation of our actions and plans, which include a special session of our General Assembly, to begin meeting on July 23 of this year, might be interesting and entertaining to an audience not very familiar with these matters.

However, a lengthy discussion here of what we in the South are faced with probably would have little effect on how you as individuals regard the situation and how you judge the rightness or wrongness of what we are doing.

I am confident that my friends and others in this section of the

country, in which the population percentage of the members of the Negro race is small, would for the most part be unable to comprehend or appreciate the feelings of people who live in areas where this percentage is large. I am also confident that, in the great majority of cases, if the population ratios of the two areas were reversed, your feelings on the matter would be substantially the same as ours. As Abraham Lincoln wisely observed in 1854, when referring to the Southern people, "They are just what we would be in their situation."

And so, this talk today will not be an attempt to justify the North Carolina attitude regarding racial difficulties, although I would like to tell you just a little of the situation in our state. Out of approximately 1,000,000 school children, we have a Negro enrollment of some 300,000, and we employ as many Negro school teachers as do the seven states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, California, and Indiana all put together. The percentage of Negro residents in the various counties of our state varies from 0.3 per cent in Mitchell County to 66.4 per cent in Warren County and the per cent of Negro children in Warren County is 72.9 per cent. This means to us that we must deal with the segregation problem on a local community approach. In the great majority of our counties it is doubtful that there will be any desire or attempt on the part of Negro parents to change the present school enrollment arrangement. That is one point that the propagandists have not let the country become aware of. Most of our Negro citizens join with white citizens in the pride that each of us has in the progress made by both races. We have five tax-supported colleges for Negroes, and they are outstanding institutions. We have, for the most part, good Negro schools, and they are improving all the time. The way the problem will be handled in our state will, on the basis of local conditions, vary from county to county, and to insure that this sort of handling will be permissible we have already placed all pupil assignment powers in local school boards. In the coming special session of the General Assembly, we propose to make available tuition grants to those children of either race who are assigned against their wishes to mixed schools, and to provide that any local community, faced with what it considers to be an intolerable situation, can close the schools in that community by popular vote. These actions we

consider to be absolutely necessary. We realize because we live with the problem, as the Supreme Court apparently does not realize, that social customs, traditions, and historical habits do not change with the decision of a court. These things cannot be hurried or forced, and changes must come about naturally or not at all.

Well, so much for North Carolina's situation and plans. I wish there were more time to explain these things in detail, but I honestly believe that it is more important to talk to you today about another aspect of the Supreme Court's segregation decision. This is the possible effect of this decision upon the basic structure of our federal government and what it can mean to Americans throughout our land—North, East, and West, as well as South.

When the Court in 1954 held that under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution a person could not because of race be barred from any school maintained by a state, it overturned the previously well-established interpretation of that same amendment made and repeated on many occasions by that same Court, to the effect that legally enforced separation on the ground of race did *not* violate the Fourteenth Amendment, so long as the separate facilities provided were substantially equal. I would like to repeat in part here what Judge John J. Parker, chief judge of the federal Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, had to say as to just what the Supreme Court had held in its 1954 decision. I have found that people generally have not understood the exact holding of the Court. Judge Parker said, and I quote:

> What it [the Court] has decided and all that it has decided is that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains. This, under the decision of the Supreme Court, the state may not do directly or indirectly; but, if the schools which it maintains are open to children of all races, no violation of the Constitution is involved even though the children of different races voluntarily attend different schools, as they attend different churches.
>
> Nothing in the Constitution or in the decision of the Supreme Court takes away from the people freedom to choose the schools they attend. The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination.

Even in view of Judge Parker's analysis of what the Court held, this reversal of the Court's original interpretation of the

Fourteenth Amendment by mere subsequent judicial decision, after a period of some sixty years' acquiescence and long practice by all the branches of the federal government, seems to me to be an *amendment* of the Constitution by the Court alone without regard for the requirements of the amending process *set out in the Constitution itself.* And, do you not agree that if the Court has in fact amended the Constitution, that it is as dangerous to the long-term protection of our fundamental freedoms as anything could possibly be?

You are probably saying to yourselves at this point something along these lines: True enough, the Supreme Court does not have power by itself to amend the Constitution; and true enough, an assumption by the Court of that power would probably be dangerous to our government; but the members of the Supreme Court are certainly aware of the amendment provisions of the United States Constitution and that Court is recognized as the final word on interpreting the Constitution of the United States; so, by what authority does this governor of one of the states, a man who is not even a lawyer, let alone a judge, say that the Supreme Court, by itself, amended rather than interpreted the Constitution in the 1954 segregation decision? Well a layman can have convictions as well as opinions and he can get what he thinks is honest advice.

This question requires an answer if my position is to be defended, and I shall try to answer it. Before doing so, however, let us either by concession or by reserving for discussion at some other time or place, dispose of several related points of possible disagreement, in order to narrow the issue at stake and prevent any misunderstanding as to what is sought to be shown.

First, it may be conceded that the Supreme Court, either by intent of the framers of the Constitution or by long-established practice, has the final authority to make necessary interpretations of the Constitution, and thereby, if required, hold an act of Congress or of a state legislature unconstitutional. An editorial appearing recently in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* and commenting critically on an article written by former Supreme Court Justice James F. Byrnes, takes the position that "if the Supreme Court had power in 1896 to say that 'separate but equal' satisfies the Fourteenth Amendment, it had power in 1954 to hold the contrary." Thus, the *Post* editorial writer would probably say that

I had begun my argument by conceding myself out of it. But, in my opinion, the *Post* editorial writer is mistaken. It simply does not follow, that because the Court has authority to make an initial interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment based on adequate evidence of the intent of the Congress and the people who adopted the Amendment, it also has authority to reverse that interpretation without any clear and convincing evidence that there was error in what had been found to be the intent of Congress and the people who adopted the Amendment. Especially is this true after long acquiescence in the initial interpretation by the Congress and the Court itself. On the contrary, "interpret" being, by law dictionary definition, a discovery of the true meaning of an expression, it seems that the application of a different, and under the circumstances a completely opposite, meaning to an expression, the meaning of which had already been interpreted would, without clear evidence that the original interpretation was an error at the time it was made, constitute an exercise of power quite different from that of mere interpretation. Therefore, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* notwithstanding (and I agree with most readers that the *Post* is a great newspaper), it may be conceded that the Supreme Court of the United States has final authority to interpret the Constitution, yet still insists that in the Brown case the Court assumed an entirely different authority; namely, that of amending the Constitution.

There is a further concession that can be made concerning interpretation which does not disturb the point sought to be presented here. It seems established beyond question that the Supreme Court has authority to reconsider an initial interpretation, and, when it appears that the initial interpretation was erroneous *at the time it was made* because it was not an accurate determination of what was intended by the framers of the document being considered, the Court may place a new and accurate interpretation upon the document. I am told that the case of *Erie R. R.* v. *Tompkins,* decided by the Supreme Court in 1937, which arose, by the way, in a federal court in this State of New York, provided an excellent example of the exercise of this power. In that case, the Supreme Court overruled a previous case of some ninety-five years' standing, which had permitted federal courts to reach

decisions on questions of general law without regard to the applicable decisions of the highest state courts in the same jurisdiction. The old rule meant that for almost 100 years there was a state common law and a federal common law, which were not necessarily the same in any given locality. In spite of this long-established doctrine, the Supreme Court in the Erie case, overruled the concept of two common laws and thereafter required federal courts to resort to state common law whenever applicable. But, in reversing its previous interpretation, the Court had before it irrefutable evidence, supplied by a highly competent legal scholar, which revealed that the original legal interpretation was not the true intent of the writers of the act in question and, therefore, it was clear that the initial interpretation was erroneous at the time it was made.

Although the Erie case overturned an entire body of law and had then, and is still having, I am told, enormous repercussions, there seems never to have been any question as to the Court's authority under the circumstances of that case to overturn what had previously been settled law. It may, therefore, be conceded that where an initial interpretation is shown to be erroneous, there may be a second interpretation overturning the first one. This does not mean, however, that overturning an initial interpretation solely on the grounds that the Court believes the law ought to be changed is merely a matter of interpretation. The latter action involves an entirely different power from the first. One is interpretation; the other is amendment. One is *stating* the law; the other is *making* the law. One is a *judicial* function; the other is a *legislative* function.

Finally, it may be conceded that due to the absolute necessity of maintaining order in our complicated society, the decisions of the United States Supreme Court are binding upon us until overruled or changed by orderly and constitutional means. At least, this point is beyond argument in North Carolina in view of an expression made by our State Supreme Court, in an opinion handed down a few weeks ago. Justice Bobbitt, speaking for a unanimous court, stated:

> Our deep conviction is that the interpretation now placed on the Fourteenth Amendment, in relation to the right of a state to determine whether children of different races are to be taught in the same or

> separate public schools, cannot be reconciled with the intent of the framers and ratifiers of the Fourteenth Amendment, the actions of the Congress of the United States and of state legislatures, or the long consistent judicial interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment. However that may be, the Constitution of the United States takes precedence over the Constitution of North Carolina. In the interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, the Supreme Court of the United States is the final arbiter. Its decision in the Brown case is the law of the land and will remain so unless reversed or altered by constitutional means. Recognizing fully that its decision is authoritative in this jurisdiction, any provision of the Constitution or statutes of North Carolina in conflict therewith must be deemed invalid.

I might add that even before this expression by our North Carolina State Supreme Court, the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education which I had appointed, in its report of April 5, 1956, stated, and I quote:

> The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, however much we dislike it, is the declared law and is binding upon us. We think that the decision was erroneous; that it was a reversal of established law upon an unprecedented base of psychology and sociology; that it would cause more harm within the United States than anything which has happened in fifty years. But we must in honesty recognize that, because the Supreme Court is the court of last resort in this country, what it has said must stand until there is a correcting constitutional amendment or until the Court corrects its own error. We must live and act now under the decision of that Court. We should not delude ourselves about that.

Thus, in North Carolina, there is no question as to the binding effect of the Court's decision, and this point is not a part of the issue considered today.

In addition to the points removed by concession, there are two areas of possible disagreement which can be removed by simply leaving their consideration to other occasions. First, the question of rights of states to control their internal affairs. This is not to imply that this area is unimportant; it is rather to exclude the matter from this discussion in the interest of time and clarity. The other has to do with the merits of the result reached in the Brown case. This is not to imply any belief that the result reached was a good one. In view of the fact that the power to amend the Constitution belongs to the Congress and the states, the danger to the basic division of power between the legislative, executive, and

The Governor and Mrs. Hodges with Jesse Jones boarding the M. S. Stockholm at Wilmington, November 17, 1955, for a cruise to Bermuda on which the North Carolina Automotive Wholesalers Association held its fall convention. Governor Hodges addressed the convention during the second day of the cruise.

Photo by Lawrence Wofford

Touring the old State Highway Building which was being renovated to house the new State Art Museum, December 2, 1955. *Left to right:* George Cherry, David S. Coltrane, Governor Hodges, Edwin Gill, and William B. Rodman.

judicial branches of government is equally as great, whether the result of a court amendment to the Constitution is good or bad. Let me read from a concurring opinion in a case which upheld a state "right to work" law. What I shall read was apparently written in answer to a contention that labor unions were not subject to such governmental restriction: I quote:

> Even the Government—the organ of the whole people—is restricted by the system of checks and balances established by our Constitution. The designers of that system distributed authority among the three branches "not to promote efficiency but to preclude the exercise of arbitrary power." [Double quote is from Justice Brandeis]. Their concern for individual members of society, for whose well-being government is instituted, gave urgency to the fear that concentrated power would become arbitrary. It is a fear that the history of such power, even when professedly employed for democratic purposes, has hardly rendered unfounded.

Those words were written in 1948 by Justice Felix Frankfurter in the report of the case of *American Federation of Labor* v. *American Sash Company* (335 U. S. 545).

Thus it appears that regardless of the merits of the Supreme Court's segregation decision, if it was and is a violation of the delicately balanced division of powers by way of a judicial amendment to the Constitution in disregard of the placing of the amending power in Congress and the states by the Constitution itself, then it is something that ought to cause great concern throughout our land.

The question under consideration has now narrowed to this: Does the Brown case constitute an amendment to the Constitution?

It is my sincere conviction that it does.

Earlier, I promised to answer the question of by what authority a non-lawyer governor of a state asserts that a decision by the United States Supreme Court is an amendment to the Constitution rather than an interpretation. One of the authorities for my position has been mentioned earlier in the discussion of why the power to interpret does not include the power to reverse an interpretation without evidence that the original interpretation was erroneous at the time it was made. I referred to the law

dictionary and its definition of the word "interpretation" as being a discovery of the intention of the framers of the document or expression being considered. If this is a correct definition, then it seems to follow that a new and different interpretation of the same part of a particular document, if it is to be nothing more than an interpretation, requires some showing that there was a mistake in the original process of discovering the intention of the framers. Thus, one of my authorities for saying that the Court in the Brown case went far beyond interpretation, consists of an accepted legal definition. Of course, I realize that since definitions are in the long run based on usage rather than on inherent inviolability, and that if the Brown case is an interpretation, the dictionary will just have to change its definition. But other authority is available.

Reference could be made to innumerable competent lawyers, attorneys general, and judges to support the assertion I have made. However, to me the most convincing authority of all is to be found in language contained in the case of *Myers* v. *United States,* decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1927. Before discussing this case, I should point out that there were three dissents from the Court's opinion; however, none was based on disagreement with the principle for which I cite the case. In fact, a subsequent unanimous opinion by the same members of the Court repeats the principle I use here (*Hampton v. United States,* 276 U. S. 412).

The Myers case involved the constitutionality of an act of Congress passed in the late 1800's, which required that postmasters be appointed by the President with Senate approval and that they could be removed from office only with Senate approval. In 1920, the Postmaster General, with sanction of the President, removed Myers, a postmaster, from office without Senate approval. Subsequently, Myers, and after Myers' death, his representative, sued the government for the amount of salary that had accrued, on the ground that the removal was not in conformity with the Congressional statute and therefore was illegal. One of the defenses raised by the government was that the Congressional act requiring Senate approval of the removal was an infringement on the executive power under the Constitution and therefore unconstitutional.

The opinion of the Court, which was written by Chief Justice William Howard Taft, held the act unconstitutional and denied the claim for salary. (The exact holding of the case has been subsequently limited to apply only to purely *executive officers.*)

In the course of the opinion, Chief Justice Taft pointed out that Congress in 1789 had debated the very question of whether a requirement of Senate approval of removal of executive officers would be an unconstitutional infringement on the executive power. The conclusion reached in that debate was that such a requirement would in fact be unconstitutional. Chief Justice Taft also noted that this interpretation of the Constitution was not questioned seriously until President Jackson embarked upon the spoils system with consequent wholesale removals. At that time, the Honorable Daniel Webster asserted that Congress could change its original interpretation of the Constitution and lawfully enact legislation requiring Senate approval of such removals. However, no such statute was enacted at that time. In holding the statute unconstitutional, Chief Justice Taft said:

> . . . we find that from 1789 until 1863, a period of seventy-four years, there was no act of Congress, no executive act, and no decision of this Court at variance with the declaration of the First Congress, but there was, as we have seen, clear, affirmative recognition of it by each branch of government.

The Chief Justice adds further on in the opinion:

> This Court has repeatedly laid down the principle that a contemporaneous legislative exposition of the Constitution when the founders of our Government and framers of our Constitution were actively participating in public affairs, acquiesced in for a long term of years, fixes the construction to be given its provisions.

(Allow me to remind you parenthetically that the Congress which submitted the Fourteenth Amendment set up segregated schools in the District of Columbia.)

Now, let me read you what Chief Justice Taft, speaking for the Court, had to say of Daniel Webster's argument that Congress could change its own construction of the Constitution. I quote:

> Nor can we concur in Mr. Webster's apparent view that when Congress, after full consideration and with the acquiescence and long practice of all branches of the government, has established the construction of the Constitution, it may by its mere subsequent legislation reverse such contruction. It is not given power by itself *thus to amend the Constitution (Italics added).*

Yes, I am aware that the Court here is speaking of what Congress can and cannot do and not of what the Court can or cannot do. But, *and this is important,* if a Congressional reversal of its own interpretation of the Constitution, after long acquiescence by the other branches of government, would amount to an amendment of the Constitution when Congressional interpretations are not binding on the Court in the first place, except by long acquiescence, is it not much more clearly an amendment when the Court, whose initial interpretations are binding, reverses a previous and long-acquiesced-in interpretation?

With all due respect for the opposing point of view, and I know it is as sincere as my own, it seems to be beyond a doubt that the holding of the Brown case is an amendment of the Constitution made by judicial decision and thus is an infringement on the power of Congress and in disregard of the plain language of the amending section of the Constitution itself.

Let me call your attention to a very few of the possibilities that exist in our government if the Supreme Court is to have power of re-interpretation which is so broad as to amount to the amending power. For one thing, it should be kept in mind that although the Brown case was a unanimous opinion, the opinion would be just as binding if it had been made by only five justices—enough to constitute a majority of the Court. It should also be remembered that Supreme Court Justices are, because of the stature and experience expected of men who hold such high office, almost always well past middle age when appointed. This means that due to retirement or death, there could be a complete change of membership of a majority of the Court in a very short time. What future members of the Court will believe to be a proper social order may be quite different from what the people or Congress as the people's representatives believes to be a proper social order. However, with lifetime appointments, there will be little the people can do about it if there happens to be, sometime in the future, five justices who feel like imposing their own ideas of social

order upon the nation. As Justice Frankfurter so ably reminded us in the quotation we cited, the fear of concentrated power becoming arbitrary power is one that history has hardly rendered unfounded. It is this fear that prompts my remarks today. It is this fear that makes me want to awaken as many people as possible to the potential danger of the precedent set in the Brown case.

Your freedom of speech now includes the right to criticize your government and its officials in any way you choose, short of slander or libel, in the absence of a clear and present danger to the country. Who is to say when there may be an ambitious President with a sympathetic Court of his appointees, who will decide that that interpretation of the Constitution is passé and under changed conditions that right no longer exists? Or what is to prevent five or more future members of the Court from re-interpreting your Constitution so as to permit deprivation of your right not to testify against yourself, or your right to worship as you please, or your right to information through a free press?

Maybe the people of this great land want their basic liberties in the unrestricted control of five men who are subject to no law other than their own conscience. Maybe a government organized along such lines is a desirable and workable thing. But whether it is or not the people ought to have an opportunity to choose what they want and not have it placed upon them in the guise of interpretation based on changed conditions.

What can be done to correct the situation? As I have said, we cannot defy the Supreme Court. Any change that is made must be made in an orderly and constitutional fashion. I, for one, intend to use every opportunity available to me to alert our people to what we are accepting if we acquiesce in, without objection, the procedure followed by the Court in reaching its decision in the Brown case. I hope if you agree with me you will do the same.

In conclusion let me repeat something I said in a speech here in New York last January. It was this: Eventually, if such a method of making decisions is followed, there will be a decision which conflicts with the customs and mores of other parts of the country as seriously as this one does with those of the South. Perhaps then the rest of the United States will realize the extent of the power which nine men assumed when they made their segregation decisions—and perhaps then it may be too late. Thank you.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LIONS CLUBS

MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA
June 29, 1956

[Though a Rotarian, Governor Hodges was one of the featured speakers at the 1956 annual convention of the International Association of Lions Clubs at Miami Beach. He had, however, been made an honorary Lion and, in anticipation of this meeting, had been given a golden Lion's hat by the Wilmington Lions Club at the time of his appearance before the Southeastern North Carolina Beach Association of the previous January 28. In addition to the speech here printed, the Governor also spoke on June 28 to more than 40,000 Lions, Lionesses, children, and guests assembled for a "North Carolina Night" extravaganza in the Orange Bowl. This spectacular event was in honor of John L. Stickley of Charlotte who was elected to the presidency of the Lions International at the Miami meeting.]

Good Morning, Fellow Lions, Lionesses and Guests.

Please note that I said "Fellow Lions" because I have the honor to be an honorary Lion with the Wilmington, North Carolina, Club. Actually, I have been a member of Rotary International since 1923, serving in many capacities and have witnessed the motivating spirit of service above self. "We serve" are the two words often used by your great organization to tell the story of the purpose of this international association, the thousands of individual clubs and the approximately one-half million active members. Service is a wonderful word because it reflects performance of good work for the benefit of others. Service is *free* and can be given by anyone—rich, poor, young, old, man, woman, or child. Where there is an understanding heart and a willing hand, service to others is a generous and human way to serve mankind and to serve God. Our Rotary motto is "Service above Self."

It was a great thrill to share in the North Carolina program last night at the Orange Bowl which recognized the fact that our fair state will soon have one of its outstanding citizens as your new international president. We are immensely proud of Jack Stickley of Charlotte, whose energy, service, initiative, ability, and warm personality have helped bring him this great honor. I have known Jack in business for many years. By elevating him

to the position of international president, you also honor his home state of North Carolina and I'd like to express the state's thanks for this. We also are tremendously proud of 332 clubs in North Carolina and the 14,000 individual members whose good works have been felt, recognized, and appreciated throughout our entire state. Your present secretary-general, Melvin Jones, founded our first Lions Club in 1922. Since Lionism came to North Carolina, it has grown at a terrific rate and its record of achievements has expanded with it. I have been especially impressed with the way in which Lions Clubs have been started in very small communities where civic clubs frequently are not found at all. Some of our most active Lions come from these very clubs. To me, this is a dramatic example of the "grass roots" appeal of Lionism.

Through the courtesy of your international officers, I have been asked to speak to you for a few minutes here this morning. As the governor of one of the very finest states, I would like to relate some of my experience in dealing with some of the modern problems facing a modern governor. I might explain that the problems which I want to discuss with you are like those facing the governors of your own respective states and to a large extent facing you who come from overseas. In this republic of ours, the several states still have great responsibilities in governmental services in the many areas affecting your life, family, occupation, education, welfare, health, highways—to mention only a few. We in North Carolina have been *most* happy to have representatives from many of your countries visit our state.

As an example of what I am talking about, let's look for a moment at highway safety. We as individual American citizens, without exception, face one of the greatest threats to our lives, our health, and our property in the increasing bloody toll of highways accidents, fatalities, and injuries. I shall not dwell on the grim statistics to point out that the national highway death toll this year is up 10 per cent over the same period last year. In North Carolina, for example, traffic fatalities are about the same compared with last year, but we are still killing about 1,000 persons a year. All of this is in the face of the most intensive law enforcement efforts, educational programs, nation-wide publicity, daily and hourly news bulletins, etc. In view of the rising tide of

death and injuries, the National Safety Council recently declared that a traffic accident emergency exists in the United States. This brought new headlines, new editorial comment, and tight-lipped nods of approval from motor vehicle commissioners, law enforcement officers, coroners, and emergency room surgeons across the nation. What is the answer? What is the cause? That should not be too difficult to answer and was well summarized sometime ago when an Episcopal minister said: "It is not that the automobile is an infernal machine. It is a wonderful machine, certainly within the province of God, and it has been one of our greatest boons. But it is a machine, and like all devices of human making, the good or evil it can perform depends upon the disposition of the person who uses it. In most traffic accidents, the guilty party is man, not machine; mind and not motor; reflex and not roadway. It was human error that killed and mained more than 30,000 men, women and children in one of America's largest cities in 1953."

Governors, as chief executive officers of the state, must face up to this problem and must do the best they can with the laws that are available and with the manpower that is available in trying to stem the tide. Several states have had outstanding successes recently. One was Connecticut where Governor Abraham Ribicoff started a crack-down last January on speeders who were running up the fatality list. He issued orders that anyone convicted of a first offense of speeding was to lose his driver's license for thirty days. Second offenders were to lose their driver's privileges for sixty days. Judges in traffic courts were warned to be harsh with speeders. What has happened? Since January, around 4,500 drivers have seen their licenses suspended. Since January, highway deaths in Connecticut have dropped by *eleven* per cent. "We have found," said Governor Ribicoff, "that people won't slow down to save *lives,* but they will slow down to save their *licenses.*" What a strange paradox in a land where human life is held in high regard and there is great emphasis on the right of each American for life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness that we still seem to regard death or injury by motor vehicle accident as routine and humdrum news items. How can we make it clear that statistics on deaths and injuries are more than just figures on a printed or typed page? They actually represent human beings who have been

crushed, mangled, and killed as a result of someone's carelessness or recklessness on our public highways or streets.

There are many answers to this conundrum. All of them, however, go back to you and me—the individual motorist, pedestrian, or average citizen. Unless we as individuals are willing to make *whatever personal sacrifice it takes to understand* and to obey our motor vehicle laws and the laws of common courtesy and survival on the highways, we may as well expect the bloodshed to continue. Safety, whether on the highway, in the home, or at the factory, is basically an individual proposition. Each one of us can render a great service by influencing those closest and dearest to us with the vital necessity of safe driving habits, better driver education, and a better understanding of why safety is necessary in the motorized age in which we live.

Lions can make a great contribution in this fight against highway deaths and accidents. Recently the Hamlet, North Carolina, Lions Club sent me a resolution which the club adopted mourning the death of three citizens of its community resulting from drunken drivers. When such unnecessary and tragic deaths strike those we know and love, it drives home what is actually happening in every state across our fair land. In transmitting the resolution to me, the club president wrote: "May God grant that more people will be moved to action against drunken killers on our highways." To this I add my fervent "Amen."

Let's look at another problem facing a governor—the future of higher education. Public education itself is a tremendous and overwhelming problem facing each state and each community. This problem is pretty well recognized by most people, but there is a great lack of understanding about the seriousness of the educational problem in our institutions of higher learning. The State of North Carolina will spend this year for the academic operations and special services of our public institutions of higher learning approximately $20,500,000 from tax-derived funds. When we add the amounts from tuition fees and other receipts, the total expenditures for state-supported higher education will be roughly $40,000,000 for this year. Now place with this figure an estimated $20,000,000 to be spent by private and municipally supported colleges and universities and the total expenditures for higher education, public and private, in North Carolina this year

approximates some $60,000,000. Yet, in the face of this enormous expenditure, North Carolina—*like most states*—is faced with an ever-increasing flood of students and an ever-increasing budget to handle these students and their needs. So it is that throughout the United States there is a general re-appraisal underway in most states on the question of higher education. Many questions are being asked, such as: Have we, during the past quarter century, tinkered with the curriculum, diluted it, and played up excessively to pampering trends and experiments? Have we yielded to the temptations to make things easy for students? Have we mistaken "going to school" or "going to college" for *getting an education?* Is schooling simply becoming the socially acceptable thing to do and a means of piling up an assortment of credits which, by definition rather than by test, place the holders in preferred classification? Have we not made the more fundamental mistake of permitting pupils and students and parents and society generally to assume that the responsibility for the *learning process* rests exclusively upon the teacher and professor, while the role of the *learner* has been played down? Is the educational system of this nation, at all levels, honeycombed with vested interest competing with jurisdiction, for funds for prestige?

Challenging questions—all of these! Questions which must be answered if we are going to bring a reasonable solution to higher education and its needs. Honest self-appraisal and ruthless self-criticism may reveal that we are all at fault, our homes and parents, our teachers, our public schools, our professors, our colleges and universities. We may find that parents send their boys and girls to college without really knowing why or without really understanding what they are supposed to accomplish there. Regardless of the causes, it is a fact that we as a nation are lacking in many great fields of human endeavor at a time when America's leadership demands the best from the greatest number of our young people. In a world where understanding is imperative, we fall far short of our use of language of other nations. In a dynamic economy of technology and scientific discovery, we are lacking in the potential and intellectual capital investment to sustain and to develop this in our society. We in North Carolina are gravely concerned over this lack of technically trained people who can man our industries, our research laboratories, and the multitude

of technological installations in our state and across the nation. We are making a determined effort to do something about this shortage within the limits of our own capabilities and training facilities. The challenge of higher education today is to produce educated and trained young men and women with the knowledge, the skills, and the understanding of our basic principles of life which are so necessary for their future leadership. Above all, we must never forget that America is a land in which education and opportunity can kindle an individual's creative genius. From this genius can come great good and great discoveries and great thoughts for the benefit of all mankind. Are you Lions in tune with this growing problem?

There is another basic area of human activity which is centered primarily on the state level and involves our courts and our juries. I hasten to add that I am not a lawyer, but as a layman and one who is now in government, I am deeply interested in our entire judicial system. When I assumed the office of governor in 1954, there was a great deal of interest being expressed throughout the state in a judicial redistricting bill. The purpose of this bill was to expand and enlarge the judicial districts of the Superior Court of North Carolina. After considerable study and consideration, I found that there was a great need for this redistricting and the naming and instituting of new judges and courts. It was a sad fact that crowded dockets and over-worked judges had caused many people to lose their respect for the courts as institutions capable of rendering swift and expensive justice to every citizen. Other critics of our courts argued that additional judges would not solve the problem. They said one reason why the cases were piled up and not tried was that the lawyers did not want to try them. They said further that the judicial manpower of the state would be adequate if its time were not wasted by technicalities and dilatory tactics deliberately engaged in by the lawyers and condoned by the judges under a system which places a premium on indulging such tactics under the guidance of professional courtesy. This was only some of the criticism which I heard.

It was my pleasure to support the necessary corrective legislation which was enacted into law by our 1955 General Assembly. Extra judges were appointed and great improvements have been made. More court days were actually utilized in the disposition

of judicial matters, and the whole trend of justice in North Carolina is on the rise. Old cases were cleared off the dockets—some more than twenty-five years old. How is the situation in your state?

There is still much to be done, including better and firmer treatment of motor vehicle law violators. One of the most serious aspects of our judicial problem involves the individual citizen who is serving on the jury. Recently I had a very informative letter from a respected and veteran clerk of the Superior Court who wrote me on the topic of jurors. Here is part of what he said: "Men in my county get almost helplessly drunk, arrested by the State Highway Patrol, or other officers of the law, and are incarcerated in jail over-night. Then in the teeth of such strong evidence on the part of the state's charge of drunken driving, some of these fellows have the temerity to appeal to a jury of twelve men, and at the trial a jury will retire after hearing the evidence and the court's charge and return a verdict that acquits the man under indictment." This is a shocking situation which is found not only in North Carolina but in traffic courts and lower courts throughout the nation. What does it mean? To me, it means a complete failure on the part of the individual citizen involved in either understanding or carrying out his duty as a citizen. This is another great area of service which you as community leaders should support vigorously. It is a fact that our courts will never be any stronger than the jurors which must bring in the verdict after having heard all the facts in the case. As a Lion, do you welcome or shirk jury duty?

And these are only three of the major problems facing a modern governor today. How does your governor in your state or your province fare in these problems, and how much support does he have from you and from the people of your state and section? After all, your governor, is your public servant carrying out the responsibilities laid down for him in your state constitution and in the statutes enacted by your legislative bodies. It is a tremendous job, demanding on one almost beyond comprehension, and requiring the help and the understanding of the thinking people of each state.

As the governor of a Southern state, I have learned anew the need for better understanding of the South's point of view on

many of its problems. At the recent Southern Governors' Conference at Point Clear, Alabama, I tried to point out at a press conference that it is essential that the South have its point of view explained to the nation. I was speaking of an over-all view point—social, economic, historical, and political. At the moment, the greatest misconception and misunderstanding about the South revolves around the question of segregation in our public schools. As you know, all this happened suddenly and dramatically in May of 1954 with the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, followed by the implementation decree of May, 1955. I shall not attempt to deal with such a complicated and difficult problem which has followed these United States Supreme Court decisions. It should be remembered that if and when social conditions require a change, the change will take place in a much better fashion if the people are not made the object of forceful pressure from groups they resent. A court cannot suddenly alter the ways of thinking on the part of several million people. Persuasion and example are the forces which are best to do that. It will take the best that each of us has to solve the problems which face our nation and the various states and countries here represented. It will certainly take an unselfish spirit of service and one of courage to accomplish great things. As men and women of ability and outstanding reputation, I am sure that you will do your part in your own way to help build a better state, a better nation, and a better country in which to live, work and play under the guidance of God, who has been so good to all of us. There is absolutely nothing comparable to the organized efforts of public-minded, unselfish citizens who are bent upon constructive measures for the good of their own people. You in Lions International, from all over the world, can make a lasting contribution to your communities and your nations.

Thank you for this opportunity to be with you today and I appreciate deeply the honor and privilege of talking to you this morning. My very best wishes to each of you. Thank you.

SECONDING SPEECH FOR GOVERNOR ADLAI STEVENSON AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

August 16, 1956

[It was recalled that a North Carolina delegate had seconded the nomination of Adlai Stevenson's grandfather as the Democratic candidate for Vice-President at the Chicago Convention in 1892. Loyal Stevenson supporters saw in this speech by Governor Hodges at the 1956 Convention a case of history repeating itself and hoped for another repetition in November of that year. This hope materialized in North Carolina, which went for Stevenson, but not in the nation as a whole, where the ticket headed by the grandson was less successful in November, 1956, than had been the ticket upon which the grandfather appeared in November, 1892.]

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates:

I take great pleasure in rising here as representative of the Democrats of North Carolina to second the nomination of that great American, Adlai Stevenson, for President of the United States.

Sixty-four years ago North Carolina seconded the nomination of the first Adlai Stevenson for Vice-President. My state is proud of the fact that this man's ancestral roots are deep in its soil.

Through the goodness of Providence, a troubled people seeking a leader to meet a crisis in their affairs often find one ready and willing to dedicate great talents of mind and heart to their service. I am profoundly grateful that such a man is available to our party and our country at this hour.

At a time when we are deeply concerned over the determined conspiracy of selfish interests to waste the gains made on the domestic front under past Democratic administrations, we need a standard-bearer who can effectively confront this danger. Adlai Stevenson has proved he has the courage and the skill that we need.

He has measured up nobly to the high expectations of the people as Governor of Illinois, which office he filled with great distinction. I shall not dwell on his proven capacity for administration of public affairs. His record speaks eloquently in praise of his great ability. In this brief talk I prefer to emphasize those basic qualities of mind and spirit which commend this man to

the confidence of all men, because we are alarmed over what is happening to our influence in the world.

He has warmth and vigor, good judgment and vision. This he has proved in every testing. His wide outlook will bring a much needed element into our foreign relationships. This man who sees people not as groups, but as human beings of physical and spiritual desires and needs, can convey to the world understanding of the soul of this nation at a time when mankind is hungry for confidence and courage.

The scarlet letter of the dollar mark is being stamped on our foreign relations through fumbling Republican policy. If we are to reverse the trend as our prestige goes down under this policy; if we are to win the hearts and minds of men everywhere; if we are to measure up to the challenge of responsibility for world leadership which we cannot evade, we must show the world the true soul and spirit of America. With Adlai Stevenson in the White House, we can make manifest that soul and spirit and regain lost ground.

This is the man to sound at home and abroad a new "Call to Greatness."

The Spirit of '76 was born to meet our people's problems of oppression. Today we must help all peoples to meet their problems. We need a *new* spirit—and the leadership of a man who can make that spirit a reality. For this key position in our nation and in the world, I propose Adlai Stevenson, the Spirit of '56.

ADDRESS AT THE SIXTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA FIREMEN'S ASSOCIATION

RALEIGH
August 21, 1956

[The history of fire fighting and the need for fire prevention were the main subjects of this address made before the 1956 annual convention of the North Carolina Firemen's Association meeting at the Sir Walter Hotel. The portion dealing with the segregation problem embodied the substance of a number of speeches which the Governor made about this time in support of the Pearsall plan which was to be submitted to the voters of the state on September 8, 1956.]

Thank you for this opportunity to share in your sixty-ninth annual program here. I recall with great pleasure my previous visit at one of your meetings—in Durham. It is my pleasant task as governor to speak before many associations and groups across North Carolina and I welcome such opportunities because I have a chance to meet and talk with citizens in every walk of life. Often I am able to pick up new ideas and suggestions concerning our state and its problems, as well as get new slants on old problems. As fire-fighters, you have present one of the most important groups of people in our state and deal each day with the threat of one of our most elemental forces—fire. You have a reputation for faithfulness to duty and skill and courage in meeting the threat of fire from whatever source or from whatever location.

However, one fire chief, proposing a toast to the ladies at a banquet, admitted one shortcoming of firemen everywhere. His toast: "To the ladies! Their eyes kindle the only flame which we cannot extinguish, and against which there is no insurance."

More seriously, fire is one of man's greatest blessings and greatest scourges. Fire has been called an added starter, the fifth horseman, in the grim handicap made up of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse—famine, pestilence, war, and death. In the last decade fire has qualified for this dubious distinction with its toll of more than 60,000 dead and hundreds of thousands burned or disfigured. Fire is costing the American public more than $750,000,000 yearly, and last year in North Carolina fire from unknown causes resulted in property loss of more than $3,000,000, while fires from known causes exceeded $3,200,000.

I might point out that fire fighting has been one of our greatest community responsibilities since the earliest days of our colony and our state. The danger of fire was always present in the towns of ante-bellum North Carolina, for most of the buildings were wooden structures and the water supply was often inadequate to meet the emergency of a conflagration. Every town in the state at one time or another suffered great loss by fire, and some of the larger towns, such as Wilmington, Fayetteville, and Raleigh, several times were burned almost to the ground. (Our own State Capitol and the famous Governor Tryon Palace were among the more prominent of our North Carolina fires.)

Fire companies came into general use in the 1830's. Before that time, fire fighting engaged all residents. Edenton required each householder to have his own ladder kept against the house, and New Bern required not only a ladder but two leather buckets. As early as 1745 Wilmington obtained a law authorizing a tax levy for the purchase of a fire engine, but it was not until 1755 that the town bought a "water engine." Other towns, notably New Bern and Edenton, also obtained laws looking toward the purchase of fire engines, but the nineteenth century opened without adequate fire protection for most towns in the state.

In 1806 the General Assembly passed the first law authorizing the formation of "fire engine companies," giving Wilmington and New Bern authority to exempt members of their fire companies from militia duty. In 1820 the Assembly renewed this privilege in behalf of Wilmington and New Bern and extended the benefit to Fayetteville and Tarboro. Five years later the Assembly repealed the act because fire companies had "served as a screen for those wishing to escape military duty." By 1830 the Fayetteville *Observer* was earnestly calling for the re-organization of the fire companies. Since the abandonment of the Fayetteville company in 1825, insurance premiums had risen so high as to be almost prohibitive.

In the meantime other towns were proceeding slowly to protect themselves against fire. Usually they did not feel the necessity of providing against the danger of a fire until one had actually occurred. After two attempts had been made to set fire to Plymouth in 1808, a patrol was formed by the inhabitants which walked the streets and cried out every hour of the night. In

Edenton a large property owner bought a fire engine of his own and on one occasion saved the town from destruction.

In other towns the commissions were usually contented with passing an ordinance that the citizens provide themselves with ladders and buckets. In 1820 a correspondent of the Hillsborough *Recorder* pointed out in alarm that winter was approaching without any provisions having been made to guard against fire. "We have not an engine, fire-hook, or pump," he said. "If a central building should take fire and make headway, before discovered, what human effort, under our present circumstances, would prevent the entire destruction of the most valuable part of our town?" He suggested the organization of a fire company which he thought could be trained for service in a month if the members practiced every Saturday night.

By the 1840's most of the large towns of the state were boasting of "the city fire department." In 1848 Fayetteville had two engine companies and a hook and ladder company, all made up of slaves, twenty-five for each engine and ten for the hook and ladder. Each slave wore a glazed cap with the number of the engine to which he belonged conspiciously marked on the front. About this time Wilmington's fire engines were also operated by slaves, and on the occasion of a fire appreciative citizens frequently plied them generously with grog.

So we in North Carolina have learned from bitter experience that fire is a killer and fire is a thief. It is a fact that more Americans have lost their lives in fires since 1900 than in all the wars ever fought by the United States. Fire is the greatest thief this country has ever known, and last year fire stole almost $1,000,000,000 worth of our nation's wealth. Fire is also a killer of small children, and it is a shocking fact that more than 2,500 children were burned to death in this country last year.

In North Carolina today we have nearly 300 fire departments in operation serviced by some 9,500 men who stand between us and destruction and loss by fire. Experience has taught us that *prevention* is the key to safety and security from fire. Fire-prevention is a difficult job because it requires common sense and individual responsibility of everyone. Actually, the same causes of fire existed a generation ago as they do today—careless smoking, defective wiring and heating installations, spontaneous combustion, etc. While many of the causes are the same, firemen today

are called upon to combat flames from new materials, new locations, and under circumstances unknown in the early days of our state and nation. Professional firefighters are trained technicians and engineers and must deal with prevention and fighting fires wherever they may be—on the farm, in the home, factory, or in our woodlands.

With a growing population and more urban development, we have a growing requirement for more fire departments, bigger and better equipment, better trained personnel, and adequate budgets to meet current requirements and needs. I understand that some of our fire leaders believe that North Carolina is behind other states in proper training for its firemen. I also understand that our only source of state-wide training today is a North Carolina Fire College and Drill School which meets for a week once a year in Charlotte under the sponsorship of your association. This is a matter to be given serious consideration and perhaps would call for the establishment of a training program in one or more of our colleges, such as State College, where the knowledge of engineering requirements could be properly utilized.

In the matter of fire prevention, I know that all of you realize the necessity of seeking the widest possible public support of your local programs. Many of our civic organizations, such as the Chambers of Commerce, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Optimists, and others have rendered great service. Help them keep up the good work and seek the cooperation of our public schools and others in spreading the word of fire prevention. Like highway safety, fire prevention depends largely upon an awareness on the part of the individual of his responsibility in preventing fires and in living and working safely.

I believe that Commissioner Charles Gold of the State Insurance Department has spoken to you on a plan developed in Illinois to give "big city" protection to a large rural area. This is a plan whereby a well-organized fire protection district, with route planning system and modern equipment, has succeeded in preventing the heavy losses that often follow outbreak of a farm blaze. In a great agricultural state such as ours, with such a large proportion of our population living in the country, we need to encourage intelligent planning and cooperative effort to prevent fires in these (rural) areas. It makes sense, and it also cuts property insurance rates substantially. I would like to mention our forest

fires and their destruction. I particularly refer to incendiary fires and the low fines imposed by our courts. We must discourage fires of this character by more convictions and greater punishment.

There is another aspect of your work which needs mentioning. This involves rescue service which is provided by a few municipal fire departments. More departments need to add this voluntary rescue service to help in times of disaster and emergency. This is an extremely worthwhile program and needs additional promotion throughout the state. The rescue squads now in action have saved lives, rescued lost children and rendered invaluable service of which we are all very proud.

I have talked a great deal this morning about fire fighting and fire prevention because it's an important phase of our life and it is important to North Carolina. If time permitted, I could talk to you at some length about other vital matters which affect the lives of all of us—involving schools, roads, health, taxes, conservation of resources, juvenile delinquency, etc. However, I should like to select the most pressing immediate problem facing North Carolina.

I refer, of course, to the segregation problem in our public schools. Your state officials, including members of the General Assembly, as well as the Advisory Committee on Education, your governor, attorney general, and superintendent of public instruction have had the problem under constant consideration for some two years now. We have, all working together, formulated an over-all program for dealing with the problem which relies principally upon, first, voluntary separate school attendance and second, the individual Pupil Assignment Act passed by the 1955 General Assembly and amended by the Special Session of July 1956.

The question of making available two additional tools which have been recommended by all of the officials previously mentioned will be placed before the people of North Carolina in the election on September 8. These tools are tuition grants and local option. We look upon these two possibilities as safety valves to be available for use only in the event that the voluntary plan and assignment statute do not sufficiently handle the matter to insure cointinued public support of our public schools. You and your fellow citizens will vote on September 8 upon the question of whether or not we shall have those tools available. I feel that we owe it to the people to give them this protection.

If you vote for the public school amendment, you will be voting to allow the General Assembly to make these tools available *for your use.* Mind you, you will not be voting to actually *use* the tuition grant or local option, but merely to permit the General Assembly to make them available for your use in case you do, at some point in the future, want to use them.

Time does not permit us to go into all the details of the legislation which will effectuate the tuition grant and local option proposal; however, I would like to mention a few major points to be kept in mind as you consider how you will vote on Saturday, September 8.

1. These proposals are completely permissive in nature. They do not, in and of themselves, do anything. The Pearsall plan does not put one single child out of school, nor does it close any school. In fact, it does not of itself even put the question of whether or not a school shall be closed. It rather places these matters completely in the hands of the people of local communities. If the people do not want to use these tools, there is no compulsion in the Pearsall plan that they do so.

2. If the courses of action provided by the Pearsall plan are not necessary to North Carolina, and some people have insisted that they are not necessary, then they will not be used. The whole idea is simply to make them available if they should become necessary.

3. In voting to give yourselves the right of suspension of a school in your community under intolerable conditions, it should be remembered that you are also voting to make that privilege exclusive to your local community. In other words, your community makes the decision and nobody else from any other county or district will be able to close your schools.

The duty of the state and the General Assembly to provide public schools remains the same as presently provided in the constitution. The adoption of the amendment will not change this duty at all, so far as the state is concerned. The only difference is that although the state, through the General Assembly, must continue to offer every community its public schools, the community will be able, through a majority vote of its citizens, to suspend or re-open its schools as local conditions may require. The General Assembly must continue to make public schools available to the whole state. Remember this: adoption of the

amendment on September 8 will not change the duty *of the state* to continue providing public schools. I hope you firemen and others who make contacts and who have influence in your communities all over North Carolina will urge the people to go out and vote on Saturday, September 8.

It is the considered judgment of all of us, who have had to live with this problem these many months, that the continued successful operation of our public schools requires that the public school amendment upon which you will vote on September 8 be adopted. I hope this will be done with an overwhelming majority.

Thank you for your kind attention and for your invitation to be with you, and I hope that your convention here proves to be most successful.

WELCOME ADDRESS BEFORE THE WORLD METHODIST COUNCIL

LAKE JUNALUSKA
September 1, 1956

[Governor Hodges was appearing before an assemblage of members of his own denomination when he addressed this opening session of the ninth World Methodist Council which met for a twelve-day conference at Lake Junaluska in September, 1956.]

It is a privilege for me to have a part in the opening program of this great World Methodist Conference. I know each of you appreciated the words of welcome extended to you by a representative of the President of the United States of America. It is my pleasant duty to extend to you warm words of welcome also from the people of the State of North Carolina. We are honored and happy to have this World Conference meeting on the beautiful conference grounds here at Lake Junaluska in Haywood County. You come from many states and many lands. You are most welcome in North Carolina. You have come to an ideal place for rest, relaxation, and meditation. Haywood County has been described as a little mountain principality with treasures well worth guarding. To the north, the county line is the crest of the Great Smokies. To the west, it is the Balsam Divide; on the south, the Pisgah Ledge; and on the east, the Newfounds. As for western North Carolina, it holds magnificent mountain scenery and is

noted throughout eastern America as a vacation land which is unsurpassed. The rugged beauty of our mountains reminds me constantly of the opening line of Psalm 121: "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help." The majesty and glory of God's handiwork is certainly manifested in these hills and valleys.

I greet you also as a fellow Methodist whose membership and activities in our church have been the anchor in my busy life. Here in America our Christian heritage and our democratic institutions were brought to us by humble, hard-working, liberty-loving, and God-fearing men and women. Without hesitation, they turned to the Bible for guidance and from it learned what their duties were and what their rights were. It has been pointed out so clearly that these pioneers were not seeking gold, but God. These were the men and women who came to North Carolina and the other early colonies. To them we owe a great debt for the civilization which we now cherish.

As governor and public servant, I would like to remind you of the important relationship between Christianity, citizenship, and service to others. Christian growth comes to its crux in the matter of service. Service is both the result and the food of faith; by it our faith is tested and through it faith grows. We demonstrate our belief in Christian principles by losing ourselves in service to others. A famous English minister, while serving as a chaplain on the Western Front in the first World War, wrote a letter to his wife giving instructions for the education and training of their little son, in case the minister did not return from the war. He concluded his letter by saying, "Teach him that a gentleman must give, not get; must serve and not be served."

Through citizenship we meet our responsibilities as members of a state and a nation. Christianity has recognized the duty of Christians to submit to the rightful responsibilities of citizenship and has taught cooperation among its people for the common good. It is a clear fact that the proper functioning of the democratic state depends upon the responsible citizenship of its individual members.

It has been our experience in North Carolina and in America that it is through the family and the home that our culture, our religious convictions, and the fundamentals of citizenship are passed along to our children. Mark Twain once said that "A little

of citizenship ought to be taught at the mother's knee and in the nursery. Citizenship is what makes the republic; monarchies can get along without it. What keeps the republic on its legs is good citizenship." In the family are cradled the cardinal virtues that enable good families to add up to a great nation—standards of conduct, respect for the rights and property of others, loyalty, health, tolerance, cooperation, self-reliance, good breeding, a sense of the fitness of things, humility, and, above all—the guiding, unwavering principles of Christianity. We in America feel that our way of life must be based upon Christian homes where the interest of man, woman, and child receive equal consideration. Actually, we believe that the successful maintenance of a family is one of the greatest acts of good citizenship in itself. Just as democracy starts in the home as an obligation, it ends there as a reward. So to the degree that all other duties of citizenship have been fulfilled, your home will be your castle, secure from the threat of confiscation, and those in it safe from the threats of tyranny and fear.

Another great contribution to be made by the individual, regardless of where you may live, involves the contribution of individual character. All our learning and science, our culture and art, would be of little use unless they are supported by our character. It has been said that unless there be honor, truth, and justice, unless our material resources are supported by moral and spiritual resources, there is no foundation for progress. In other words, my friends, there is no substitute for morality, character, and religious convictions.

As fellow human beings striving to survive in a complex and troubled world, one of our greatest needs is wisdom—the wisdom that comes from close relationship with God. We have made incredible progress in unveiling nature's secrets. We have made the earth yield more abundantly than ever before in human history. We have pushed back the frontiers of disease, witnessed the lengthening of human life span, and unlocked the door of the atom, resulting in an unbelievable source of power not only to destroy, but to build. Yet in spite of all this progress, our world suffers from fear, tension, and insecurity. Apparently we have conquered in large measure the material universe for the purpose of serving our material comfort, yet we have failed to conquer ourselves.

Arnold J. Toynbee, from a high peak overlooking the world's history, reports signs that man is learning the great secret: "Humility before his Maker." Toynbee says he is hopeful because, "We are a good deal humbler than our grandfathers. We have been shaken up, and perhaps freed of some of the pride and complacency that ensnares peoples and nations." This great historian recommends that we place "ourselves in communion with God, in harmony with the nature of things, instead of hurling ourselves up against it."

May this conference lead us all to better understanding of our responsibilities as human beings, one to another, group to group, state to state, and nation to nation. Peace, sought by all of us of every nation, can be found in the hearts of men. Great things can and will result from great religious conferences such as this. We have here a common meeting ground. Thank you again for visiting in North Carolina and may I wish you Godspeed as you return to your own home and community, wherever it may be.

ADDRESS IN BEHALF OF SPECIAL SESSION SCHOOL AMENDMENT OVER STATE-WIDE TELEVISION AND RADIO NETWORK

September 7, 1956

[Originating in Raleigh and carried over a state-wide radio and television network, this speech climaxed a campaign in which the Governor and more than 200 other speakers had urged the ratification of a constitutional amendment passed by the 1956 Special Session of the General Assembly and embodying the so-called Pearsall plan for dealing with the school segregation problem. Three other amendments were also to be voted on at this time, since this was "the next general election" after these had been passed by the 1955 General Assembly. The "Regular Session" amendments were (1) to increase the legislators' pay from 90 to 120 days and to allow certain travel and living expenses, (2) to change the date of the opening of the General Assembly from January to February, and (3) to allow a married woman to exercise a power of attorney conferred by her husband. All four amendments were ratified by substantial majorities.]

Good Evening, Fellow North Carolinians!

I would like to talk to you tonight about a most important issue in which you and your children are vitally interested. I refer to the public school amendment upon which you, the people of

North Carolina, will vote tomorrow. No more serious issue has faced North Carolina in several generations, and it is *up to you,* as individuals, to help make it possible for your state to get through this period of grave crisis. I hope that each of you will listen carefully tonight and will *tomorrow* express your convictions by going to the polls and voting.

When you go to the polls tomorrow, the ballot you will be given will have on it four proposed amendments to our state constitution. First on the ballot will be the Special Session School Amendment, which I want to discuss with you tonight. Then, there will also be three other amendments under the heading, "Regular Session Amendments." Each voter will be expected to mark his ballot either *For* or *Against* each of the proposed amendments. Of course, a voter may vote *For* some amendments and *Against* others, as he sees fit. I believe that all the amendments are good and I plan to vote *For* all of them.

Time graciously contributed by this radio station as a public service does not permit me to discuss all of these amendments tonight, and my primary purpose is to discuss with you the Special Session School Amendment to be voted on tomorrow.

This amendment is designed to make effective legislation passed by the General Assembly in its recent special session, which will authorize education expense grants for the private education of children assigned to mixed schools against the wishes of their parents and will provide a system whereby local communities, if they ever are faced with what is considered by them to be an intolerable situation, can by majority vote, close the public schools in the affected communities. These are things which I have promised to the people of North Carolina for their protection.

As you know, the Supreme Court of the United States held in 1954 that no child could be barred from a public school solely on the ground of race. This decision has created a serious crisis in our public schools, which have operated on a segregated basis for more than a half century, and it is absolutely essential that constructive action be taken to save them.

The *adoption* tomorrow of the public school amendment permits the continued use of our basic tools to meet the segregation problem. These tools are: First, voluntary separate school attendance, which the Pearsall Committee and I believe will furnish the substantial answer to the problem. Second, we will continue

to use, in a lawful and constitutional manner, the Pupil Assignment Act which was passed by the 1955 General Assembly in regular session and which is very helpful. The tuition grant and local option proposals covered in the amendment are designed solely as *safety valves* in the event of failure of the other tools to provide conditions which will assure continued support of our schools. Both the tuition grant and local option are reserve tools, and it is to be hoped that they will never have to be used. However, it has been the thinking of the Advisory Committee, the General Assembly, and all of us who have had to live constantly with this problem that we must have these other tools in order that our schools *may continue to receive the public support* which they now have. Your vote tomorrow *For* the Special Session School Amendment will insure the availability of expense grants and local option and thereby help secure the continued necessary support for our schools. It is essential that we take action, for to do nothing could be fatal.

As said in the Advisory Committee's report to me, April 5 of this year, "The saving of our public schools requires action *now*. To do nothing would, we believe, destroy our public schools. Those who would insure the preservation of the public schools are those who would act. The United States Supreme Court has dealt our schools a near fatal blow, and it now requires positive action to save them."

Events of the last few days including riots and near violence in Texas and Tennessee are very disturbing and we hope such things are not repeated here. I have been asked in the last few days if I thought these other states which are having difficulty would have been in a better position if they had the protection or guarantees such as are offered in the Pearsall plan. My answer is "yes."

The trouble in these states (and it could happen in North Carolina) is that they don't have legislation or safety valves which protect them against forced mixing of the races. Under such conditions people are inclined to take things into their own hands disregarding law and order. We don't want that to happen here!

Our plan offers the people a legal and orderly method of handling a problem which may arise when the school is subject to a court order requiring it to mix races. Let us hope that our voluntary plan of separate school attendance and our pupil assignment

law and the traditional good relationships between our races in North Carolina take care of us. But to be sure we don't have trouble, we *must* take further action by having *available* the "safety valves" of school attendance grants and local option such as are provided by our constitutional amendment.

I repeat—we need this action now. There are those who prefer we take no action because they are honestly afraid one or more public schools might be closed and therefore feel they should vote *against* the amendment. I have sympathy for their point of view and don't doubt their sincerity, but I want to assure them, also with sincerity, that we do not want to see a school closed either, and that we think *our plan* will, under our present conditions, protect our schools and keep them from closing.

There are others who wouldn't mind some mixing of races and others who would like some mixing or integration and they are determined to vote *against* the amendment.

If these groups favor integration they *should* vote *against* the amendment.

In deciding which way you shall vote tomorrow, there are a few points which you should keep in mind. First, the amendment upon which you will vote and the legislation enacted to carry out the amendment are completely permissive in nature. They provide a means whereby you *as individuals and communities can take action if the need arises.* It has been said by some critics that these proposals are not necessary. Those who take such a position ought to be more willing to trust the people and to know that if these proposals are not necessary, the people will not use them. It is very important to remember that under the Pearsall plan it is only the people themselves who will have authority to take action on these proposals. The amendment does not force their use. It simply provides that they shall be available for use by the people in case they are necessary. Isn't that fair enough? I, for one, am willing to place my trust in the people. As for those who are not willing to place their trust in the people, I can only comment that their faith in democracy is not as strong as mine.

Second, the proposals upon which you will vote tomorrow do not remove any child from school nor do they close any schools. In the event there is mixing of the races in a school, the parents of the children attending that school who object to mixing can remove their children, and in the event there develops a situa-

tion in local schools of which the community disapproves, then, the voters in that community can decide by majority vote whether they will suspend the schools or continue their operation.

Third, if the amendment is adopted, the duty of the state and the General Assembly to provide public schools remains just the same as presently provided in the constitution. The only difference is that although the state, through the General Assembly, must continue *to offer* every community its public schools, *the* community will be able through a majority vote of its citizens, to suspend or reopen its schools as local conditions may require. The General Assembly must continue to make public schools available to the whole state. Remember this: Adoption of the school amendment will not change *the duty of the state* to continue providing public schools.

A final, and very important consideration, to be kept in mind when you vote tomorrow, is *what* will be the situation if these amendments are *not* passed. In that event the parents will have no choice as to what they can do if faced with mixed races in the schools. They may have to send their children to mixed schools whether they like it or not. Furthermore, no matter how intolerable or even desperate and dangerous a situation may become in a local community, there will be no legal way they can close or suspend the schools to ease the condition. If the school amendment should not pass, there will be no safety valve, and if conditions should become sufficiently bad, who can predict what upheavals and disturbances might occur with devastating results. In view of these possibilities, I am sure you will see the wisdom of voting *For* this amendment.

There is not time tonight to discuss all details of this program; however, I would like to read to you some of the statements made by responsible public officials and citizens of North Carolina approving the proposed plan and to call your attention to various organizations which have come out in support of this Special Session School Amendment. You will be interested in the viewpoint of those *who have studied it carefully*!

Honorable William B. Rodman, Jr., former attorney general, and now Associate Justice of the State Supreme Court, has been an ardent supporter of the amendment. He said while he was attorney general, and I quote:

"The Pearsall plan offers the state the best course of action to pursue at this time. *The plan is not in conflict with the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, and in my opinion, the adoption of the Public School Amendment will help insure the continued education of the youth of this state.*"

Dr. Charles Carroll, state superintendent of public instruction, has said:

"A more realistic, workable proposal than that offered by the Advisory Committee has not been submitted . . . The legislation provides for the citizens of this state and of each community within the state *to decide by majority vote the course of action they desire. I have profound respect for the democratic process.*"

State Treasurer Edwin Gill has said:

"The Pearsall plan is a sincere, frank, and practical answer to the crisis in education created by the destructive effects of the decisions of the Supreme Court. As a life-long friend of the public schools and of a system of education which has been such a blessing to all races in North Carolina, *I am for it.*"

Colonel William T. Joyner, prominent North Carolina attorney and member of the Pearsall Committee, has said:

"The plan is a moderate and constitutionally sound step *toward solution of North Carolina's school problem.*"

Mr. D. Hiden Ramsey of Asheville, North Carolina, says:

"After weighing carefully the argument in favor of and against the Pearsall program, I have decided to vote *for* the constitutional amendment which the General Assembly has submitted to the people for ratification or rejection . . . The plan appeals to me personally as being the best that has been contrived or suggested. I think that all in all, it carries less dangers than any alternative."

There are many other fine citizens who have expressed themselves in favor of the amendment upon which you will vote tomorrow.

Now let me tell you quickly some of the organizations which have announced *publicly their support of the amendment*:

1. Members of the State Board of Education.
2. Director of the North Carolina Education Association.
3. Directors of the North Carolina Association of School Boards.
4. North Carolina Association of School Superintendents.
5. North Carolina Association of County Commissioners.
6. Directors of the North Carolina Jaycees.
7. Exchange Clubs of North Carolina.
8. North Carolina Firemen's Association.
9. Junior Order of United American Mechanics.
10. Most newspapers and many leaders in the television and radio industry.

These groups represent dedicated, interested citizens.

My friends, I am very sincere when I say to you that I feel this plan is the best present answer to our problem—that it is the best for our schools and our 1,000,000 children and the best for North Carolina.

All of these people or organizations believe, as I do, that we must continue our support of public schools.

This is no time to be discouraged, and it is certainly no time for us to retreat in matters of public education. And as proof of the fact that we are going forward, I wish to point out that in the near future we will issue $25,000,000 in school plant construction bonds to aid in the construction and expansion of school buildings in North Carolina. We are going forward, but are determined to go forward in our own way, basing our progress upon the fine traditions of North Carolina which draws its life from the good will and the fine spirit of cooperation that exist between the races.

We may not have the whole answer—the job is too big to answer at one time, but it's the best answer we know and it's better than anything that has been suggested.

We feel that our citizens have confidence in what all of us have tried to do. Our program on which you will vote tomorrow is not as drastic as some other states, but it's in keeping with North Carolina's way of doing things.

I realize that many of you do not understand all the details of the program but *I am sure you trust those who have worked*

and prayed over this problem and who are as interested in preserving our schools as anyone.

Let me say this to you with all earnestness. Make up your mind this very moment that you will vote tomorrow on this school amendment. It is important to you, your children, and grandchildren. It's the most important thing you will have voted on in your entire lifetime! If you don't vote, don't blame anyone but yourself. To vote is your great privilege and to vote tomorrow on this amendment is your great responsibility!

Don't, please don't, say "I'll not bother to vote, we are getting along O. K. in our schools. If anything happens 'they' will take care of the situation." This would be a tragic error and a shirking of responsibility on your part. It's your job as much as mine to help preserve our schools.

I would like now to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the very fine news and editorial coverage which has been given this question by newspapers in the state and by the television and radio stations throughout the state. The presentation of information and the issues has been excellent with a few well-known exceptions.

In closing let me say this to you: Our public schools *need and deserve your support in this critical hour.* We ought not, indeed we must not, leave our schools unprotected to be shaken and possibly destroyed by forced integration. Our plan will give to the local communities in North Carolina, as well as to individual parents, an *orderly and lawful* means to meet the problems which will likely be imposed upon us. In my humble opinion, the *safety and well-being of public education* in North Carolina demands the passage of the Special Session School Amendment. I urge as strongly as possible that you vote *For* this amendment tomorrow.

Thank you and good night!

ADDRESS AT SPECIAL DINNER PREVIEW OF A NEW INDUSTRIAL BROCHURE SPONSORED BY THE NORTH CAROLINA MOTOR CARRIERS ASSOCIATION, INCORPORATED, AND THE AMERICAN TRUCKING ASSOCIATION, INCORPORATED

ASHEVILLE
September 13, 1956

[The 1955 General Assembly authorized the appointment of a seven-member commission to study the state's highway system and its administration. Governor Hodges discussed the tentative recommendations of this commission, along with highway problems generally, in this address before a dinner meeting sponsored by a group of motor carriers and trucking associations at Asheville.]

I deeply appreciate this opportunity to share in your program before so many outstanding North Carolinians and their visitors. We are gathered here for the purpose of a preview of a stimulating and impressive industrial brochure entitled, "Highways to Progress in North Carolina." I have been given the opportunity of looking over the booklet which will be outlined to you later on the program. It is truly a comprehensive market survey of the Asheville and western North Carolina area and should serve many useful purposes in the business, industry, communications, and transportation operations of this area, as well as being a tremendous aid to the orderly development of this area. Time will not permit me to say more, except to advise that the economic data presented here are well worth your study.

The North Carolina Motor Carriers Association and the American Trucking Association deserve full credit for this splendid idea—a public service project helpful to all. Such an approach is typical of the vigorous, aggressive, and enthusiastic trucking industry in North Carolina and the nation. We need more of this spirit and more of this drive in our entire transportation industry. Since World War I, the trucking industry in North Carolina, like the nation, has grown tremendously as small independent operators began operations throughout the state. I understand there are more than 400 certificated carriers operating in North Carolina, in addition to many interstate carriers, all of which represent an industry of enormous size and importance. North Carolina is

reported to have more trucks operating in and through the state than any other state in the nation, and the city of Charlotte is recognized as a tremendous trucking center equalled or surpassed only by Chicago. Charlotte is served by 102 truck lines operating approximately 3,000 daily schedules.

Looking at it from the national level, the trucking industry is composed of more than 20,000 small independent companies having total revenues of more than $5,400,000. Yet over half of the nearly 10,000,000 registered trucks, tractors and trailers belong to one-vehicle operators. More than 84 per cent of all trucks are in fleets of fewer than nine vehicles. So despite the rise of a number of giants in the industry, trucking is still a business best known for the small operator who sees a service to be rendered and sets out to get the business. Today in North Carolina we have more than 20,000 common carrier trucks, 5,000 contract carrier trucks, 30,000 farm trucks, and over 200,000 privately owned trucks. Add to these figures an automobile registration of more than 1,100,000 and our North Carolina total motor vehicle registration will strike the amazing grand total of approximately 1,400,000!

Your new study reveals an astonishing number and variety of new industries moving into western North Carolina. They include such products as sportswear, polyethylene, lighting equipment, communications receivers, silver tablewear, automatic office machinery, furniture, rugs and carpets, machine tools, knitted fabrics, and on and on. This is good news for all of us, especially to you in the trucking industry because you stand to benefit from the establishment or expansion of any new industry, especially a small industry. In this connection, I cannot do more than express my disappointment at your failure in participating more substantially in subscriptions to the stock in the Business Development Corporation. You may recall that I did my best at the last annual conference of your Motor Carriers Association to explain the importance of supporting this privately financed corporation devoted to the development and financing of locally-owned, locally-financed new industries. I shall say no more other than to point out that the Business Development Corporation is moving along successfully and actually made money in its first six months of operation.

Tonight I would like to take a brief look at our public high-

ways, which I know interests you, and the state organization primarily responsible for the construction and maintenance of our highways, the State Highway Commission.

Public roads have been a problem in North Carolina since the earliest days of our history. The first roads in the colony were Indian trails or "trading paths," usually well located along the shortest and best routes. As the population grew and expanded, these narrow trails were widened somewhat by constant usage and some of them were made into "roads" by order of provincial local authorities. Water transportation was the most dependable means of movement at that time, and many laws involved the construction of roads giving access to river landings.

We have come a long way since those early days when the horse was indispensable for land travel, and fifty miles a day on horseback was a good day's journey. Today we have a system of around 70,000 miles of public highways connecting every section of our entire 100 counties. I shall not go into all the details of our rising motor vehicle registration or increasing highway use, other than to say that the increases in both have been astronomical.

Highways are a public undertaking, of course, provided by the people, acting through the instrumentality of the state, to create necessary transportation facilities. The invested capital comes from the people themselves, through systems of taxation; and facilities are developed on the basis of the public's willingness and ability to pay the cost. It is generally agreed by competent authorities—both state and federal—that an adequate highways construction program for present and future needs, for the next twenty years, will require the expenditure of approximately double that which can be anticipated by present and projected rates of expenditure—federal, state, and local. There was general agreement for a federal road program, with state participation, for financing construction of the federal interstate system which connects our major population centers and is especially significant for our over-all economy and national defense.

As you know, Congress has approved such a program in which a total of $25,000,000,000 will be provided by the federal government over a thirteen-year period, for use on a 90-10 per cent matching basis with the states for work on a 41,000-mile interstate highway system. A total of $2,500,000,000 will be matched

on a 50-50 basis by the states for a three-year period for use on primary and urban roads. The program further provides that in the first three years all federal funds will be apportioned on the basis of present practice, such as the basis of population, traffic count, etc. However, the legislation directs the Bureau of Public Roads to come up with a report to Congress at the end of the three-year period, at which time the formula may be changed to one based primarily on need. This we should watch with interest.

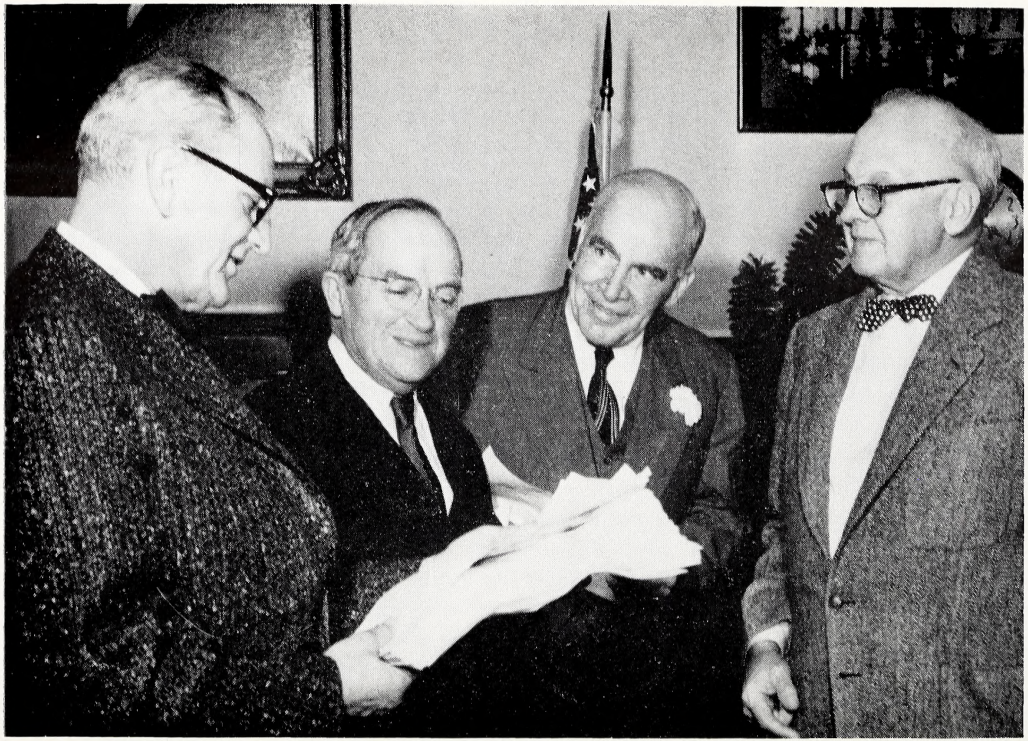
In terms of what this national road program means in North Carolina, we find that our state has been alloted $25,500,000 for the first year in the construction of this new interstate system, $94,300,000 for the second and third years, and for the whole period $119,800,000. This is in addition to a $4,500,000 allotment on a 60-40 basis from a 1953 Act. I should also like to point out that North Carolina has only 717 miles on the federal interstate system, as compared with 6,139 miles on the federal aid primary, and 21,878 miles on the federal aid secondary. This means, of course, that many counties in the state will not receive a single dollar of this *interstate* road money.

In other types of highway construction, we are scheduled to receive the following federal funds during the next three fiscal years: primary—$28,636,000; secondary—$24,503,000; and urban—$8,179,184. This means that North Carolina will receive a grand total of $185,500,000 in federal money for roads during the coming three years.

Even with the acknowledged need for such a program, there are many grave problems facing the states in carrying out these mammoth projects. Engineering manpower is a real problem on all fronts, especially in our State Highway and Public Works Commission. The steadily increasing cost of rights-of-way poses a most serious problem that must be met. In addition to this, the Federal Bureau of Public Roads has recently announced a new set of engineering standards which appear to be rather extreme and unreasonable. I notice that Chairman A. H. Graham of the State Highway Commission has very properly raised questions as to the practicality of these new and more rigid requirements. After all, North Carolina has always tried to cooperate with the Bureau of Public Roads, even in the face of increased cost, while some

News and Observer Photo

Governor Hodges with Edward Scheidt, commissioner of motor vehicles (*left*), and Col. J. R. Smith, head of the State Highway Patrol (*right*), at a meeting of the Governor's Traffic Safety Council, December 6, 1955.



News and Observer Photo

The Governor confers with representatives of the Business Development Corporation of North Carolina, December 30, 1955. *Left to right:* Thad Eure, Warren Williams, Governor Hodges, and Capus Waynick.

of our neighboring states, we understand, have in the past paid little, if any, attention to the interstate standards.

I would like to quote rather fully from a recent *Greensboro Daily News* editorial on this subject. This is what the newspaper had to say, in part, on September 8:

Limited Access Unlimited?

One more manifestation of bungled bureaucracy involving many so-called grants-in-aid now pouring out of Washington comes to light in announcement that the U. S. Bureau of Public Roads plans radical revisions in standards governing its multi-million-dollar interstate road program.

The new regulations, according to word reaching Raleigh, will eliminate the service-road feature on all federally-financed superhighways and stretch right-of-way requirements from an already whopping 260 feet to 300 feet.

State Highway Chairman A. H. Graham, an ardent supporter of limited access, fears these changes go too far. The service-road feature, already familiar to Tar Heel drivers on new sections of U. S. 29-70 between Greensboro and Charlotte, guarantees right of entrance to these superhighways for residents and business establishments along the way. Under the new regulation all grade crossings would be eliminated and residents forced to enter the superhighways only at the occasional clover-leaf crossings.

* * * *

North Carolina is concerned about these changes in U. S. Road Bureau policies because large segments of the interstate system are still to be constructed here. In some cases, Chairman Graham notes, the State Highway Commission must reopen its right-of-way negotiations to secure the additional 40 feet of property.

Limited access is a good idea, but like other good ideas it can be carried too far. North Carolina Congressmen ought to look into some of these policies of a federal bureau entrusted by Congress with expenditure of millions of new tax dollars.

Speaking of highway planning, I am pleased with the progress that has been made with our own Highway Commission in letting the public know its immediate plans for road projects on our primary highways. In the last few weeks we have seen the announcement release covering: 1. Interstate highway in the amount of about $28,000,000 with projects listed. 2. Two years of primary building from June 30, 1956, to June 30, 1958, amounting to $41,000,000.

In other words, $69,000,000 of specific road projects have been announced to the public so that our people everywhere, whether commercial operators like yourself or not, will know what is going on and what to expect. This practice of advance announcement was begun a year ago.

Now let us talk briefly about the organization of the State Highway Commission and certain tentative proposals for its reorganization which have been made by a Highway Study Commission authorized by the General Assembly of 1955 and appointed by me. First, may I emphasize that what I am about to say and the recommendations made by the commission are not intended as reflection on any commission, either present or past, or any commissioners who are serving or have served. With regard to the present commission, I think they are generally outstanding men and have done a fine job.

However, what we are talking about is a system of long standing, which appears to the Highway Study Commission, to me and to many other citizens as out of date in many respects. In my talk to the General Assembly in 1955, I referred to the need for statewide organization and state-wide planning in the Highway Commission, and also pointed out that our commission was virtually not under the budget act but made its decisions quite independently. I did not think that was correct then, and I do not think it is correct now.

During the 1955 General Assembly I was approached by many legislators who said that they would like to change the organization of the commission from divisions to a state-wide system and also would like to change certain commissioners. I told them that I did not think this should be done and did not believe that this would be a proper way to bring about changes, even if badly needed. It was my suggestion that we leave the Highway Commission in the hands of its present chairman and members of the commission, and meanwhile have a group of legislators and other citizens study the Highway Commission setup fully and make recommendations before any action was taken. As you know, the General Assembly followed this suggestion and authorized the appointment of the Highway Study Commission. It was my pleasure to appoint the following men to this body. They are all excellent men and I give you their names:

Senator Claude Currie, Durham, chairman
Senator T. Clarence Stone, Stoneville
Representative James Stikeleather, Asheville
Representative Carroll Holmes, Hertford
Representative B. T. Falls, Jr., Shelby
Mr. Harold Makepeace, Sanford
Mr. John G. Clark, Greenville

Under the leadership of Senator Currie, this commission has worked very hard at its assigned task. It has visited every division, talked at length with the highway chairman and every member of the commission, reviewed the work of the department, and generally made a careful, thoughtful study of the problems facing this highway agency. The study group had the services of a full-time staff man and gave many days of meeting and discussion before it was ready to make a preliminary report.

I should like to quote from the first page of this preliminary report, in which the Study Commission points particularly to the following language in a statute, section 136-1:

> "It is the intent and purpose of this section that all of said Commission and the chairman shall represent the State at large and not be representative of any particular division. It shall be the duty of the Commission as a whole to select the road projects to be constructed or reconstructed which now or shall constitute a part of the primary highway system of the State. The intent and purpose of this section is that there shall be maintained and developed a State-wide highway system commensurate with the needs of the State as a whole and not to sacrifice the general State-wide interest to the purely local desires of any division."

The report then stated that the people of North Carolina had a right to expect that the Highway Commission operate on a state basis as outlined in the statute. The study group explained that there had been a gradual *departure* from the principles set forth in the statute over the past thirty years.

Keeping this state-wide approach in mind, the Study Commission has given me a tentative recommendation that the State Highway Commission be reduced from its present fourteen to a much smaller state-wide, policy-making group, with an outstanding man as an executive-administrator to run the organization in keeping with the policy set by the commission itself. I agree with this approach and believe that such a step would be more in keeping with the proper management of a state agency spending $125,000,000 a year of our tax money. Under this new organization,

the executive-administrator would be responsible for the work of the Highway Department and would report to a commission made up of men, appointed for four-year terms, who would in turn be responsible for over-all policies. This is in keeping with the trend of organization in other state highway departments and should serve as a strong but essentially simple organization that will get the job done and give the greatest service to the greatest number of people.

I shall not attempt to go into great detail on these recommendations because they are still tentative and the final report has not yet been made. It is clear from these conclusions that the Study Commission is thinking in terms of a policy-making board which will deal directly with the tremendous problems and decisions facing such a large organization of people and such a large expenditure of public money. It would be the job of the new commission to plan particularly for our primary highways where the state-wide view is so necessary in adequate planning for present and future road needs. The secondary and county roads, of course, will be handled under the policies set forth by the commission with an eye to uniform and fair treatment throughout the state. These policties for maintenance and construction of secondary roads would be carried out by the highway engineers on the local level closest to the people and the need. The county commissioners who are closest to the people would play a greater part in this program than is now the case.

The new highway organization, as proposed, would become a full partner in state government, and not a semi-independent agency as it has been too often in the past. It is the belief of the Study Commission that such actions in the past have been unfair to others who are operating under the strict and uniform control of the Budget Bureau. The study group made specific recommendations as to modernizing the accounting system of the Highway Commission. I am happy to say that the commission has already engaged an outside accounting firm to handle this part of the plan.

You will be interested to know that I have written the chairman and the members of the Highway Commission about my plans to make this statement tonight. In my letter, I expressed my high regard for each individual member of the commission and

expressed the hope that he would continue his post at the present time and meanwhile would give careful study to these new recommendations. I would like also to say that I have made no decision on the replacement of any commission members or any new personnel in any way. You understand, of course, that all of what I have said here tonight is subject to the approval of the General Assembly, and will be carefully examined by that body.

I should like to emphasize that I firmly believe in a strong, sound Highway Department and the best possible highway system that available funds will construct and maintain. I am also anxious to see that the Highway Department gets more funds. For example, I support a recent resolution of the Highway Commission asking that the gasoline and inspection fee which now brings in around $4,500,000 each year should be returned to the Highway Fund from whence it originally came. The approximate cost of enforcement each year is only $270,000.

There is another great problem in connection with the Highway Commission which I would like to mention. This involves our state prison system and the need for separating the prisons from the Highway Commission. This is a basic problem which is also subject to the approval of the General Assembly, and I shall not attempt to go into the details of the problem, but would like to make some of my own observations about this situation. Again, we are not attempting to point the finger of blame at anyone for the condition of our prison system today. (I was on the Highway Commission in the 1930's when the prisons were combined with the Highway Commission.) Many of the present problems which plague the prisons and the Highway Commission were many years in the making.

As an example of what I am talking about, when Colonel William F. Bailey became the director of prisons in September, 1953, this was the twelfth time in twenty years that a change had been made in the executive leadership of the prison system. So we see that lack of continuity in administration has been a major factor in problems facing the prison system. For many years the director had been appointed by the State Highway and Public Works Commission and could be removed at any time by the commission with the approval of the governor. The power to appoint and to discharge at will prison personnel subordinate to

the director was vested in the commission. Now add to this the fact that the chairmanship and most of the membership of the Highway Commission was changed by every new governor since the establishment of the present Highway Commission in 1933.

Here are some of the other problems which Colonel Bailey had inherited through the years in the prison system. The rapid turnover of personnel prevented effective training programs. There was a lack of tested leaders ready for the responsibilities of higher jobs. Key positions were vacant throughout the system. There were no immediate, trained subordinates responsible to the director for state-wide supervision of such important functions as business operations, farming operations, industries and service. General insecurity, partly because of politics, long hours, low pay, and disagreeable working conditions, caused discontent at all levels and employee morale was very low.

After considerable study, I reach two basic conclusions as to why the prisons and highway-building should be separated: (1) the highways should do highway work and (2) the prisons should stand on their own feet.

Colonel Bailey, in his recent presentation to the Advisory Budget Commission, made the following points:

"No prison makes money because every prison is built around a deficit—a human deficit. In fact, there is no good prison system in the country which is self supporting. However, we strive constantly to reduce this deficit by a sound rehabilitation program so that when most of these men and women are returned to society they can take their places in their communities as useful, law-abiding citizens.

"The prison department is striving toward a three-fold goal. Its first objective is the protection of the public. Its second objective is the salvage of as much human wreckage as possible. Its third objective is to give North Carolina the best possible prison system per dollar expended. This is a complex organization. It consists of 94 institutions; 1,462 employees; and as of August 1, a heterogeneous population of 10,548 troubled and often trouble-making men and women."

We should understand that the operation of the state prison system is a science in itself. We are fortunate in having an able and conscientious administrator, Colonel Bailey, who has had a

great deal of help from the Prison Advisory Council, headed by Chairman William McGehee and Vice-Chairman Linn Garibaldi. As was made clear in Colonel Bailey's presentation, rehabilitation is a key to the successful operation of our prisons. I believe the people of North Carolina want a modern, efficient penal system which will make every reasonable effort to treat prisoners fairly and rehabilitate them for a useful life back in society through useful employment, vocational training, etc. Our constitution directs the General Assembly to keep steadily in view that all penal institutions shall be made as nearly self-supporting as is consistent with the purpose of their creation. The General Statutes declare that it is public policy to provide for the gainful employment of all able-bodied inmates of the state prisons. Priority for the labor of male inmates is given to road work, and all who can be economically employed in such work must be so employed by the State Highway Commission. Inmates not needed on roads may be used in work on prison farms, prison industries, forest work, or hired to other state agencies, counties, or municipalities.

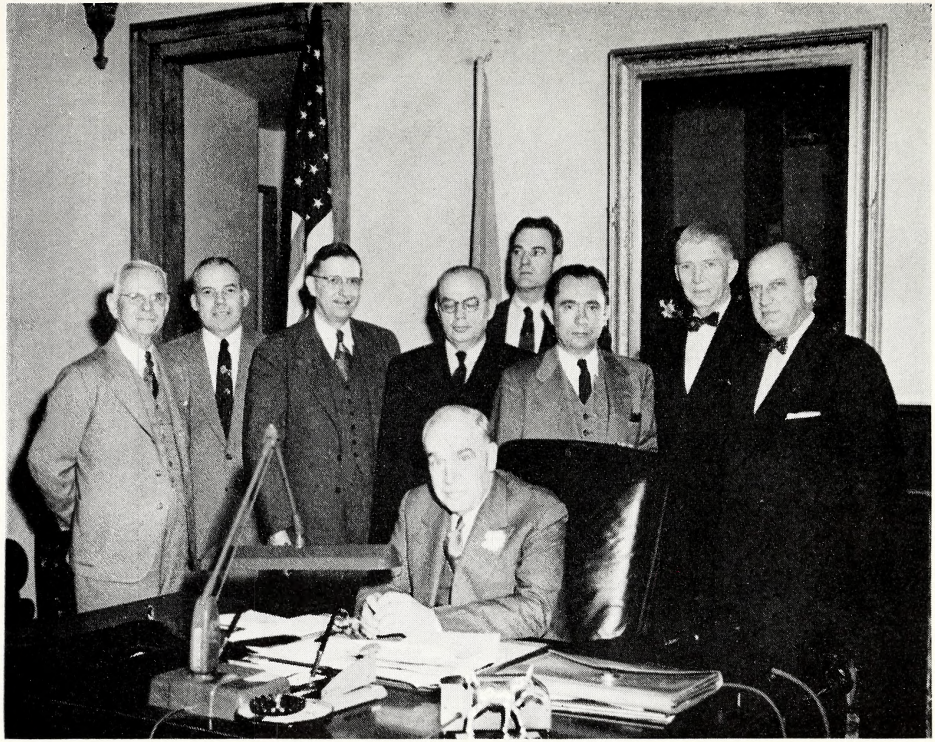
Prison industries offer one of the greatest areas of productivity and rehabilitation. Well-equipped and well-managed industries manufacturing products of good quality for sale under the state-use system to government agencies are profitable to the state and valuable as vocational training for prisoners. We are working hard on such an industrial setup within our prisons and have a special consultant, Mr. Bill Henderson, who is hard at work in promoting sale and use of products and services from our prison industries. Careful attention is being given to the attractiveness of packaging and labeling as well as to the quality of the product. Yet, in spite of this encouraging beginning, less than *5 per cent* of the state's prisoners can be given industrial employment with existing facilities operating at a maximum capacity. We must somehow work out a higher diversified industrial program to include many small plants rather than a few large ones. The object is to minimize competition with private enterprise while providing varied industrial employment to all prisoners.

Food requirements for the entire prison system are tremendous and every effort is being made to provide, where it is reasonable and practical, as much of the foodstuffs from the prison farms as possible. We now have approximately 16,000 acres of farm lands

with crops being raised on 6,500 acres, with 3,400 acres in pasture and 5,400 acres in woodland. Despite this sizable farming operation, we still utilize less than 5 per cent of the total prison population in farm work. This is particularly unfortunate in view of the fact that many prisoners that are now employed on prison farms come from rural communities and will return to farm work after their release. It would definitely be in the state's interest to provide these prisoners with as much training in modern farming methods as possible during the period they are in prison. Certainly there is every reason to believe that we can expand our prison farm operation to employ more prisoners and to boost our food production. In 1950 we produced 45 per cent of our food for prison needs; this year food production hit 65 per cent, and our goal is 75 per cent plus.

There is another valuable activity which should be expanded in our prison operations. This involves forestry! There are approximately 3,000,000 board feet of saw timber and approximate 6,500 cords of pulp wood that could be obtained from timberland now owned by the State Highway and Public Works Commission which is adjacent to various units within the prison system. It has been estimated that a complete timber operation conducted over a full year would require for each 100 acres about five prisoners employed for about 200 working days. This would include felling trees, classifying timber, logging, sawmill operation, taking the timber from the mill and stacking, reforestation and fire protection and maintenance.

The Forestry Division of the Department of Conservation and Development is anxious to use prisoners to fight forest fires and is considering whether prison labor can be used in other phases of its forestry program. The experience of other states show that forestry work can be done by prisoners, including employment in state nurseries, and reforestation projects as well as fire-fighting, fire prevention by clearing trails, removal of dead wood, construction of firebreaks and dams, and controlled burning. The fact that forestry work is frequently in remote areas makes it particularly suitable as outside work for prisoners, whereas common free labor is sometimes unavailable in the numbers needed. When you also consider that the state of North Carolina owns approxi-



The Governor and Council of State, 1955. Standing (*left to right*): Harry McMullan, attorney general; L. Y. Ballentine, commissioner of agriculture; Henry L. Bridges, state auditor; Edwin Gill, state treasurer; Frank Crane, commissioner of labor; Charles F. Gold, commissioner of insurance; Charles F. Carroll, superintendent of public instruction; Thad Eure, secretary of state.

News and Observer Photo

"The State's First Family," Chirstmas, 1955. *Left to rigth, back row:* John C. Finlay (son-in-law), Luther H. Hodges, Jr., Donald M. Bernard, Jr. (son-in-law); *middle row:* Nancy (Mrs. John C.) Finlay, Governor Hodges, Mrs. Hodges holding Donald M. Bernard III, Betsy (Mrs. Donald M.) Bernard; *front row,* Martha Bernard, Vary and Vivian Finlay (twins), Carol Bernard.

mately 286,000 acres of forest land, this gives you an idea of the unlimited possibilities and value of the forestry program for our prison system.

We believe that separation makes sense because the tax dollar requirements are the same, irrespective of which budget the prison system operates under. It is also the principle of sound government that there is now an inequity in requiring one segment of our population (highway users) to carry the tax responsibility for a government function which should be borne by all our taxpayers. Under separation, the Highway Commission would keep for roads about $2,000,000 which is now used as a subsidy for the prisons. It is also better government organization for the prison department to be recognized for what it is, and not as an adjunct of the Highway Commission or any other agency. Management of the prison system should be held responsible for the administration, the accounting and records, and the entire operation of the prisons. In other words, the prison department should stand alone and not be treated as a stepchild, regardless how well treated, of the Highway Commission. Based on present information and subject to the final report from the Highway Study Commission, we would definitely recommend separation to the next regular session of the General Assembly.

In closing, may I say a word about highway safety and the never-ending fight against death and injuries on our public highways and streets. I am grateful to the trucking industry for the leadership it has shown in wide-spread safety activities, and I urge you to continue, without ceasing, every worthwhile effort in behalf of accident prevention. Recently a report of the House Committee on Public Works included a National Safety Council prediction that approximately 42,000 Americans will be killed this year in traffic accidents, as compared with 38,000 killed in 1955. The council also predicts that 1,500,000 will be injured or crippled, many for life. In addition to these tragic human losses, the economic losses from highway accidents will total nearly $5,000,000,000.

While the condition of our roads is only one factor in the highway safety formula, we all know that better engineered and better designed highways generally result in lower accident rates. It is an interesting fact that the annual economic loss just stated

is nearly double the total cost of the highway program provided by Congress.

One traffic expert has estimated that when half of the interstate system has been rebuilt within the next ten years, we should save 1,800 human lives from better roads alone. When the whole network is completed, the annual savings compared with 1955 will be 3,500 lives.

Thank you for this opportunity to join in your program and to speak in behalf of your state government. We welcome your interest, your support, and your ideas in connection with any activity of state government.

Thank you and goodnight.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION

ASHEVILLE
October 3, 1956

[Problems of public welfare, with especial reference to North Carolina's work in this field, were discussed by Governor Hodges in this address made to a group of public welfare officials meeting in Asheville.]

I am told that this same Southeastern Regional Conference of the American Public Welfare Association met here in Asheville eight and one-half years ago. It is a pleasure to welcome many of you back to our state and to extend greetings to those of you who are making a first visit. From my recent meeting with the governors of your various states at White Sulphur Springs, I know directly of the high regard which they have for the caliber of public service which you are rendering in your individual states. Public welfare today is an essential function of government and touches each year an increasingly larger proportion of our citizenry. This is true because we are concerned more and more with the protection and preservation of our human resources through extension to all people who need them of broad programs of public social services.

It has been my pleasure as governor to speak in Asheville in

recent weeks to the Southeastern group of tax administrators, and to a national association of state budget officers. My appearance here today is before another of the important branches of state services—welfare, which is growing in services in our state and is growing in demands for tax money. As governor, I must look at both sides of the situtation, of course.

You are now in the heart of our western North Carolina mountain area, where we have the highest mountains in eastern America. This beautiful and gracious city lies between the Blue Ridge and the Great Smokies. With so many attractions, it is only natural that the travel industry is a great activity in western North Carolina. We are also very proud of our people in these mountains—the native population of stable, industrious, friendly folks, as well as many newcomers who have settled here during years past. All have made their contributions to the life of our communities, counties, and state. Industry has found this area to be ideal for many different operations, and you would be amazed at the variety of products manufactured.

We are proud of our history here in North Carolina. Through an annual pageant on our eastern coast we recognize each year the significance of the first English-speaking settlement on this continent. From the nearby sand dunes at Kitty Hawk the first heavier-than-air machine was flown, and we are today expanding rapidly modern methods for transportation which resulted from this experiment. We have been known for our concern for education at all levels, and we are today giving great attention to how we may expand our educational resources so that coming generations may be better equipped to contribute to the life of the state and nation. We are concerned that we have good highways, that we bring new industry into our state, that we strengthen constantly our agricultural program. These are tremendously important responsibilities of government. They, too, in the broadest sense contribute to the social welfare of the state and of the nation.

While we are generally concerned with the problems and the progress of our individual states, it is appropriate in a regional conference such as this to recognize our similar historical and economic developments and the fact that in terms of agricultural and industrial enterprises we have much in common. Therefore,

the social and economic needs of this great Southeastern region do not vary any more greatly from state to state than they vary within the confines of a single state.

We have the good fortune to live in an area of great wealth, wealth that in many respects is largely in the *potential* stages in terms of both natural resources and human resources. Progress in the one area should lead to progress in the other. There are many whose main interests lie in economic development; your interests are primarily in the development of our human values, of basic opportunities and needed social services for the men, women, and children who are the residents of our broad region.

Along with such developments, we have progressed steadily in the area of public welfare. North Carolina was one of the earliest states to accept responsibility for its most handicapped citizens. The framers of the state constitution of 1868 specified that programs designed to help the less fortunate are "one of the first duties of a civilized and Christian state." Under this constitutional mandate, our State Board of Public Welfare has made an enviable record of dedicated and humane service throughout the years. From the directive of 1868 there came into being the social welfare program of North Carolina which has in the intervening years seen the development of state institutions for handicapped children, facilities for the care of the mentally ill, and improvement and modernization of the program for dealing with violators of the law. We have built hospitals and given financial aid to people in need of medical care, provided financial assistance in their own homes for the needy aged, disabled, and dependent children, greatly strengthened our broad program of services in the child welfare field, and more recently developed specialized programs for the aging. All who receive these services must have the broad arm of government for support, because individual and family ills are of many types and of great complexity.

These advances have been made possible by implementation of public concern through an ever-growing volume of basic laws. Our present state-wide public welfare program was established by the 1917 General Assembly. Each succeeding legislature, including the 1955 session, has enacted legislation which has both improved upon existing statutes and given additional duties and responsibilities to our public welfare board, state and local. I have

no doubt but that the 1957 General Assembly which will be meeting early in the new year will in some measure again strengthen the legal basis upon which the public welfare program in this state operates.

Like your own states, North Carolina in the mid-thirties enacted the necessary state legislation to form a partnership with the federal government, upon the basis of the Federal Social Security Act, for providing welfare services on a state-wide basis. We have taken particular pride in this state in the achievements of the Social Security Act toward providing basic economic security and more recently through its emphasis upon making possible self-support, self-care, preservation of family life—those intrinsic values without which financial aid alone so often has far too little meaning and does not strike at the root of the problems presented. The Honorable Robert L. Doughton of North Carolina who carried the torch for the Social Security Act through its initial passage and such a large proportion of its major amendments was one of our great social statesmen. We revere his memory and shall strive, as far as possible, to achieve the visions which he dreamed for the people of our own state and of your states.

The public welfare program is in effect an expression of the conscience of the state. It is concrete evidence of acceptance of responsibility by government for the poverty-stricken, the physically handicapped, the mentally and emotionally disturbed, the maladjusted, the people who for one reason or another have been unable to share in the forward progress of the state. I realize that there are many and deep-rooted causes of the problems with which you deal, causes that are both individual in nature and causes that grow out of the social and economic conditions which exist today. You as leaders and workers have great opportunity to make these programs realistic, based on sincere services, as opposed to an opportunity to play politics.

As governor I have been particularly concerned about the low income which prevails throughout much of the South. In attacking the problem here in own own state, I have made every effort to stimulate our people to attack the problem from all sides. To raise our per capita income, we must do many things. We must recognize that agriculture in North Carolina and in the nation is in a great period of transition, and we must have available other

employment for those who cannot remain on the farm. At the same time, we want to encourage as many of our farm people as possible to continue to live in rural areas while they supplement their income from local industries or other jobs. This means striking a better balance between agriculture and industry in our state and in yours. It means community leadership and initiative in the development of new and expanded industry. It means likewise ever-increasing skills in agriculture.

A public welfare program is necessarily close to the economic heartbeat of a state. It is one of the first agencies to feel the impact of any particular trend or reversal, economic or otherwise. When a textile mill has to cut out its third shift or sharply curtail the number of days worked per month, immediately the results are felt in the applications of the welfare department and there are increased demands on welfare funds. Following the succession of hurricanes which struck eastern North Carolina last year, welfare loads increased substantially and many disaster-stricken families had to receive assistance that otherwise would not have been needed. The recent reduction in tobacco allotments was immediately reflected in welfare case loads. Crop failures bring a prompt aftermath. Many times the citizens who should lead in economic adjustment and plan ahead will abdicate their leadership and turn the problem over to the Welfare Department.

It is important that we not only raise the over-all economic level of the state but also that quite literally we push up from the bottom. We cannot have a prosperous state unless all levels and all people share in the advance. In his recent Labor Day address, Governor Adlai Stevenson pointed out that one-fifth of the nation still lives in poverty *as measured by today's standards.* Here in our state the proportion is even higher. I am told that one-fourth of the families and single individuals in North Carolina have an annual cash income of less than $1,000. Your situation is very similar.

We must address ourselves increasingly to this hard core of people who have not benefited by the prosperity of the last few years. It consists of individuals and families which we know become relatively poorer in good times than in bad, because here we have men, women, and children who are particularly vulnerable to any rise in the cost of living. Their dollars must go essenti-

ally for the daily necessities of life, for food which tends to rise in price more rapidly than various other items in the cost of living. Their meager dollars must be spent immediately. Only as we raise the over-all per capita income and push higher the floor below which none of our citizenry need fall; only as we recognize that we cannot have a good life for all so long as large sore spots of deep-seated poverty remain, will we move forward into that era of over-all well-being which we seek for North Carolina and all states.

This hard core of economic distress is particularly centered in certain groups. We have the problem of adapting our programs to an increasing number of aged people who need financial help, protective care, and medical treatment. Since 1900 the population of North Carolina has incrased by 115 per cent and in the same period the population sixty-five years of age and over has increased 218 per cent. In 1900 the average length of life was forty-nine years. In 1954 the expected life span was close to seventy years. On the average the persons who receive old age assistance are seventy-five years of age. We rejoice in the strides which have made possible longer life through better medical care, improved nutrition, and the benefit for more people of a higher standard of living. Unfortunately, however, a longer life for many today means loneliness, lack of income, and chronic illness which make necessary an increasing number of facilities, private and public, devoted to their care, with adequate financial aid. For our older people, we need greater understanding of their problems and more effort through the programs that you represent, and on the part of the public generally, to help them live out their lives as healthy, happy citizens. Again, families and others responsible should accept greater responsibility and show real love for their people and not be careless and callous.

It has recently been my privilege to appoint a Governor's Committee on the Aging which is charged with planning how best to evaluating growing or unmet needs and planning how best to meet them. Thus we hope to meet the continuing challenge of this growing age group.

Even more recently than governmental programs have accepted responsibility for the special needs for the aging, we have accepted responsibility for the needy disabled. We are finding more and

more people in our state—although the proportion remains low in terms of total population—who have had that greatest of all misfortunes, to be struck down during their working years with a permanent and total disability. To the extent that there is any possibility of restoring such individuals to self-support, or even self-care, we have an obligation to provide the resources necessary for this humanitarian service. We find that the actual rate of the disabled receiving assistance through the program known as aid to the permanently and totally disabled is lower in North Carolina than in those states represented here which have had a program for a comparable length of time, but none of our states apparently has reached a degree of stability. We should have particular concern, therefore, that our best efforts are devoted to this special group in order that they may receive not only adequate financial assistance but also the related services which provide hope in their distressing conditions. We should think first in terms of rehabilitation of the individual rather than taking care of him on welfare.

Another area requiring particular attention is the entire problem of provision of medical care and hospitalization for indigent people. Here we have actually a much larger group than those persons who must be cared for through public funds for all of the daily necessities of life. We know so well that the family or the individual who can remain self-supporting at only a minimum level in times of health becomes dependent almost immediately when illness strikes the breadwinner or a member of the family. Hospital costs, today, together with related medical services, are one of the basic problems with which every social welfare program throughout this country must cope. A government dedicated to service to its people cannot neglect its responsibilities in this area. We have built modern hospitals throughout our states, and their operating expenses must be met. Their boards and administrators share with you the problem of cost of adequate care for the indigent and medically indigent. We are faced with conscious determination of the level at which we will make available the gains of medical science to those who are unable to pay for such benefits when they become ill. We are fortunate that this can be a shared responsibility because no level of government is prepared today to accept alone the full responsibility for this basic service.

I have said to state and county officials in North Carolina that we must take a realistic look at this hospitalization problem and that I have found no one who would hazard a guess as to its ultimate cost.

Pressing as are all the other needs which have been discussed, children must take priority. They are indeed the hope of the future. The monies which we make available for their daily necessities and for basic social services are an investment in the welfare of the state. Unless we provide for children, whatever their circumstances and wherever they live, we shall be perpetuating poverty, ill health, and a multitude of related problems into the next generation. Our basic child welfare services in this state are many—aid to dependent children, day care, foster home care, a variety of institutional facilities, adoptions, and a multitude of specialized types of help which I shall not try to describe to you, the specialists in this area. Suffice it to say that all of our other programs for children, whether they be in the broad field of health or in educational opportunity, will not bring the returns which they should to the individual children or to the state itself unless children have the help they need with regard to specialized child welfare services and unless their fundamental needs for food, clothing, and shelter and other necessities at adequate health and decency levels are met.

The problems involving children are many in North Carolina and the South. Like many people, I am disturbed about the situation involving illegitimate children whose so-called parents collect welfare money and seem to consider this money a "reward" for their actions. We have this problem with us, particularly as it affects the Negroes, and we should not let any political group, either in own own state or in Washington, keep us from facing up to the responsibility of doing something about this problem. Many people, and I mean many people, believe that such use of welfare funds is actually *encouraging* illegitimacy and abandonment of children. If necessary, we must fight bureaucracy in Washington, or indifference at home of those who ought to take greater responsibility.

I am inclined to believe that although we have many areas in which we would do well to develop new programs or new structures for old programs, our first responsibility is to meet more

adequately those obligations which the state has already accepted. Although we have come a long way within the last couple of decades in recognizing government's responsibility for the dependent, the neglected, the destitute, we still have much that needs to be done. In order that we may move forward to provide services that are necessary functions of government today, in a manner consistent with the abilities of states financially and with patterns of social development and responsibility, better public understanding is of continuing importance. I know that in each of your states and counties you make much effort to interpret the public welfare program through all the various media available to you. Despite this fact, many people still do not understand the types of services that are rendered; the carefully developed policies under which they are administered; or the various restrictions—legal and financial—that are placed on welfare services. You need, as government needs in all of its endeavors, wider community understanding and support. I urge that you continue your efforts in this direction.

In our own state, and in some of yours, county government continues to participate extensively in the costs of public welfare. On the other hand, a number of states in this region with state administration of public welfare rely primarily upon state appropriations. It happens that for historical reasons, and as a basic philosophy of government to which I personally strongly subscribe, in this state we believe in major county financial participation in public welfare, as well as other public programs.

Just as we share responsibility for financing the public welfare program so we share responsibility for seeing that there is the best possible legislative framework within which to operate. I have been gravely concerned over limitations in the public assistance program which, on the basis of federal legislation, have made it impossible to make payments to needy people through guardians who could supervise the wise expenditure of public funds. There is no question about the financial need of such people nor of the obligation of government to meet their needs through financial assistance. We are attempting the development of a simplified guardianship law, consistent with federal interpretations, so that, where it is necessary, a guardian may be appointed for an irresponsible mother of small children, or an aging individual who

cannot with reasonable wisdom expend the necessary funds for daily care.

As my earlier remarks have indicated, we welcome the recent federal legislation which underscores the long-time conviction in this state that the public welfare program without exception should be geared insofar as possible toward constructive services. I note with appreciation the fact that the theme of this conference is "Expanding *Protective, Preventive,* and *Rehabilitative* Services Through Public Welfare."

We feel that North Carolina has come a long way in improving the individual lives and situations of the citizens of this state since the public welfare directive was first laid down by the constitution of 1868. We believe that the efforts of the last few years have established a solid base upon which to develop strengthened human resources, which in turn will help us to raise the level of living for all people in this state. This in turn means the attainment of a better balanced state. In these developments we are not alone. Your states are making the same type of progress. As you are planning for improvements in your public welfare program and the development of needed social services, so are we. By sharing evaluations of our accomplishments and by joint discussions of our problems, such as your program at this regional meeting provides, we can move forward toward better meeting our welfare needs and strengthening the administration of our welfare laws.

You are a part, an important part, of state government and its services. You must sell your program to the state and its budget people and the legislature. The program must be sound if you want to get your share of the state's money. If your program is not sound, it will eventually fall of its own weight as the public will not tolerate the whole business.

As in most states, we in North Carolina are faced with an increasing expenditure of tax funds each year. We have budgeted about $215,000,000 in General Fund expenditures for the fiscal year 1956-57. Our cash balance as of June 30, 1956, was approximately $38,000,000. Meanwhile, total requests for operations during the next year—1957-58—from the General Fund amount to $270,000,000, and this does *not* include requests for capital improvements of $86,900,000 which are requested on a biennial

basis. I give these figures to emphasize again the size and scope of state government today.

In the field of welfare, North Carolina spent $6,100,000 in state funds during the past fiscal year 1955-56, with an increase of about $100,000 estimated for this fiscal year 1956-57. The request for 1957-58 would boost the annual expenditures by 8.7 per cent to an estimated $7,800,000, if granted.

As we move ahead we should never hesitate to examine carefully our welfare program, whether it be at the local or the state level. We should be concerned that we be able to answer in the affirmative questions with regard to the adequacy with which we meet the need for subsistence and medical care of those who are too young, too old, or too disabled to work. We should have a carefully considered plan directed toward obtaining sufficient well-trained staff, adequately compensated, to provide the most effective services, which in turn means economy in operation. We should encourage outstanding people in our communities to accept the increasingly greater responsibilities involved in serving on welfare boards.

Welfare services are basically constructive services. It can easily be demonstrated that they pay large dividends in prevention of more acute problems, in making possible specialized care in the community as compared with institutional care, and in helping individuals and families to help themselves. Money spent efficiently and properly through our public welfare programs represents not only the state's obligation for care of needy persons, but also an investment for increasing the value of our resources through both financial and non-financial services. Those of you in welfare administration must constantly check yourselves and your agencies, especially the field work, to see that you are not "making cases" and perpetuating the problem by helping people to help themselves to be or become a real part of society. I am sure you will.

Thank you for letting me be with you.

ADDRESS IN BEHALF OF DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN

DURHAM
October 31, 1956

[In a last major fling at the Republicans before the 1956 election, Governor Hodges lauded the Democrats and excoriated their opponents. The speech was televised and heard locally through the facilities of Station WTVD in Durham. The gubernatorial race, never in doubt, resulted in a victory of 760,480 for Governor Hodges over 375,379 for his Republican opponent Kyle Hayes of Wilkesboro. On the national ticket the results were Stevenson, 590,530; Eisenhower, 575,062.]

I appreciate very much the opportunity that Station WTVD has given me to make a talk on behalf of the Democratic party, its candidates for President and Vice-President—Governor Stevenson and Senator Kefauver—and my candidacy for governor. It is my understanding that the station has given time as a public service to both parties, and this is as it should be. It is both a privilege and a responsibility for me to discuss some of the issues of the campaign and to give my ideas as to how I would like to see you vote. May I say at the very beginning that I share with you an abiding love for the State of North Carolina. We have a great state and however this election comes out on next Tuesday, November 6, either on a national or state basis, we will still have problems facing us in North Carolina and will need the help of all good citizens of whatever party.

I will try a little later on in this talk to discuss some of the problems and opportunities ahead of us in this great and growing state. I shall try to do it with as little partisanship as possible. However, since this station is giving time to both parties as suggested, I would like to review some of the voting figures of North Carolina in state elections for governor and in state elections for President of the United States. I believe that by pointing out these figures as well as some other data, we can show to you and to the people of North Carolina the lack of confidence generally held in the Republican party as a party without reflecting on any person or group of persons. I do not feel that an attack on individuals is good or necessary, although I do not on the other hand have a feeling that one should not mention the President or the Vice-President of the United States. It is part of our democratic

processes to point out what we think is wrong, but this does not justify an unwarranted attack. You should be able to express your confidence or lack of confidence in how a job is being done and in the individual who is responsible for that job.

People of North Carolina have given the control and administration of their state government to the Democratic party since the beginning of this century. They evidently are fairly well pleased with what has been done. The Democratic record of accomplishments speaks for itself. I shall not try to make a speech parading all the glories of the party, but point out to you that in 1952 when Mr. Eisenhower got 558,000 out of 1,211,000 votes cast in North Carolina the candidate on the Republican ticket for governor of this state received only 383,000 or less than 25 per cent of the total, and Mr. Eisenhower's percentage was over 45 per cent. Mr. Umstead, a native of Durham County running for governor on the Democratic ticket, received in 1952 more than 796,000 votes against 383,000 for Mr. Seawell, Republican candidate.

In 1948 Governor Kerr Scott, now United States Senator, received 571,000 votes to 206,000 given the Republican candidate, who received about 25 per cent of the votes.

There are not only many more Democrats than there are Republicans in North Carolina, but there are many more Democrats in the United States than there are Republicans. Furthermore, and this is most significant, the Republican party as a party is losing ground everywhere you can turn in the nation, despite Mr. Eisenhower's personal popularity and I might say parenthetically that's about all the Republican party has left in the nation. The Republicans have lost more elections during the Eisenhower administration than at any time in modern history.

Let me give you from the record—President Eisenhower is the first President in this century to lose control of both Houses of Congress.

The Democrats have won twenty-five out of thirty-eight U. S. Senate contests since 1952 when Mr. Eisenhower went in office.

The Democratic candidates for Congress in 1954 won the largest percentage of popular votes in any off-year election since 1934.

The Democrats have won twenty-one out of thirty-six governor contests since 1952, electing nine new Democratic governors.

Democrats have won 500 state legislative seats from the Republicans since Mr. Eisenhower went in office and have lost only five against 500.

Democrats have won control of seven state legislatures, seven state houses, and two state senates from the Republicans. As if this were not enough, Republicans have lost to the Democrats twenty-five major cities in their mayor elections since 1952. And I believe this trend will continue.

Why is this happening? I think it is because the people as a whole do not trust the philosophies and the program or the past performance of the Republican party. There has been a recent slogan that I like very much. It says, "The Democratic party is the party for you, not just a few." I think that characterizes the philosophy of the Democratic party as opposed to the Republican party. Our philosophy from its very beginning has been one of trying to do something for the average person. Now-a-days we use for the *average* the expression "Joe Smith." You recall the Republicans in their San Francisco Convention practically threw the Joe Smiths out of the convention, whereas the Democrats had a wide-open convention in which anyone and everyone could take part.

I challenge anyone, including the Republican administration (state or national), to show the vote by Republican Senators and Congressmen over the last twenty-five years in Congress on what we call major social legislation. Without trying to go into too much detail, let's suggest some parts of this legislation such as the Social Security Program, the Farm Administration Program, the Insurance-Against-Bank-Deposit-Loss Program, the Rural Electrification Program, the Financing of Homes and Farms Program, and many others too countless to mention. During all of the years in which the Democrats were in power from 1932 to 1952, you will find that the Republicans generally speaking voted 70 to 80 per cent against these programs. They expressed themselves as horrified in the 1930's against Social Security and other things we now take for granted. Mr. Sam Rayburn, who has been in Washington for more than forty years serving as Speaker of the House, said that over 80 per cent of Mr. Eisenhower's present program is based on programs taken bodily from the Democrats. It is my sincere belief that the Republican party as we know it is the

so-called Old Guard leadership simply using Mr. Eisenhower at the present time because he is very popular personally. The Old Guard leaders do not believe in these social programs. In fact in the last two or three days a Republican Senator—I believe it was the Senator from Nevada—made a statement that the worst crime being perpetrated by the Republican party was that they were using the Democratic party program and he expected that to be changed if the Republicans went into power again in 1956. I am sure the Senator expressed the point of view of most so-called professional Republicans.

The present Republican party, and that's been true for a long time, is represented by a small group of people. It is plain that it is primarily at the present time a big business administration. You may recall that when Mr. Eisenhower formed his first Cabinet, the public referred to the Cabinet as "nine millionaires and a plumber." North Carolinians voted in great numbers for Mr. Eisenhower as a person in 1952, without realizing or actually trying to think through the fact that they were voting for the Republican party and overlooked one of the strong points that we must consider in North Carolina in our vote for the national office, and that has to do with the matter of who is going to control Congress. I shall have more to say on that.

It is my own personal thought that instead of our beating Mr. Eisenhower and the Republican party in North Carolina by 100,000 votes as we did in 1952, we will, with Governor Stevenson as our standard bearer, beat them by a minimum of 250,000 in 1956, because people have seen that Mr. Eisenhower, as good a man as he might be personally, does not have charge of the Republican party and that he is not running the government. He is a military man accustomed to staff decisions and most decisions have already been made when they get up to him. That's the way the army and the military operate.

I shall not go into the health matter. I have documents in my possession quoting Mr. Eisenhower about himself and also editorials from Republican newspapers in New Hampshire indicating that it's a dangerous situation to expect a full-time job over the next four years of the exacting nature that our Presidency requires. Therefore, millions of people must face squarely up to the question as to whether or not they are willing to take a chance

on Mr. Nixon becoming the President. Time does not permit and I shall not make the comments that are made generally about Mr. Nixon. The fact remains that people generally do *not* consider that Mr. Nixon has the caliber, the character, or the ability to handle the Presidency of this great nation which has before it problems of leadership and the solution of problems such as no nation in all history has ever faced.

I mentioned awhile ago that in North Carolina and the South we ought seriously to consider how we vote on a national basis. A very prominent Republican said to me twenty years ago, in 1936, "Luther, you'll see the time when the Southern Senators and Congressmen have to save this country from the more radical elements in both parties of the North. Be sure that you Southern folks keep the control, if possible, because you are a more conservative and patriotic group than can be found anywhere in the country."

The Democratic party from the South is the key to many of our national problems and the solution to many of our problems. This does not reflect upon the personality or the personal worthiness of any individual Republican running for Congress or President. It simply states the cold fact that our best opportunity is in the Democratic party. To those of you who think in independent terms or feel that you want to vote for the man, I can understand your misgivings with political parties at times. Yet it is through political parties that our government is operated.

I am also deeply disturbed when my party or my church or my organization of other kinds does not do the right thing and does not have the right people. We should choose the party closest to our convictions and beliefs and work to make it what we think it should be. If the party of our choice does not measure up to our standards of ethics at the local, county, state, or national levels, it is up to *us,* as party members and citizens, to clean it up! To run in and out of a political party, depending entirely upon changing candidates and issues, will have gained you nothing.

So I appeal to you generally to let's stay in the Democratic party. Let's make its majority bigger than ever. Let's clean it up if it needs cleaning up. Let's support good, honest men who will give service on the basis of what they believe is best for their state and their nation rather than what it will do for them as

individuals. I appeal to citizens also to support the kind of men who will do an unselfish job.

I spoke of the control of Congress. I believe most everyone feels that the Democrats will win a majority in the House and probably in the Senate such as we now have and maybe even a larger majority over the Republicans than now exists. When the 1957 Congress is organized in January, we will have Southerners in control of most of the major committees, particularly in the House. From North Carolina alone we will have Democratic Congressmen in the chairmanship or virtual control of about one-fourth of all the major committees of the House. Congressman Bonner of the First Congressional District will be chairman of the influential Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. Congressman Barden of the Third District will be chairman of the powerful Labor and Education Committee. Congressman Cooley of our Fourth District will be chairman of the all-important Agriculture Committee. And Congressman Durham of the Sixth District which includes Durham County will be chairman or joint-chairman of the Atomic Energy Committee, which is one of the most powerful and far-reaching of all those in Congress.

I say to you that these things are important and must be remembered when you vote. I believe that the Democratic party is a party primarily for the people and for all the people. It believes in the great mass of the people and that does not mean playing class against class, which is totally unnecessary. I was raised in big business, but I think I understand small business. I have investments in small businesses. I think I have an appreciation of the farm situation, particularly as it affects North Carolina and I can say to you that I am deeply disturbed about what is happening in agriculture. A prominent preacher of this state said to me voluntarily two or three weeks ago that he was deeply concerned about the seeming dishonesty on the part of the administration because the President had made a promise four years ago to the farmers in one of his major speeches and that he had gone back on the promise and that he had not made it good. I could talk at great length about the farm problem. I simply say this: The farmers have lost about a billion dollars a year each year in farm income since Mr. Eisenhower went in office. There is a continued squeeze on the small farmer in what he pays for his goods or serv-

ices. It is also significant to note that since 1952 our farm income has gone down 24.5 per cent; the income from interest has gone up 41 per cent. The official records show that the so-called business administration of Eisenhower hasn't done so well in its philosophy of cutting down expenses in its handling of the farm problem. For example, under the Eisenhower administration the cost of storing grain has gone from five to eleven and one-half cents a bushel, costing the taxpayers over $50,000,000 a year extra. Administrative expenses have doubled or gone from $50,000,000 to $101,000,000. Government-owned commodities have been sold to favored business interests for a few cents on the dollar of their worth.

The failures of small businesses have been terrific. Failures for the first four months of 1956 are up 46 per cent over 1952, the last year of our Democratic administration. New business starts are 49 per cent below the 1952 average, and this interests North Carolinians particularly as we are trying to develop new businesses and new small industries.

The small business share of the U. S. industrial assets has dropped 22 per cent while bigger business has had an increase in profits of 61 per cent during 1952-1955. The smallest businesses are down 52 per cent. It is very difficult for the small businessman to get money to run his business, much less to expand it. Ask any of the smaller merchants and businessmen round you and in your neighborhood; ask any farmer in your neighborhood how he feels about the next four years and the treatment he is getting from the Republican administration and make up your own mind on that basis. Read the current issue of the *Progressive Farmer* published in Raleigh as to how our farmers, particularly North Carolina small farmers, have fared under the present Republican administration.

My friends, there is good in all of us, there is good in both parties, but I think there is more good for North Carolina and its more than four million citizens under the Democratic party rule both from the state and national level and particularly on the state level than there is under the Republican party.

We face many problems in North Carolina. We have an agricultural economy that's in transition, almost in revolution. Our tobacco acreage is continually being reduced. This acreage reduction

is affecting our economy seriously; even though we admit that we must have the reduction because of competition from other lands and of new methods of increasing yields and of new manufacturing methods by tobacco people, we still have the problem. It means that we need in North Carolina, particularly in this section and in the east, more industrial development, more diversification of our agriculture, more dairy products, more beef products, more vegetables, better merchandising, better marketing, all the things that go with a balanced economy and a looking-ahead program.

We must have a tax program, both state and local, that is fair to the man that is trying to build a business or industry, as well as those who are trying to carry on the farm. We must attract people from the outside. We must encourage those who are here to expand. Our taxes must be competitive, must not be punitive. It will take great courage on the part of the leaders, including the legislators as the leaders of the people and the people themselves, to do what is necessary. We have a whole public school system which needs attention, immediate and constant attention. Our enrollment in colleges and universities is expanding very rapidly. which calls for money and more money and also some good thinking of how we are to handle it. Next year we will be spending in North Carolina more than $150,000,000 on highways, primary and secondary. This calls for careful organization, honest administration, good policies. For example, we need a close examination of our prison administration so that it can be determined whether or not it should be separated from the Highway Department and put on a modern, proper basis. These and many other problems, my friends, face us in North Carolina. It is my determination to give those various problems every ounce of energy and interest that I possess and to do it without regard to my own personal future, but purely because of my love and regard for this state and its glorious opportunities that lie ahead. Won't you join me in this high endeavor?

Thank you so much for listening.

ADDRESS AT VETERANS DAY CELEBRATION

HENDERSON

November 12, 1956

[This patriotic address was typical of a number of speeches made on similar occasions by Governor Hodges during his first two years in office, The day on which it was delivered was also typical of his busy life. He had attended a breakfast at Charlotte at seven o'clock that morning, had cut a ribbon at the opening of the enlarged Belk store there later in the day, had spoken to a luncheon at the Myers Park Club at noon, had returned to his office in the afternoon, and had then gone to Henderson for this speech in the evening.]

It is a pleasure to share in your Veterans' Day Celebration program. I commend the Henderson Posts of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars for sponsoring this special program dedicated to the memory of all our veterans. It is appropriate to have such an event on this state holiday, and I am impressed by your initiative, careful planning, and hearty participation. It is good to see here many members of various civic clubs in Henderson who also know the meaning of the word "service." Whether service to your community or to your nation, this great word symbolizes something that is basic and necessary in the American way of life.

By this program we are honoring the nation's 21,000,000 living war veterans as well as all those who have died in the defense of our great nation. This year marks the third anniversary of the observance of what was formerly celebrated as Armistice Day. Congress, by an Act approved June 1, 1954, changed the name to Veterans Day as a means of recognizing veterans of all wars who have contributed so much to the preservation of our republic. Originally Armistice Day commemorated the anniversary of the ending of World War I and paid tribute to the veterans of that struggle.

Since we have been engaged in two additional conflicts since World War I, it is fitting and proper that we now include in this special observance all the millions of veterans, living and dead, who have served our nation so valiantly in time of war and national peril.

Here in our own state we have approximately 482,000 living veterans. We are proud of the contributions they have made to

their state and nation not only in time of war but in time of peace. Our veterans have always done their part in time of war and have made good citizens during times of peace.

I shall not attempt to recount the dramatic and moving story of North Carolina's participation in war and national defense since the earliest colonial days. The record speaks for itself because Tar Heels have fought and died wherever Americans went into battle. In the bloody War Between the States, our soldiers were known and recognized for their courage, spirit, and determination.

Whether in World War I, World War II, or the Korean conflict, North Carolinians have performed valiant service on the ground, in the air, and on the sea. We in North Carolina are immensely proud of the record of thousands of North Carolina men and women who have served so well their state and their nation. We are also grateful for the thousands of North Carolinians who are now serving on active duty in the armed forces of the United States across the world. They are performing a vital service to the welfare of this nation and to the protection of peace and security.

Many North Carolina communities and organizations are observing Veterans Day today, and I was happy to appoint the Honorable Terry Sanford of Fayetteville as general chairman for the day to coordinate the various plans and programs now under way. North Carolina is cooperating with the Veterans Day National Committee of the Veterans Administration in Washington.

As we pay tribute to the veterans of all wars, America is witnessing a tremendous upheaval in many areas of the world. The thunderheads of war clouds rise high in the sky on all horizons. War and its tragic possibilities have always been grim prospects. But we in America have come a long way from the musket, sword and cannon of colonial days. We now live and have at the disposal of human hands nuclear weapons capable of destruction beyond our comprehension. In our often frantic search for the secrets of the physical universe, we have unleashed fantastic power for destruction or good. While we all hope and pray that nuclear energy can be used for peaceful purposes, the cold fact remains that apparently mankind has also released a demon capable of destroying life as we know it today. As one recent

News and Observer Photo

Participants in the Farm Press, Radio, and Television Institute in Raleigh, February 17, 1956. *Left to right:* Martin Howard, Bill Humphreys, Governor Hodges, Mrs. Hodges, and Mrs. Niza Sizer.

Photo by Dorothy Phillips

Governor Hodges with Charles Holloman (*extreme left*) and a group of foreigners visiting the Governor's office, March 3, 1956.

speaker said, "World War IV will be fought with clubs and stones. That's all that would be left after World War III."

Yet there is no doubt that the development of our atomic weapons has been a great deterrent to Russia and others who have sought to expand their grip on the world by every means possible. These weapons are a major part of the armament of the free world. Yet our scientists tell us that Russia is moving ahead rapidly in the same field.

Recognition of Veterans Day brings to mind, very naturally, the word "patriotism." Patriotism, though it has meant many things and has been put to various, even contradictory, uses, may nevertheless be defined as love of country, pride in it, and willingness to make sacrifices for what is considered its best interest. Patriotism is more than paying respect to the American flag when it passes, although these famous lines by Moses Owen point to the symbolism of the flag itself:

> Nothing but flags—but simple flags
> Tattered and torn and hanging in rags;
> And we walk beneath them with careless tread,
> Nor think of the hosts of the mighty dead
> Who have marched beneath them in days gone by
> With a burning cheek and a kindling eye,
> And have bathed their folds with their life's young tide,
> And dying, blessed them, and blessing, died.

The beginnings of patriotism as identified with Americans must be sought in America itself. Here the growth of loyalty was slow and more or less unconscious. In the colonial period broad patterns can be discerned in the growth of loyalty that appeared in later stages of our history, such as the widening of an attachment to a smaller area to include larger and larger units; the pride in our nation's beauty and accomplishments; and the realization that freedom and opportunity were realities rather than empty words.

Patriotism can be described as the mortar which holds the bricks together in the building of a nation. In our great country, love of country often stems from love of community, area, and region. The first Americans were attached to their particular colonies and frequently suspected or even disliked the other colonies. North Carolina was a frontier for many years after

Virginia was well colonized and the port of Charleston was flourishing. In 1709 there was only one town in North Carolina and it had a total of twelve houses. Relations between our frontier state and the more settled and developed neighboring states of Virginia and South Carolina certainly left much to be desired.

The American Revolution, obliging the colonists to act more or less together, led them to think together and in the process influenced them to feel together. Our first national hero, George Washington, became the first symbol to which the national emotion of patriotism could attach itself. In his farewell address to the people of the United States, George Washington made it clear that the unity of government which constitutes one people is a "main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which is so highly prized." He emphasized that citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country should give their unreserved loyalties to their homeland. "The name of America, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than an appellation derived from local discrimination. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought to triumph together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts of common dangers, sufferings, and successes."

The first Americans came from crowded countries to a new nation where there was room for everybody. Nationals who had been regularly at war in Europe or elsewhere found they did not have to be so in America. Peace could flourish and former enemies fraternize in the common interest of their new nation. One of the most striking things about American life has been the rapid change of immigrants within a generation. Though they may affectionately remember their parent lands, immigrants seem to lose their violent partisanships as the past become relatively unimportant to them. They are united in a common expectation of a future in which all might have something like a just share.

One blazing exception, of course, was the War Between the States, where the secession movement called for a return to older

sectional patriotisms, resulting in a steady worsening of national patriotism or loyalty. Yet we have survived all of this and today, despite political differences, the subject of patriotism and loyalty for the common man is not in doubt. In spite of the past bitternesses—the white settlers toward the Indians, the Americans toward the British, and North and South toward each other, American patriotism has been strengthened. Down through the years we have achieved the heritage of freedom which calls for integrity rather than degradation, dignity rather than brutality, education rather than bigotry, truth rather than falsehood, liberty rather than tyranny, freedom rather than fear, and strength rather than violence.

We have learned from experience that men do not live alone, self-centered and isolated. They must live together and work and share together the common experiences of life. For all its faults, patriotism serves as a simple and natural bond of unity between different peoples with different backgrounds living in different areas of our great nation.

As men and women of proven patriotism, our veterans naturally have a great deal of interest in the question of *loyalty, duty,* and the *welfare* of our nation. Our veterans' organizations, with their excellent programs for helping the veterans or veterans' dependents in need, follow closely all developments in these various fields involving loyalty and national defense. We must always remember, however, that being a veteran does not necessarily qualify us as the final authority on questions of patriotism and loyalty. We cannot afford to set ourselves up as the only judge and jury in such matters. After all, the interest of the veteran coincides with the interest of the citizen.

I was asked at a press conference on Thursday what I thought of the Negroes in certain North Carolina communities changing their vote from a Democratic Presidential candidate in 1952 to a Republican candidate in 1956. I told the press I knew nothing about how the Negroes had voted, but that it was high time that all our citizens of whatever race or economic group think in terms of what good they could do for their state and nation rather than vote just to serve their own selfish interests. This means that all of us must have a long-range viewpoint and not a selfish short-range view.

This principle applies to you and me as veterans and as citizens generally. We owe much to our state and nation. Someone said, in effect, long ago that "Rome was not loved because she was great but Rome was great because her citizens loved her." We have just finished a national election. It was a privilege for us as citizens to vote, to differ, and now that it is over, it is our privilege and duty to be Americans and North Carolinians as we face problems either at home or abroad.

Here in this state and especially in the eastern part and the far western part we face the problem of low income. We must do whatever is necessary to build up our economy—to diversify our farming, to add to our industry. Ten of our industrial counties furnished 50 per cent of our income. It must be broadened. Won't you help?

We have a great, although comparatively young country. Since 1900 America has come of age at such an unbelievable pace that it is difficult to conceive. In 1898, my own birth year, we won our war with Spain and freed Cuba. More important, we became of age then for the first time in international affairs. There we made national history in our "Open Door" policy in China. As we came into World War I, we flexed our muscles as a rising giant but did not fully realize our strength then. Instead, we returned to what a United States President called "normalcy" instead of courageously assuming leadership. We went out for money and got it—then lost it in the 1929 crash and the depression that followed.

America grew in industrial strength in the 1930's and I feel that we also grew in moral strength. We had another glorious victory in World War II—preserving for ourselves and our children the independence and freedom we think we love and respect. The full story of the bloody Korean conflict remains to be told, but we know that here was the first attempt by a world organization to step in and block open aggression.

When we speak of the basic principles upon which our land was founded, I sometimes wonder how much we value this heritage. Do we really believe in what America stands for? Have we lost contact with the discipline, self-sacrifice, and dignity of our forefathers? What are we leaving to our children that will carry them through the difficulties and problems yet ahead? Do we practice thrift and honesty? Do we have courage and vision? Are

we willing to sacrifice—can we take it? Communities like this, states like ours, do not just happen. They have to be built. You who live here have the responsibility to make and keep your community an attractive and good place in which to live.

Let us be good citizens and good parents. Let us take part in our government at all levels and teach our children to do likewise. Let us build in our state and our towns a spirit of service and one of courage. Let us face the uncertainties and perplexities of today with calm reason, intelligent understanding, free cooperation, and noble actions. It is our grave responsibility to carry forward the heritage of freedom which has come down to us and to defend it against the aggressions and oppressions of today and tomorrow. Let us demonstrate our patriotism and our devotion in our daily lives and in our daily relations one with another. Thank you.

ADDRESS DISCUSSING THE FORTHCOMING REPORT OF THE TAX STUDY COMMISSION

OVER STATE-WIDE RADIO AND TELEVISION NETWORK
November 29, 1956

[The Tax Study Commission, created by the 1955 General Assembly for the purpose of studying the state's tax structure and making recommendations for its improvement, issued its report on November 30, 1956. On the preceding evening the Governor discussed this report in the light of the state's economic structure in an address which originated in Raleigh and was carried by a state-wide radio and television network.]

Good Evening!

Once again the public-spirited television and radio industries of North Carolina have kindly made available their facilities in order that we may bring you, the people of North Carolina, another report concerning the activities and plans of your state government. For this generosity on the part of these industries we are grateful.

Tonight our discussion will be principally concerned with the Report of the Tax Study Commission, which report has just come from the printer. This commission was created by the 1955 General Assembly for the purpose of studying North Carolina's

tax structure and making recommendations for its improvement and modernization, including the removal of any existing inequities insofar as possible. The following distinguished North Carolinians, who have labored for nearly two years on this report, have rendered their state unselfish and dedicated service as members of the commission:

Honorable Brandon P. Hodges, former state treasurer, from Asheville, *Chairman*
Mr. Frank A. Daniels, president of the *News & Observer,* from Raleigh
Mr. Howard Holderness, president of Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Company, from Greensboro
Honorable J. Y. Jordan, Jr., attorney and representative from Buncombe County
Honorable W. P. Kemp, furniture manufacturer and representative from Wayne County
Honorable C. Gordon Maddrey, farmer-merchant and representative from Hertford County
Honorable E. M. O'Herron, Jr., retailer and representative from Mecklenburg County
Honorable James M. Poyner, attorney and senator from Wake County
Honorable R. Grady Rankin, textile manufacturer and former senator from Gaston County

It is gratifying indeed, although not surprising when you know the individuals involved, that these men who necessarily brought widely differing economic viewpoints to this state-wide study have been able to subordinate their individual interests and consider the common good of the state as a whole and bring in a *unanimous* report. They are to be commended for a job well done. This is a public service of high order and our good state can, because of their service, approach its serious economic problems with much greater faith.

A proper and realistic study and evaluation of the taxes and taxing methods of a state must necessarily include as a first step an examination and analysis of the economic structure from which taxes provide revenues to support the governmental services needed and desired by the people. Only in this way can the impact or effect of our taxes be understood, and only in this way can we know whether our taxing methods are conducive to the over-all and long run good of our state. The knowledge gained and the conclusions reached in such a process will then serve as guides for evaluating taxing methods and as a basis for specific recommenda-

tions for improvement. That the members of the Tax Study Commission recognized the value of such an approach and left no stone unturned in their study is demonstrated by a passage from the commission's report, which reads as follows:

> The commission utilized the benefit of training, experience and studies of the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and at State College in the fields of economics and sociology in order to make maximum practicable application of the available knowledge to the problem of evaluating the tax structure. Conferences were held on both campuses and studies furnished by the participating personnel were studied in great detail by the members of the Commission.

Now, let us—you and me—take a brief but over-all look at the economic situation now existing in North Carolina; and may I say that all of you should be interested. Even if the taxes which we shall mention do not affect you or your work personally, there is a distinct possibility that state services which you get as a citizen will be affected and this in turn will affect you and your family. Each of us in North Carolina, whether worker, farmer, housewife, business or professional man, is concerned with our state's future. Let's try to view the needs of our state as a whole and thereby better understand the recommendations made by the Tax Study Commission.

Without fear or apology, we must recognize at the outset that the North Carolina economy, when viewed as a whole, and when compared with that of most of the other states, is a poor one. In addition our economy is unbalanced to an extent which, if not corrected, is capable of making our state relatively poorer and poorer. That our economy is a relatively poor one is demonstrated by the fact that our annual per capita income in North Carolina is only $1236, or forty-fourth in the entire nation. That our economy is dangerously unbalanced is demonstrated by the fact that the per capita income of the approximate one-third of our people depending on agriculture is roughly $500. This compares with an approximate per capita income of $1600 for the two-thirds of our people who are dependent for their income on sources *other than agriculture.* That this unbalance can, if not corrected, make our over-all economy poorer and poorer is proved by the fact that approximately 57 per cent of the total cash receipts from farming in North Carolina is provided by tobacco, and

a further acreage cut of 20 per cent has been announced within the last day or so. This cut in acreage will not necessarily, of course, mean a 20 per cent cut in *income* from tobacco.

However, when it is remembered that 73 per cent of the flue-cured tobacco allotments in North Carolina are for five acres or less, it cannot be denied that any cut will create serious economic problems for tobacco farmers. Only last year, figures were published to the effect that if a 20 per cent cut were made in tobacco acreage as of that time it would displace 5,000 farm families, or 20,000 people, in *only nine* of the tobacco-growing counties in eastern North Carolina. Thus we can see that the recently announced acreage cut will mean a further serious adjustment in our economy, particularly in eastern North Carolina, and more and more people will be thrown out of work. The possibilities of unemployment which can arise from a cut in tobacco acreage should be a matter of serious concern to the entire state as well as to eastern North Carolina. Speaking of unemployment, we are informed that for the week ending June 16, 1956 (which is the latest figure available), 4.9 per cent of the workers *covered by unemployment insurance* in North Carolina were unemployed as compared with a national average of 3.1 per cent and with 3.3 per cent in South Carolina and 2.4 per cent in Virginia. In other words, our unemployment in North Carolina is 60 per cent higher than the national average.

The conditions which we have just described leave little room for doubt that something must be done looking toward changes and improvements in our economic structure. Just what we can do may depend on several factors. Certainly, before we can do anything, we must identify and understand the causes which lie at the root of these conditions.

The low per capita income of the total population of North Carolina is, at least in part, attributable to the large number of families living on low-production farms and the large number of members in the farm families. We have the largest farm population of any state (more than double the national average) and the smallest-sized farms in the South. A large proportion of our farm workers have no income other than that derived from agriculture. In fact, less than 68,000 farm operators, out of a total of 268,000, work more than 100 days per year off the farm, and only

41 per cent of the total farm operators have any work at all off the farm. Of this 41 per cent who do have outside work, however, well over one-half *have an income from their outside work which exceeds their total farm income.*

North Carolina farms have a low capital investment per worker, and without capital it is almost impossible to raise agricultural-production efficiency. As already mentioned, the great dependence of a large portion of our farmers on tobacco results in lower and lower average farm incomes during a period of declining tobacco prices, or lowered tobacco acreage.

Another factor contributing to our failure to raise our farm income is the lack of food-processing industries. I have talked about this almost continually for the past two years. We are making progress; *but* in a state which is capable of producing tremendous amounts of food, only 4.3 per cent of our manufacturing employees are in food industries, as compared with a national percentage of 8.5 per cent or barely one-half of the national average. We know with reasonable certainty that efficient processing and marketing or selling are more important to farm income in this day than its production. Yet, we are producing agricultural and related products, sending them out of the state for processing, and then spending our good money to buy them back, giving the chief profits to other areas of the country in which food-processing industries are located. The chief exceptions to this practice of sending our raw materials elsewhere for processing lie in tobacco, cotton, and lumber processing.

Thus, we see that the condition of the agricultural segment of our economy is in part responsible for the plight in which we find ourselves as a state. An oversupply of small, marginal farms is not the only contributor, however, nor is overdependence on tobacco production our only problem. Of the nearly one and one-half million persons producing income in North Carolina, nearly half a million, or one-third, are in manufacturing industries. And strange as it may seem, our manufacturing in North Carolina is also a contributor, in some ways, to our low per capita income. Our state stands *first* in the nation in the output of textile manufacturing. It stands *first* in the output value of tobacco manufacturing, and it stands *first* in the output value of wood furniture manufacturing. One would think that with these three firsts the

manufacturing segment of our economy would be a great contributor toward a high per capita income. This is actually the case if we compare the income of North Carolinians engaged in manufacturing with North Carolinians engaged in agriculture; however, it is not true when compared with the income of persons *engaged in manufacturing* in many of the other states. North Carolina ranks twelfth in the number of workers employed in manufacturing industry; *but* we rank next to the bottom, or forty-seventh among the states in weekly manufacturing earnings.

Textile manufacturing, tobacco manufacturing, and furniture manufacturing are comparatively low-skill industries. Being low-skill industries they are comparatively low-wage industries. This is in no way a criticism of these industries because, as a matter of fact, with North Carolina's high percentage of low-skilled labor, these industries are suited for the kind of workers we now have. Frankly, our state deeply appreciates these industries and would be in a bad fix without them, since from the ten Piedmont counties in which these industries are mostly located, the state received 49 per cent of the total General Fund revenues. We find here too, further evidence of the imbalance in our economy in that ten Piedmont counties contain 54 per cent of the insured payrolls in North Carolina.

But let no one assume that the Piedmont area does not also have serious economic problems. For instance, we find here also another area of crisis almost as acute as the crisis in tobacco production. I refer to textile manufacturing, which is caught in a squeeze between rising production costs and lowered prices, brought about as a result of ever-increasing Japanese imports and competition from other materials. Textile manufacturing is an old and honorable industry, subject to feast and famine, and its equipment and production methods can become obsolescent unless it continues to spend vast sums of money to keep modern and competitive.

Our tobacco manufacturing industry has meant a great deal to our state and of all our manufacturing activities, the tobacco factories have used our most plentiful basic raw material—tobacco. Here is processing indeed! We want more of this sort of thing.

And our furniture industry is expanding greatly, giving employment and processing another of our basic crops—timber.

There is a great future in this state for our timber crops for furniture manufacturing, for paper manufacturing, and other important uses.

Perhaps sufficient has been said to identify the more readily apparent causes of our lagging and unbalanced economy. As a matter of fact, we have known these things for quite some time. Researchers in our colleges and universities have been pointing them out to us for years, but we have not been willing to take some of the necessary actions for their correction.

This reluctance to face up to our problems may have resulted from overconfidence in North Carolina's lead in industrial development in the South during the 1930's. We have perhaps relied on the continuance of that leadership without giving sufficient thought to the fact that *other states* were making themselves more and more attractive to industry and were successfully cutting into our rate of growth. In any event, the report of the Tax Study Commission tells us that as of today our rate of industrial growth has fallen behind the rate of growth in the other Southeastern states and behind the rate of growth in the nation as a whole. The time has come when we are faced with an unavoidable choice. Either we must begin correcting the defects in our economy so as to provide higher incomes and more business activities from which taxes may be secured, or we will have to cut down on the amount and quality of governmental services, such as education, welfare, etc., which we have been able to furnish ourselves in the past. This would put us in a backward trend from which recovery might be very difficult!

There are probably many things we need to do to improve our economy, and one of the most important of these is to increase our industrial growth. Through the expansion of our existing industries, through the creation of more locally owned industries, and through the attraction of additional and diversified industries from the outside we can provide the employment and income we must have to take care of our growing state. And, above all, we must spread this industrial growth *throughout* the state so as to include areas in which our farm economy simply cannot profitably make use of the increasing surplus labor force looking for work.

Just how do we go about increasing our industrial growth to

a satisfactory point? Well, again there are probably many things we need to do; but here is one thing of immediate and pressing importance. We must modernize and improve our tax structure so as to avoid discouraging existing and prospective industries from expanding or locating in North Carolina. The commission's report warns us that our present tax structure may well be doing the very thing we must avoid. Indeed, the commission quotes some of the recent additions to our industrial family as saying they decided to locate in North Carolina *despite* the comparatively unfavorable state tax bill.

We North Carolinians want to believe that most any industry would prefer to locate here if they knew us, but the trouble seems to be that too many industrial prospects are taking one technical look at our state taxes and turning elsewhere without ever letting us display our more attractive features. And with large corporations which have legal and tax departments studying only national tax services, North Carolina frequently doesn't get a chance to discuss our tax situation—both state and local. Furthermore, there is reliable evidence that some of the industries now in North Carolina are finding their state tax bill on *interstate* activities too high to permit their remaining with us. This we must consider carefully.

Latest census statistics, according to a recent editorial in the Durham *Herald,* point up one reason why North Carolina is so anxious to attract new industry and to see industry already here expand. Since 1950, more than 181,000 North Carolinans have left the state. They would like to remain here, but they didn't have work opportunity. This was proved when a new industry advertised outside the state for skills they needed. Most of their applications came from *former residents* of North Carolina. We need to keep our talents, our skills, and our friends at home.

And we need new skills among our people, and we have plans to expand our vocational and technical school training to be ready for industries we need and must get. Our people are the best found anywhere—they are productive, understanding, and cooperative, and they love their communities and their state.

Awareness of the deficiencies and likely inequities in our structure was shown by the 1955 General Assembly in the act which authorized the creation of the Tax Study Commission. While

News and Observer Photo

Left to right: Sam Clark, Governor Hodges, Governor Frank Clement of Tennessee, and Leo Harvey at a meeting of the North Carolina Citizens Association at which Governor Clement was the principal speaker in Raleigh, March 20, 1956.

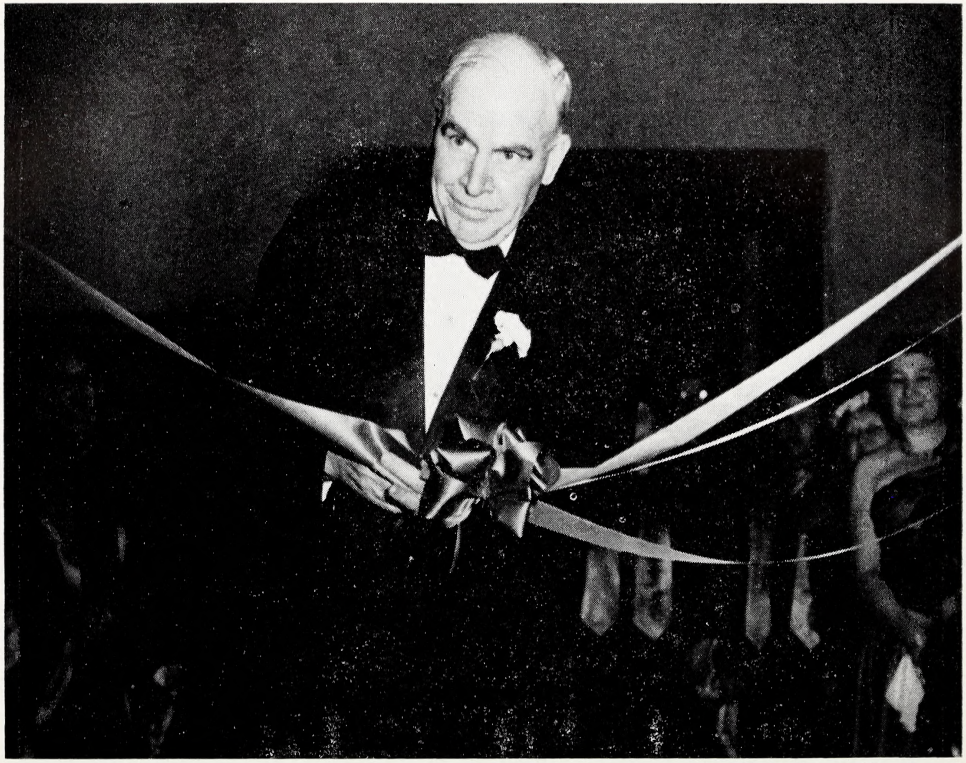


Photo by Madlin Futrell

Governor Hodges cutting ribbon at opening of the North Carolina Museum of Art, April 6, 1956.

directing a comprehensive study of all our tax laws, the General Assembly in specific language ordered a detailed study of the impact of state and local taxes upon industry and alluded to the possibility that the allocation formula under the income and franchise taxes is excessively harsh and inflexible. We will have more to say about the allocation formula in a few minutes.

The Tax Study Commission accepted with dedication its task as assigned by the General Assembly and has turned in a report which covers all state taxes except highway taxes and the relatively small amount of fees which finance the Agricultural Fund. I would like, at this point, to quote briefly from the commission's report in order to give you an idea of the thoroughness with which this task was carried out:

> The members of the commission divided themselves into study groups and made an intensive and extensive study of the existing tax schedules. In accomplishing this study the personnel of the Department of Tax Research augmented by the services of a certified public accountant and temporary employees were relied on heavily. The Department of Revenue was called upon to work with the Sales Tax Committee in rewriting the sales and use tax laws and was called upon to submit recommendations for changes in the general fund tax schedules. The Institute of Government was commissioned to make a detailed study of license taxes.
>
> Appeals were made through the newspapers, personal contacts and public speeches for all interested persons, businesses, corporations, professional groups and trade associations to participate in the study by the presentation of written briefs and oral discussions setting forth recommendations for changes, the reasons therefor and effect thereof. The commission was gratified at the response. Individuals, businesses, industries, promotional, protective and service associations, and state agencies provided many briefs, surveys and studies of high quality.

Copies of the commission's report have already been mailed to members-elect of the 1957 General Assembly and to the press throughout the state. Tomorrow we are having a state-wide press conference here in Raleigh in order that the press may ask any questions and secure complete details for their readers. Copies of the report will be available for general distribution within the next few days. Write for a copy if you wish!

Tonight, time does not permit any detailed discussion, or even a complete listing, of all the recommendations contained in the

commission's report. However, we can mention a few of them just to give you an idea of what the commission has recommended.

Several of the recommendations are designed principally to bring our state income tax laws more in line with federal income tax laws and regulations. For example, *under present state law,* if a home owner, having to move his residence for one reason or another, sells his home and receives a larger price for it than he originally paid, the difference is *taxed* as *income.* This is true even though the home owner has to turn around and pay all that he received from the sale, and perhaps even more, in order to secure another house at an inflated price, and perhaps of no greater actual value than the house he sold. This means that the home owner is taxed on a gain which actually was *not realized.* Under federal law governing such a transaction, if the new home is purchased within *a year* from the sale of the old, the home owner *is not taxed* on the unrealized gain. The commission recommends that in this instance our state law be made like the federal. There are several other recommendations of a similar nature.

A few proposals made by the commission are designed solely to eliminate unnecessary red tape. For example, it is suggested that the requirement in state law that a witness sign your tax return be eliminated.

Moving on to the more far-reaching recommendations, we find the proposal that in reporting income all taxpayers, if they so desire, be allowed to use what is referred to as the "standard deduction" rather than having to list individually all deductions, such as contributions to charity, interest on mortages, etc. Under present state procedures only those persons whose income is received solely from salary or commissions are allowed to do this, which means that taxpayers such as farmers and small businessmen are now denied the privilege. This change will aid many people.

In regard to the sales and use tax, most everyone is aware of the crazy-quilt design found here. When North Carolina enacted the sales tax in 1933, she was the second state to experiment in this field. There was no model law to follow and no precedent as a guide. It has been amended by patchwork. The Tax Study Commission, with the aid of the Department of Revenue, has written a sales and use tax law to replace the present one. This has *not* been done primarily for the purpose of raising or lower-

ing revenues from this source, but for purposes of cleaning up the present confusion. Also, it will clarify the status of transactions subject to the tax, will organize the statute, spelling out definitions of terms so that the law may be more easily understood by the taxpayers and also more easily administered. A new set of proposed sales tax rules has been prepared and will be available for the taxpayer's guidance.

The changes recommended under the franchise tax are few and do not materially affect the tax liability of the taxpayers. The same applies to insurance taxes.

The intangibles tax is collected by the state for the benefit of local governments in lieu of a local tax on this type property. At present the state retains 20 per cent of the net collections. Since the state itself does not levy a general property tax and since other changes being recommended remove certain other revenues from the local units, the commission feels that 100 per cent of the collections should be returned to the cities and counties. It is also proposed that certain charitable, religious, and educational organizations should be exempted from this levy. Other minor changes should be made to eliminate unnecessary red tape.

The present license tax schedules levy a hodge-podge group of overlapping taxes collected by city, county, and state. There are 73 sections of the law taxing 160 businesses at the state level. Cities tax 333 separate categories of business. There is no ceiling on the amount that cities may levy on certain types of business. Some businesses are heavily taxed in comparison with competitors. In general, license taxes now have a greater impact on the small businesses than on the larger ones. The commission recommends the adoption of a *new type of occupational levy* which reduces the classifications of business and extends the tax to every concern. But it protects business by *placing a ceiling* on the amount of tax a local unit may levy and removes overlapping and duplication by subjecting one type of business to taxation by only *one level of government*. It will cut down the number of licenses required, be less annoying, have less red tape, encourage new business formation, and will clearly specify what tax is levied and by which governmental unit. In general, there may be some slight decreases and some slight increases in license taxes, but the net result is to benefit smaller taxpayers and collect from

all license taxpayers about the same amount of money that is now being collected under the entire license tax schedules.

The commission found that our present *methods* of taxing banks are completely unrealistic and discriminate as between the banks themselves. To illustrate the effect of the existing laws, it may be pointed out that national banks *do not pay any tax to the state government.* State banks are subject to the income tax, but even among state banks there is discrimination. Those banks which lend money to local business and individuals tend to pay more tax than those which put all of their deposits into government bonds. To illustrate: One bank with large resources realized about three quarters of a million dollars in real net income in 1955, but because of the investment plan followed and because of the peculiar operation *of our income tax law,* it did not owe one cent of income tax to the state. The total tax bill of state banks under the new recommendations will be equalized between the various banks on a fair basis.

Now let us consider briefly what is probably the most urgently needed change of all those recommended in the commission's report. I consider it the most needed because I sincerely believe that our efforts to correct the defects in our economy to achieve greater and wider industrial growth are going to be severely handicapped without it. This recommendation has to do with the allocation formula with which the General Assembly has expressed concern and which I mentioned earlier tonight.

By way of explanation, the allocation formula is used in connection with business firms which carry on business activities not only in North Carolina, but in other states as well. Application of the formula to a firm's multi-state operations is for the purpose of determining what portion of the firm's income is subject to tax in North Carolina. It is also applied to determine such a firm's tax liability under our franchise tax.

With respect to income tax, our allocation formula works as follows: A corporation with a North Carolina charter, called a domestic company, which does business in other states as well as in North Carolina, pays to this state an income tax on all the money it earns *elsewhere,* unless that income is taxed in other states, many of which do not have any corporate income tax. Thus, North Carolina takes its tax without regard to whether this in-

come is actually earned in North Carolina or whether it can be attributed to operations carried on in North Carolina.

A corporation with a charter from another state, called a foreign corporation, which does business *here and elsewhere,* must pay this state an income tax on a highly arbitrary base determined by using a formula of property and manufacturing costs in some cases and a formula of property and sales in others. To alleviate the inequities now existing and to remove a very serious handicap to our program of industrial development, the commission recommends that a formula for both selling and manufacturing concerns, both domestic and foreign concerns, doing business here and in other states, be enacted into our statute based on *property, payrolls and sales.* Such a formula is universally accepted to be fairer for both the state involved and the taxpayer, *and is used in most of the states which levy a corporate income tax.*

The adoption of these changes in the tax statutes will not result in an income tax package lower than that of our sister states, but I believe that it will eliminate those inequities which produce a very definite negative reaction when individuals and businesses are considering location or expansion in North Carolina.

We have examined briefly tonight the economic situation in North Carolina, and have cited only a few of the recommendations made by the Tax Study Commission looking toward improvement in that situation. We have not in this talk covered anywhere near the entire report. It contains many other recommendations in which all of you will be interested, and which will be made available to you in the press following the state-wide press conference tomorrow.

The tax revision program does not constitute tax relief as such, but is an interrelated package to accomplish the highly desirable and much needed goal of cleaning up our tax structure by equalizing the impact of the taxes upon taxpayers similarly situated. Changes which have been recommended will not affect taxpayers and groups of taxpayers, but they will affect the tax receipts of all three levels of government; the state; the cities; and the counties. The changes will mean a temporary loss to the state in its General Fund revenues, but we should get it back many times over in the future. We will give tomorrow full details of revenue losses.

A state has only a few powers by which it can exercise control over basic fiscal conditions. It has no power to issue money or control fiscal affairs as the federal government has. It must, like its citizens, live within its means. If the state is not careful, it can levy its taxes in such a manner as to jeopardize its future. *To provide an education for our children and other governmental services in the future will be impossible without the creation of new businesses, the replacement of obsolete plants, the addition of new industries, and the employment of more capital and mechanization on our farms. Our rate of economic growth must be accelerated and we must diversify our economy as much as possible.*

Our resources will not support the necessary governmental functions unless the quality and quantity of our economic resources are increased. The tax problems which I have mentioned constitute a serious roadblock and a very definite deterrent to our efforts to get for our people a greater portion of the nation's income and wealth. With these changes it may be possible not only to avoid impending stagnation, but also to recapture our former rate of growth so that all of our people may enjoy a greater share of the finer things of life.

In conclusion, I wish to say that the report of the Tax Study Commission is a good report and a fair report, deserving of the favorable consideration of all our people. In my judgment, it constitutes the first comprehensive, over-all, objective report ever to be made on our tax structure. In general, it attempts to modernize our methods of taxation and to eliminate inequities. Against a background of economic crisis, it finds that certain phases of our tax structure are a serious handicap to the well-balanced development of our state; it seeks to remove these roadblocks to our growth by proposing amendments to our Revenue Act which tend to remove outdated and outmoded provisions. It is the purpose of these changes to bring North Carolina in line with modern tax thinking and to put us in a more competitive position with our neighboring states.

I have studied this program, unanimously recommended by the Tax Study Commission, and approve it with enthusiasm. Furthermore, I sincerely believe that if the entire program is considered as a whole, and in light of our state's future, the com-

mission's recommendations will receive the hearty approval and support of the General Assembly and the people of North Carolina.

I think most of you understand that I have no selfish motive in urging tax revision and in encouraging the growth of industry in North Carolina. I have no personal interest financially or otherwise in industry in this state. When I came into the governorship in 1954, I severed all my industrial connections, including stock ownership, and I gave up voluntarily a salaried directorship in a large national corporation because it had plants in North Carolina.

In my service to our state, I want to be able to speak and act without criticism of any self-interest. I have one chief desire and that is to help raise the income of North Carolinians in all walks of life, and to increase their enjoyment of citizenship in this good state.

Tomorrow, as mentioned, we propose to discuss this tax program in a state-wide press conference at Raleigh, and I urge your continued interest and open-mindedness regarding this problem. In the coming weeks and months before and during the General Assembly (which will meet in February) it will be my privilege and duty to discuss other reports, programs and recommendations which will be in the state's best interest.

However, I must emphasize that unless our tax program and other state attractions bring us more taxpayers and thereby more revenue, our job of continuing and improving our state services of schools, roads, agricultural aids, social and welfare services, etc. will be made more difficult.

Thank you so much for your patience in listening to me tonight.

SUMMARIES OF PUBLIC ADDRESSES

TALK BEFORE THE SIR WALTER CABINET

RALEIGH

January 11, 1955

The Sir Walter Cabinet is an organization of the wives of the members of the General Assembly of North Carolina and state officials. Governor Hodges spoke to this group briefly at their first meeting during the current session. He discussed the financial problems facing the state but looked ahead confidently at the ability of the legislature to solve them. "It is my belief," he said, "that this legislature is one of the most serious minded groups of people that has been to Raleigh in modern history. I think they will solve our problems. I am one who does not believe that we are facing a crisis in North Carolina. I think we are facing tough problems and I believe that we will solve those problems."

REMARKS BEFORE THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB

WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 28, 1955

The North Carolina members of this national organization honored Governor Hodges at a dinner meeting, with Mrs. Hodges and the state Congressional delegation and their wives as special guests. The Governor congratulated the Democratic party for the "leadership and integrity" it had offered North Carolina for the past fifty years and urged "patriotism against partisanship" in matters affecting the state and the localities, as well as the nation. As an example of the problems confronting his state, he cited the staggering task of financing state services and the necessity of increased revenue through new taxes.

REMARKS AT GROUNDBREAKING OF THE NEW GENERAL ELECTRIC PLANT

HENDERSONVILLE

February 4, 1955

Governor Hodges, along with Philip D. Reed, chairman of the board, and other high officials of the General Electric Company,

attended the ceremonies celebrating the beginning of construction of a multi-million dollar plant designed to employ about 600 people in the manufacture of outdoor lighting products. In his address the Governor welcomed the General Electric Company to Hendersonville as a "good, industrial neighbor" and spelled out the mutual advantages that accrue to the company, the state, and the community when a new plant is located in North Carolina.

SPEECH AT A LUNCHEON GIVEN BY THE CHASE NATIONAL BANK

NEW YORK CITY
February 25, 1955

While in New York with other state officials for conferences with industrial leaders, Governor Hodges was guest at a luncheon given by the Chase National Bank and his friend, John J. McCloy, chairman of the board. In a brief address, the Governor commented on North Carolina's impressive economic growth and the part the bank had played in this development.

ADDRESS BEFORE STATE OF THE UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE

RALEIGH
March 11, 1955

On the occasion of the granting of the O. Max Gardner Award for excellence in service of a faculty member, the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina and the faculties of the three consolidated institutions met together to discuss "Planning for the University for the Foreseeable Future." In an address before this group, Governor Hodges emphasized the necessity of having teachers of excellence "who are reasonable but who dare to speak out and who dare to think ahead, who dare to plan for a foreseeable future, but who most of all . . . inspire their students."

ADDRESS BEFORE THE COMBINED RURITAN CLUBS OF BEAUFORT COUNTY

WASHINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA
March 18, 1955

The Governor praised the Ruritan program for making the rural community a better place in which to live, and urged civic club members to take a more important part in politics and government in order to help "untangle some of the hard problems" confronting the state. Among these problems he stressed particularly the low per capita income and the necessity for maintaining a balanced budget.

ADDRESS BEFORE COMBINED MEETING OF THE STATE BOARD OF CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT, THE HIGH POINT ROTARY CLUB, HIGH POINT KIWANIS CLUB AND HIGH POINT CIVITAN CLUB

HIGH POINT
April 5, 1955

Speaking to this large group of community leaders, Governor Hodges paid tribute to the work of the civic clubs and to the individual members of the Board of Conservation and Development. He discussed the budgetary problems facing the General Assembly then in session, and expressed confidence that it would "raise the necessary revenues to meet increased need." Predicting vast expansion in the years ahead, the Governor said, "High per capita income calls for diversified industries, dispersed in all parts of North Carolina," and suggested the establishment of a State Chamber of Commerce to supplement the work of the Board of Conservation and Development in this direction.

ADDRESS AT DEDICATION OF THE HALIFAX MUSEUM

HALIFAX
April 12, 1955

Approximately 1,500 persons gathered on this occasion to celebrate the anniversary of the Halifax Resolves and to dedicate

the old Halifax jail as a museum. In reviewing the events of 1776, the Governor pointed out the extent to which private citizens of that day took a hand in public affairs, and he encouraged citizens of today to take a more active interest in solving some of the state's major problems.

ADDRESS AT ANNUAL FARMERS' DAY

FAIRMONT
April 21, 1955

Most of this talk was devoted to agriculture, which the Governor termed "the bedrock of our economy from the founding days." To improve the state's low farm income, he called for more efficiency, experimentation, and diversification, and emphasized the need for "investment of local capital in processing plants for our agricultural commodities."

REMARKS AT THE DEDICATION OF NEW FACILITIES AT THE CLIFFS OF THE NEUSE STATE PARK

GOLDSBORO
June 4, 1955

Governor Hodges described Cliffs of the Neuse State Park as an excellent example of two important things: first, community interest and community cooperation in a state project; and second, the provision for recreational use of natural resources as a part of the state's conservation program.

ADDRESS BEFORE GENERAL SESSION OF SCHOOL LAW CONFERENCE

DUKE UNIVERSITY
June 21, 1955

The occasion for this address was the second annual meeting of a conference on school law sponsored jointly by the Cooperative

Program in Educational Administration, Middle Atlantic Region, and Duke University and participated in by a number of men and women of national reputation in the field of school law. The Governor repeated the substance of his Charlotte speech of April 23 (pp. 117-131) and a portion of his state-wide radio and television broadcast of June 6 (pp. 143-154). He also announced at this time the membership of the Advisory Committee on Education, created by the 1955 General Assembly "to provide counsel and advice" to the governor and other state officials on the segregation issue. The members of this committee were Thomas J. Pearsall, Rocky Mount, chairman; Colonel William T. Joyner, Raleigh; R. O. Huffman, Morganton; W. Lunsford Crew, Roanoke Rapids; William Medford, Waynesville; H. Cloyd Philpott, Lexington; and Edward F. Yarborough, Louisburg. This committee is to be distinguished from the Governor's Special Advisory Committee on Education, composed of nineteen members appointed by Governor Umstead on August 4, 1954, and continued in existence by Governor Hodges. Thomas J. Pearsall was also chairman of the earlier committee, and both committees are often referred to indiscriminately as the "Pearsall Committee."

ADDRESS BEFORE THE FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL FARM AND HOME WEEK

RALEIGH
June 22, 1955

This speech was made before a group of farm people assembled in the North Carolina State College Coliseum. The Governor urged cooperation in the promotion of water conservation and of highway safety. He also repeated his concern over the state's low per capita income and described his plans for encouraging the development of small industries in the state. With reference to the school segregation problem, he counselled "calmness and courage" and expressed confidence that some solution would be found "to save our schools and our traditions."

ADDRESS BEFORE THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA FOOD DEALERS ASSOCIATION

GREENSBORO
August 23, 1955

Following a review of the fiscal condition of the state with particular reference to its effects upon the independent merchant, the Governor directed his address to the development of food processing plants in North Carolina. In spite of vast expansion in this area, he said, "we are too far behind in the processing of our fruits, vegetables, and seafoods for the growing markets." He suggested that the food dealers work with state agencies to determine what foods now grown in the state could be processed and sold here profitably.

REMARKS AT EIGHTH ANNUAL BENEFIT SUPPER OF THE BATTLEBORO VOLUNTEER FIRE DEPARTMENT

BATTLEBORO
September 2, 1955

On this occasion the Governor pointed out that fire fighting has been a community responsibility since colonial days, and he commended the service of the Battleboro group, one of 320 volunteer fire departments in the state. Turning his attention to the current depressed price of tobacco on the auction market, he urged this community, in the heart of the tobacco-producing area, not to let "petty grievances divide us on the over-all value of the tobacco control program." At the same time, he encouraged greater crop diversification on the land released by the necessary reduction in tobacco acreage and the establishment of local processing plants.

REMARKS TO SOUTHEASTERN STATE CIVIL DEFENSE DIRECTORS

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE
September 9, 1955

Speaking from his personal experiences in the recent hurricanes

which had battered the coast of North Carolina and had done extensive damage to inland agriculture, Governor Hodges recommended greater coordination between state and federal Civil Defense leaders in both planning and action. He also urged the need for a system of disaster insurance to protect people from major economic catastrophe.

ADDRESS BEFORE NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION NORTH CAROLINA STATE EMPLOYEES' ASSOCIATION

ASHEVILLE
September 10, 1955

To his "fellow-state employees" Governor Hodges spoke of the common problems, interests and objectives they shared. He praised the statement of the association's executive secretary, Clifton Beckwith, and his definition of the group's aim, "to make ourselves better state employees." It is the duty of every public servant, he noted, to serve as a "good will ambassador" by doing an efficient job with courtesy and consideration for the public at all times. In addition, one must also explain "intelligently and coherently what our agency, our department or our institution is trying to do. To understand and approve government policies or services, citizens must have adequate information on which to form judgments."

ADDRESS OF WELCOME, FARMERS' COOPERATIVE EXCHANGE, INC. AND NORTH CAROLINA COTTON GROWERS' COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

RALEIGH
September 13, 1955

The Governor congratulated these two organizations for their valuable record of service to farm people individually and to North Carolina agriculture in general. In order to "preserve, protect and strengthen the state's great heritage of agriculture," he encouaged more orderly marketing of farm products along with the establishment of processing plants to handle home-grown commodities.

REMARKS AT "HODGES HOMECOMING DINNER"

REIDSVILLE
September 16, 1955

At this dinner in his honor in his home county of Rockingham, the Governor spoke with warmth and affection to the large group in attendance. "I said then [1952] that I would rather have the support of my home town and my home county than to be elected lieutenant governor . . . if I should run for office again . . . I would prefer to have that support than to be elected governor. And, if I could not have the support of my town and county, then I would have conducted myself in such a way that I ought not to be supported by the other counties of the state."

ADDRESS AT ANNUAL CONVENTION OF COMBED YARN SPINNERS ASSOCIATION

HOT SPRINGS, VIRGINIA
September 17, 1955

Speaking with the knowledge acquired from thirty years in the textile industry, Governor Hodges outlined its development in the South and its importance in the economy. Gaston County and the surrounding area, he remarked, is the combed yarn center of the world. Commenting on North Carolina's development program, he emphasized that the state seeks not only to attract new plants and to develop local ones, but also to encourage the expansion of "our home grown" industries. He also discussed in some detail the serious problems resulting from the recent reduction in the cotton textile tariff rates and the consequent competition from Japanese imports. Recognizing the many difficult aspects of this situation, he told of the fact-finding commission he had appointed to "study the effects on our state's economy of this recent tariff action."

REMARKS AT FARMERS' DAY CELEBRATION

ROSEBORO
September 21, 1955

On this occasion the Governor attacked the agriculture policy

of the current Republican administration: "I want to say quite frankly to you that our national farm program now is in the hands of those who, largely, have little if any understanding or interest in the farm problems of North Carolina and the South." Despite this and other serious problems, however, he predicted a great future for agriculture, and commended Sampson County for the interest its farmers have shown in crop diversification.

REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF THE TEACHERS MEMORIAL SCHOOL

KINSTON
September 21, 1955

Governor Hodges directed his remarks to a consideration of the extremely large part which local communities play in providing necessary school buildings, and the extent to which these needs are increasing. Reviewing depression conditions that led to the present school fiscal system of North Carolina, he explained that while the state in 1933 assumed the duty of providing minimum financing for public education, it left the responsibility for building schools with each county. In 1949 and again in 1953 the state did provide special funds for school construction, but future expansion will rest primarily on the locality. School enrollment is increasing steadily, and citizens must look for ways to provide buildings to house these pupils. Split shifts have been suggested; federal aid is a possibility; but "it is highly probable that the lion's share of responsibility for providing school buildings and facilities will remain in the local community."

ADDRESS BEFORE SPECIAL SUB-COMMITTEE ON WATER RESOURCES AND POWER OF THE HOUSE GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE

RALEIGH
September 28, 1955

A special sub-committee of the Government Operations Committee of the House of Representatives visited Raleigh seeking

out opinion on recommendations of the Hoover Commission on water resources and power. Representatives of various state agencies concerned with water testified before the group. Governor Hodges directed his remarks to an over-all picture of the water problems that exist in North Carolina and the steps the state government has taken to solve them. On the question of what would be a proper policy for the federal government to take, he urged the committee that one "should be sought insofar as possible on a non-partisan and objective basis."

ADDRESS BEFORE INSTITUTE FOR NORTH CAROLINA EMPLOYMENT SECURITY COMMISSION EMPLOYEES

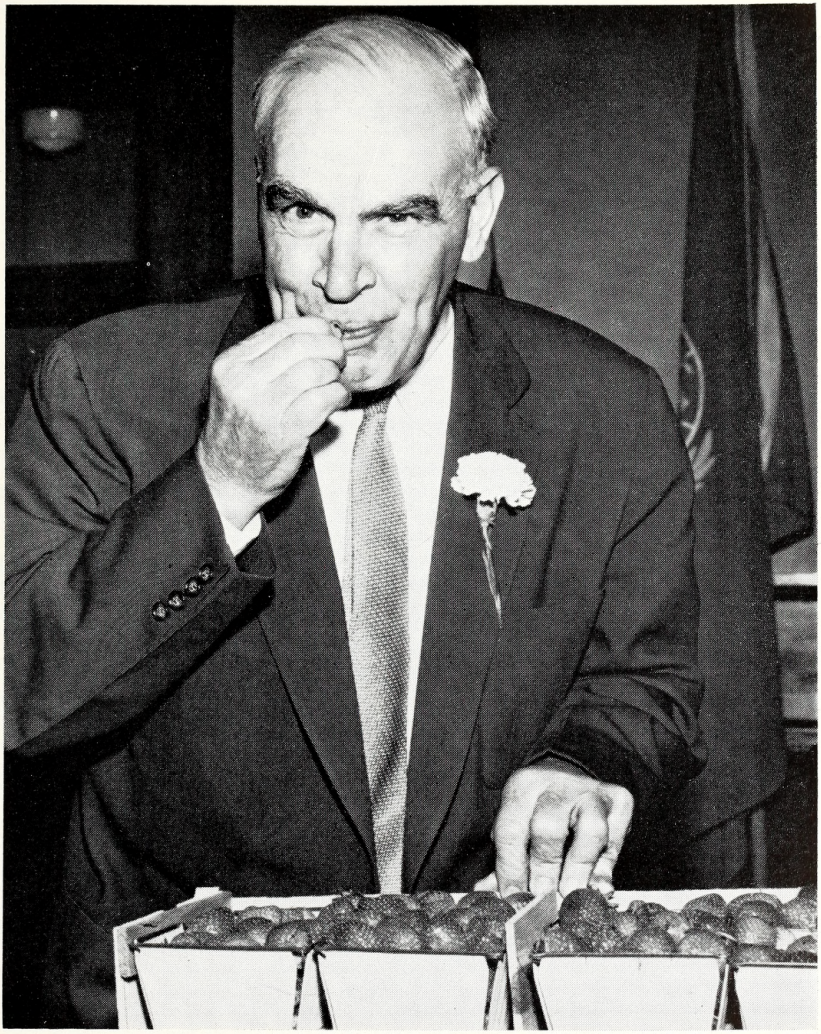
CHAPEL HILL
September 30, 1955

The Governor was invited to speak at this meeting on the subject of the economic development of North Carolina. Examining the trends that resulted in North Carolina's becoming the leading industrial state of the Southeast, and the nation's largest producer of textiles, tobacco products, and wooden furniture, he predicted even greater future expansion in both agriculture and industry. He spoke with pride of the Research Triangle Committee and cited the "progress it is making in its efforts to develop great research centers" as an example of the state's forward looking attitude.

ADDRESS AT THE THIRD ANNUAL JAYCEE PENDER COUNTY AGRICULTURAL FAIR

BURGAW
October 7, 1955

This agricultural fair is unique in that only boys and girls enrolled in the county schools are eligible to make exhibits. Acknowledging this fact, the Governor praised the people of Pender County and the Jaycee organization for their emphasis on young people, whom he described as "the greatest of all human resources." He mentioned individually a number of "typical



News and Observer Photo

The Governor samples a crate of North Carolina strawberries, May 11, 1956.

Photo by Bill Gulley

Governor Hodges takes a ride in "Tweetsie," May 20, 1956.

young men and women . . . who sprang from the soil of Pender and will make their mark in the life of North Carolina, especially in the field of agriculture and agricultural services." On the subject of North Carolina agriculture in general, he expressed "great faith in the future," although better marketing and more local processing, he said, were needed to "build a stronger North Carolina through a stronger agriculture."

ADDRESS AT ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA MOTOR CARRIERS ASSOCIATION

PINEHURST
October 10, 1955

On this occasion the Governor traced the development of the motor transport industry, noting that its progress had been closely allied with the state's policy of highway improvement. He expressed the hope "that some constructive action will be taken in the next session of Congress which will permit us to have . . . an expanded federal aid road program," and predicted that "the Gore bill would most nearly meet our requirements." He also thanked the association and its members for the support given to the state highway safety campaign.

ADDRESS BEFORE STATE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE GROUP ON EDUCATION

RALEIGH
October 13, 1955

This state conference was attended by about 1,500 teachers and other interested persons preparatory to sending thirty-four delegates to a national White House Conference on Education which had been called to meet in Washington late in 1955. Governor Hodges, one of the many speakers, called for long range planning in education and expressed his belief that the public school system would be continued in spite of the current problems raised by the Supreme Court's decision on segregation. It may take some time, he said, but "North Carolina resources of common

sense, our tradition of getting along together, and our determination to do what is best for our children will bring us through this period of confusion and difficulty into a time of great public education."

ADDRESS BEFORE NORTH CAROLINA TEXTILE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION

PINEHURST
October 14, 1955

The Governor reminisced about his many years of experience in the textile industry and recalled that twenty-five years earlier he had been labelled a "Young Turk" because of his espousal of "certain forward-looking matters," including the need for a central agency of textile mills similar to the later formed American Cotton Manufacturers Institute. He then spoke of the importance of textile manufacturing to North Carolina and discussed some of the problems facing the industry, with emphasis upon the current competition of imports from Japan. As one solution to present difficulties, he called attention to his Small Industries Plan for promoting industrial development and sought backing from the textile industry for this and other programs to help North Carolina grow.

STATEMENT ON WATER CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT AT SOUTHERN GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE

POINT CLEAR, ALABAMA
October 19, 1955

Speaking to his fellow-governors from the South, Governor Hodges pointed with pride to North Carolina's early recognition of the importance of water resources, and to the "substantial attention" the state has devoted to this subject. The problems involved in water conservation and development fall, he noted, into two categories, administrative and legal; and the most outstanding need is for "coordination of the work done by the many

governmental agencies—city, county, state, and federal—that are concerned with water resources." He used as an example the construction of the John Kerr Reservoir for purposes of flood control and generation of electric power, which in turn created problems in the fields of wildlife preservation and stream pollution.

ADDRESS BEFORE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RAILROAD AND UTILITIES COMMISSIONERS

ASHEVILLE
October 26, 1955

Representatives of the regulatory commissions of all the states, of all the federal regulatory organizations, and of the regulated industries attended this convention in Asheville. The Governor utilized his appearance to inform the large group of visitors about western North Carolina, the state, and the South as good places to live. He emphasized in particular the advantages that North Carolina afforded for the establishment of new industries and for the expansion of existing ones, and suggested that the South was now becoming the nation's Economic Opportunity No. 1 instead of its Economic Problem No. 1. Speaking of the regulatory bodies, he stressed the importance of the vital responsibilities entrusted to them, and the fact that the public expects them to be above suspicion.

REMARKS BEFORE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN ALBEMARLE ASSOCIATION

WILLIAMSTON
October 28, 1955

On this occasion the Governor reviewed the historical development and the natural resources of the counties comprising the Southern Albemarle section—Martin, Dare, Hyde, Tyrrell, Washington and Beaufort—and commended the association for "what you have accomplished through group effort and unselfish service in behalf of the region you represent." He expressed his pleasure

that a bridge across Croatan Sound was under construction, and voiced his hope that funds to build an Alligator River bridge can be obtained in the "not too distant future."

ADDRESS BEFORE THE FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA BOTTLERS ASSOCIATION, INC.

RALEIGH
November 1, 1955

Governor Hodges complimented the bottlers for the progress their industry has made, and pointed out that North Carolina leads all the other states in the per capita consumption of soft drinks with its annual average of 265 as against the national average of 178. Taking as his main theme "what we are trying to do from the businessman's point of view in state goverment," the Governor emphasized the fact that industrial development had been a major project of his administration. In particular he described his efforts to establish the privately-financed Business Development Corporation and urged participation in this project by members of the association to which he was speaking.

ADDRESS BEFORE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE FIELD PERSONNEL

RALEIGH
November 2, 1955

Speaking to 275 federal conservation workers meeting in Raleigh, Governor Hodges paid high tribute to an Anson County native, Hugh Hammond Bennett, first chief of the Soil Conservation Service and a pioneer in the control of soil erosion. Turning his attention to the water problems of North Carolina, the Governor sought the help of this audience of conservation experts in protecting and developing the state's water supply, and expressed his appreciation for their work in assisting farm people during the recent hurricanes.

ADDRESS BEFORE COUNTY-WIDE EDUCATION MEETING IN GASTON COUNTY

DALLAS
November 3, 1955

At this well-attended meeting sponsored by the local units of the National Education Association and United Forces for Education in celebration of American Education Week, the Governor praised these organizations for their outstanding contributions to the advancement of the public schools. "Public education has faced dark days before," he noted as he reviewed school legislation from the first common school law of 1839, through the dark days of the Civil War and Reconstruction, the thrilling revival under Charles B. Aycock, the financial crisis imposed by the depression, and the current impact of problems associated with segregation. Expressing his "firm belief" that the segregation issue can be worked out in such a way as to insure the continuance of the public schools, he urged his listeners not to overlook other educational needs, particularly the necessity for better training of "our future voters and leaders."

ADDRESS BEFORE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CARDED YARN ASSOCIATION

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA
November 11, 1955

Governor Hodges reminded this group of businessmen and industrialists that "good citizenship is good business. . . . I urge you to do more than just pay your fair share of taxes. Contribute some of your own personal time and talents . . . government needs the active support and participation of men like yourselves." He spoke of the "exciting and unlimited future" as he reviewed economic conditions, and indicated problem areas that seek solution.

ADDRESS BEFORE NORTH CAROLINA SCHOOL BOARDS ASSOCIATION

CHAPEL HILL
November 16, 1955

Speaking to representatives of 155 of the state's 174 school administrative units, Governor Hodges cautioned the group not to let the "overtones of the segregation problem" prevent them from going ahead with other important duties in connection with the public schools. Reminding them of the increased policy-making responsibilities placed on school boards by the recent changes in state school law, he directed their attention to areas of new school construction, improved personnel policies, and more economical administrative operation of the schools.

ADDRESS BEFORE FALL CONVENTION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA AUTOMOTIVE WHOLESALERS ASSOCIATION, INC.

ABOARD THE M. S. STOCKHOLM ENROUTE WILMINGTON TO BERMUDA
November 18, 1955

The Governor and Mrs. Hodges were guests of about 250 automotive wholesalers who were holding their fall convention aboard the Swedish-American Line's motorship Stockholm on a cruise to Bermuda, departing from Wilmington on November 17 and returning on November 23. The Governor addressed the group on the second day of the cruise, surveying economic conditions in the state and nation, and reviewing the steps taken during his first year in office to encourage industrial expansion in North Carolina. He discussed in some detail the urgent need for highway construction and highway safety, subjects of direct concern to the group.

REMARKS BEFORE THE GOVERNOR'S TRAFFIC SAFETY COUNCIL

RALEIGH
December 6, 1955

This organization had been established one year earlier to promote highway safety by stimulating and encouraging citizens'

groups to participate in a "modern crusade for safety." The Governor praised the individuals and the organizations which had cooperated in this effort, and urged increased activity in order to reduce the motor vehicle fatalities during the coming year.

REMARKS BEFORE THE CENTRAL PIEDMONT SAFETY COUNCIL

GREENSBORO
December 7, 1955

The Central Piedmont Safety Council is one of eight regional organizations sponsored by the North Carolina Industrial Commission, which is charged by law with the responsibility of making studies and investigations with respect to safety provisions and the cause of injuries in industries covered by the Workmen's Compensation Act. Addressing the group, the Governor recognized the outstanding record and remarkable achievements of the council, and he singled out Cone Mills for its many worthwhile contributions. He pointed out that state government plays an important part in establishing and enforcing minimum safety standards, and helps coordinate the safety efforts among manufacturers and others, but that the basic responsibility for good working conditions must always remain with the industry itself. In conclusion, he sought the group's interest in the highway safety program, in order to reduce the number of traffic fatalities.

ADDRESS AT DEDICATION OF THE BAXTER COLUMBUS JONES ADMISSIONS AND HOSPITAL BUILDING AT THE WESTERN STATE HOSPITAL

MORGANTON
January 23, 1956

Accepting this new 264 bed hospital building, Governor Hodges praised North Carolina's new attitude toward mental illness whereby the hospitals are oriented toward treatment, rather than mere custodial care. He pointed out that the state has assumed a greater

responsibility for its mentally sick in the last ten years, and he cited the need for larger professional staffs devoted to research because "only through research can improvements and consequent economy be achieved."

REMARKS BEFORE MEETING OF THE JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

SALISBURY
January 23, 1956

The Governor expressed his pride in the "spirit and energy" displayed by the Jaycees in their projects throughout the state, and his gratitude for the impetus given his Small Industries Plan by the organization. One reason why new industry is needed in North Carolina, he explained, is to give jobs to the marginal farmers who are being forced off the land because of crop surpluses, cuts in tobacco acreage, and the increased mechanization and efficiency of agricultural operations. He singled out another praiseworthy service of the Junior Chamber of Commerce—the Prisoner Rehabilitation Project—as he discussed new attitudes toward punishment and the proposed separation of the prisons from the highway system.

SPEECH BEFORE ANNUAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE MEETING

HICKORY
January 31, 1956

During 1956 Governor Hodges spoke to many Chamber of Commerce groups across the state. On this occasion as on many others, he reiterated his concern over North Carolina's low per capita income and the resultant need for industrial growth and agricultural improvement. He stressed the fact that "what helps one segment of our economy or one section of North Carolina helps all of us" as he urged the businessmen in attendance to work together in "unselfish service" for economic development.

REMARKS BEFORE A SPECIAL SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

RALEIGH
February 3, 1956

A special sub-committee of the House Committee on Agriculture was in Raleigh on this occasion, searching for an answer to the plight of the small farmer. It heard agricultural experts, farm leaders, some plain dirt farmers, and Governor Hodges. The Governor expressed a feeling that the administration in Washington had not shown "any constructive efforts to help the small farmer." He called upon Congress to "do everything possible within reason . . . to strengthen and protect agriculture—especially our small farmers." The problems of agriculture and of the small farmer, he said, "are far greater than anything we in North Carolina as individuals or as a state can handle alone."

SPEECH AT LEAKSVILLE

LEAKSVILLE
February 4, 1956

Speaking informally in his home community, Governor Hodges announced that he would be a candidate to succeed himself in the coming election. He discussed some of his ideas on the governorship, and noted a few of the difficult problems confronting North Carolina: low per capita income, highway and safety problems, the higher education situation, the public schools, and the problem of segregation. As to the segregation issue, he said, "Let me again make my position clear. I do not agree with the Supreme Court decision and I think it usurped the rights of the states and the Congress. I do not favor mixing the races in the schools. . . . I approve the policy which declares that no child shall be forced to attend a school of mixed races against the wishes of his parents or himself." At the same time, he pledged his best efforts to the task of maintaining the public schools, while preserving our traditions and customs.

REMARKS ON "SAFETY" BEFORE THE RALEIGH WOMAN'S CLUB

RALEIGH
February 8, 1956

The Governor paid tribute to the club for its safety program and urged that each woman become a modern crusader for safety in an effort to cut highway traffic deaths in North Carolina. By using charts and citing statistics, he demonstrated that more Americans have been killed in highway accidents since 1900 than in all wars since 1775.

REMARKS AT DEDICATION SERVICE OF A NEW PRISON DIVISION BUILDING AT NORTH CAROLINA SANATORIUM

McCAIN
February 15, 1956

"No other state has provided comparable facilities for tuberculous prisoners or for recalcitrant tuberculous patients," the Governor said with pride as he accepted this new building. He reviewed North Carolina's history of medical care for prisoners, its progress in the treatment and control of tuberculosis, and emphasized the fact "in all the rush of material progress, we have not forgotten the unfortunate and the handicapped."

ADDRESS BEFORE FOURTH FARM PRESS, RADIO, AND TELEVISION INSTITUTE

RALEIGH
February 17, 1956

The Governor delivered this speech at a dinner meeting opening a two-day workshop of farm editors at State College. He began by paying tribute to the late Frank H. Jeter, veteran director of the Department of Agricultural Information at State College, and to the importance of agricultural journalism because of the great need for modern, efficient information, properly presented. He spoke at length of North Carolina's proud heritage of agriculture and itemized the things the individual and the state might do to

improve the lot of the farmer. Of particular interest was the reiteration of his demand for a "return to rigid price supports along with the controlled acreage program." Emphasizing that farmers are not the only ones who need or receive help from the federal government, he contrasted the purchase of surplus foodstuffs—"a tangible result of agricultural assistance"—with the subsidies which are made to many other segments of the population.

ADDRESS BEFORE ANNUAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE MEETING

BURLINGTON
February 21, 1956

In reviewing the history of Alamance County, and the remarkable growth of Burlington, which had an estimated population increase of 100 per cent in the past ten years, the Governor commended the community for its "emphasis on industry." He characterized the leadership offered by the Chamber of Commerce in a wide range of business and civic activities as an important factor contributing to the area's prosperity. He then surveyed economic conditions, and predicted a bright future as "we consistently work together in unselfish service for what is best for North Carolina and its people."

SPEECH BEFORE ANNUAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE MEETING

OXFORD
February 24, 1956

The Governor prefaced this speech with a special tribute to Judge William A. Devin who had returned to live in his native Oxford after retiring in 1954 as Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court. Then outlining the development of the Chamber of Commerce movement from the founding of the first Chamber in New York City in 1768 to 1956, when there were 182 groups in North Carolina alone, he praised these organizations for "extending their horizons of interest and service" in

their communities. As in many of his other speeches, he deplored the state's low per capita income and described his hopes for improving this situation through the Governor's Small Industries Plan and the North Carolina Business Development Corporation.

REMARKS AT ROTARY-FARMERS' DAY PROGRAM

ROXBORO
March 15, 1956

The Governor and Mrs. Hodges attended this meeting along with representatives of many local civic organizations and farm groups. After speaking of North Carolina's proud agricultural heritage, the Governor pointed to several problems facing the farmer of today, and indicated what the state is trying to do in the areas of soil and water conservation, forestry, better marketing procedures, local processing plants, and small industries.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SEVENTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

ASHEVILLE
March 22, 1956

At the first general session of this convention, the Governor spoke of some of the "fundamental and far-reaching problems which do not involve segregation but would be here with us regardless of the Supreme Court decisions." He cited the ever-growing school population; the need for new and practical techniques in education; the inadequate supply of good teachers, particularly those with scientific training; the need for better public relations in public education; and the necessity for "further local participation in the matter of teachers' salaries, as well as other operating costs and capital expenditures."

See you
at the polls!
Are you registered?
CONTRIBUTED BY YOUR OUTDOOR ADVERTISING COMPANY AS A PUBLIC SERVICE
General Outdoor Adv. Co.

The Governor applauds an advertisement in the interest of greater participation in politics by the voters of North Carolina in 1956.

News and Observer Photo

Governor Hodges and his aides in the 1956 campaign. Standing (*left to right*): Harold Makepeace, Governor Hodges, and Hugh Morton. Seated: Mrs. Annie Cooper.

REMARKS BEFORE ANNUAL STOCKHOLDERS MEETING OF THE FARMERS FEDERATION

ASHEVILLE
March 24, 1956

Speaking to the thirty-sixth annual meeting of this organization, which is devoted to promoting the welfare of the farmers of western North Carolina, Governor Hodges noted his approval of the increasingly prevalent practice of "part-time farming," whereby industrial employment can be successfully combined with the operation of a small farm. He also commended the Challenge Program, sponsored by the North Carolina Board of Farm Organizations and Agencies, and its goal of encouraging county programs to develop the agricultural community.

SPEECH ON GREEK INDEPENDENCE DAY

RALEIGH
March 25, 1956

This address was recorded and broadcast over Station WPTF on the 135th anniversary of Greek Independence. Addressing the Order of Ahepa, Governor Hodges spoke with warmth of the valuable heritage of Greek culture to western civilization and to the democratic ideal. He complimented this group of citizens of Greek origin on their efforts to train their children to be good Americans, but urged them "not to neglect to educate your children in the greatness of their Greek inheritance."

ADDRESS BEFORE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

MOREHEAD CITY
March 29, 1956

The Governor devoted the major portion of these remarks to a survey of ideas that this coastal area might utilize to build greater future prosperity. He suggested the expansion of commercial fishing; more local processing of seafood; long-range planning to mitigate hurricane and flood damage; reforestation and dune stabilization of the outer banks, which would require the

removal of the ponies and cattle from the area; cooperation in property development; and more beach resort hotels.

REMARKS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE VIRGINIA ELECTRIC AND POWER COMPANY HYDROELECTRIC DEVELOPMENT, ROANOKE RIVER

ROANOKE RAPIDS
April 4, 1956

After a long and bitter quarrel with agencies of the federal government, the Virginia Electric and Power Company had won the right to build this $32,000,000 dam on the Roanoke River. A crowd of 3,500 people gathered to celebrate the completion of its construction, ate barbecue and Brunswick stew as guests of the company, and heard Governor Hodges make the featured speech on the forty-five minute program. The Governor described the dam as "tangible evidence of the company's confidence in the continued growth of the area" and expressed his conviction that "eastern North Carolina must make a sustained, well planned, constructive drive for many more industries if it is to lift the economic level of the people and hold North Carolina in its present ranking among the United States."

ADDRESS BEFORE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE JACKSON COUNTY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

CULLOWHEE
April 14, 1956

The members of the state Board of Higher Education, its director and assistant director, were special guests at this dinner meeting at Western Carolina Teachers College. The central theme of the Governor's address was a report on the economic growth and progress of North Carolina. He predicted vast future expansion as he encouraged leaders in the western counties of the state to promote the production and marketing of handicrafts, the exploration and development of mineral resources, and greater agricultural experimentation and diversification.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS

CHARLOTTE
April 17, 1956

To the delegates attending the thirty-sixth annual convention of the largest lay organization in North Carolina, Governor Hodges presented the "viewpoint of a state official who has to look at the problems of public education as they fit into the entire picture of our state's activities, and as problems which must be solved, not apart and in a vacuum, but in relation to all the other problems of the state." He described the prongs of the present school crises; the need for adequate financing; the question of discipline, both social and mental; and the problem created by the segregation decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NORTH CAROLINA FEDERATION OF MUSIC CLUBS

RALEIGH
April 19, 1956

Governor Hodges expressed his "deep appreciation for the outstanding contribution which the North Carolina Federation of Music Clubs has made to the cultural and educational life of our state during the forty years of its existance." He reviewed the highlights of the work of the federation, and briefly discussed musical growth and achievement in North Carolina, from the first "glorious Moravian music" to the present-day composers and symphonic outdoor dramas.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE COMBINED CIVIC CLUBS ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF WESTERN ELECTRIC

WINSTON-SALEM
April 25, 1956

On this occasion, the civic clubs of Winston-Salem held a combined meeting with Governor Hodges and Frederick R. Kappel, president of the Western Electric Company, as special guests. In his address the Governor reviewed the development of Forsyth County from its beginnings as a small Moravian settlement to its present-day eminence as a center of industry and culture; and he stressed the importance to the community of the location of this pioneer electronics industry within it.

ADDRESS BEFORE A COMBINED MEETING OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL, CIVIC CLUBS, AND OTHER GROUPS

TABOR CITY
April 25, 1956

The Governor discussed several subjects of interest to the people of Columbus County, particularly the drainage problems resulting from the recent hurricanes which had caused considerable loss to local agriculture. He also reviewed the work of the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education, and urged each citizen to study and approve this committee's report and recommendations.

ADDRESS BEFORE CONFERENCE OF SOUTHEASTERN WOMEN LEADERS AND NORTH CAROLINA LEADERS IN CIVIL DEFENSE

CHARLOTTE
May 9, 1956

Governor Hodges spoke to this group of local civil defense leaders meeting under the sponsorship of the Federal Civil De-

Donald W. Douglas and Governor Hodges at dedication of the Charlotte missile plant of the Douglas Aircraft Corporation, May 22, 1956.

U. N. C. Photographic Service

Governor Hodges (*left*) with Chancellor Robert B. House (*center*) and President William C. Friday (*right*) at University of North Carolina commencement, June 4, 1956.

fense Administration on the subject of community cooperation in planning for disaster. From his "eye witness" experiences with recent hurricanes in North Carolina, he was able to draw graphic descriptions of the horrors of disaster, of the necessity for effective cooperation between all governmental agencies on the local, state, and national levels, and of the need for strong local leadership and direction in planning for survival.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE NORTH CAROLINA FUEL MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION, INC

RALEIGH
May 14, 1956

This speech was devoted entirely to a discussion of the welfare program of North Carolina—its philosophy, services, organization, and problems. The Governor defined the welfare program as "an expression of the conscience of the state," and he applauded the emphasis on protective, preventive, and rehabilitative service. By strengthening our human resources, he explained, we add to our economic resources. In conclusion, he encouraged this group of fuel dealers, assembled in the twenty-sixth annual convention of their state-wide organization, to support the continuation of this "constructive program" in their home communities.

REMARKS BEFORE THE NEW BERN-CRAVEN COUNTY VEHICLES SAFETY CHECK PROGRAM

NEW BERN
May 14, 1956

On this occasion the locally-sponsored safety program aimed at removing mechanically defective automobiles from the highways was being expanded to include the county as a whole. Governor Hodges enthusiastically endorsed the program, and expressed the fervent hope that more communities across the state would take hold of this "cooperative, voluntary approach to highway safety." Another thing we can do to reduce the rising toll of casualties, he said, is to deal more firmly with traffic violators.

ADDRESS AT THE GUILFORD INDUSTRIES FOR THE BLIND

GREENSBORO
May 15, 1956

At the dedication of a new addition to the plant, Governor Hodges described this project as a "success story of organized effort and unselfish work." He spoke with pride of the accomplishments made by the state in its services to the blind, and emphasized his belief in the importance of private philanthropic aid to the handicapped to enrich the program. "Let us keep a constant sharp lookout," he said, "to see that our structures, our procedures and techniques do not erase from the things we are trying to do, the humane helpful spirit that originally led us to undertake them."

ADDRESS AT CHOWAN COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT

MURFREESBORO
June 1, 1956

Delivering the commencement address at Chowan College, one of seven Baptist colleges operating in North Carolina, Governor Hodges spoke of the great contributions the Baptist State Convention has made to the religious and educational development of the state during the 125 years of its existence. "Private colleges and universities in North Carolina are doing an indispensable job," he said, as he cited the efforts of church-related colleges to build better citizenship through education.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE NORTH CAROLINA CHAPTER OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POSTMASTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

NAGS HEAD
June 12, 1956

Speaking at the annual convention of the Postmasters of North Carolina, Governor Hodges traced the development of postal service from colonial days and commented that "in many ways, the

growth of our postal service down through the years has paralleled the sprawling, almost unbelievable growth of our nation itself." Recognizing the mounting financial deficits that now beset the Post Office Department, he expressed confidence that regardless of the outcome of the present reorganization, changes, or increased rates, the postal employees would continue to provide the service that is needed to keep the nation functioning.

REMARKS AS A PARTICIPANT AT A ROUND TABLE ON HIGHWAYS AND HIGHWAY SAFETY

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY
June 26, 1956

The Governor's attendance at the Forty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the national Governors' Conference was marked by his participation in a panel discussion on highways and highway safety. In his remarks he first discussed North Carolina's highway program, explaining that the State Highway Commission has more miles of roads and highways under its jurisdiction—70,000 miles—than any other agency in the world because North Carolina is one of the few states where exclusive responsibility and jurisdiction over all local roads is centralized. He spoke of the need for a good federal road bill as "our best chance of obtaining more modern primary highways at a reasonable date." Turning his attention to the subject of highway safety, he discussed with the group the highlights of North Carolina's program: better, safer roads; strict enforcement of traffic laws; a rigid drivers' licensing program; an improved court system; driver and safety education. He cited the Governor's Traffic Safety Council as an example of the way private individuals and the communications media could work together to supplement the activities of official agencies.

REMARKS BEFORE THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF COOPERATION

RALEIGH
July 30, 1956

Thirty-two hundred delegates representing farm cooperatives throughout the nation attended this annual workshop, and heard Governor Hodges and Frank P. Graham speak in the State College Coliseum. The Governor recalled that the institute last met in Raleigh in a dark year—1933. He reviewed economic changes since that time, and said that in spite of the present prosperity, "our farmers generally are at the bottom of the heap . . . We have a long way to go to achieve the diversified, well-balanced profitable agriculture we need." He noted the growth in number and in membership of farmers' cooperatives in North Carolina, and praised their services in providing means for small farmers to compete successfully with other large-scale economic units.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE NORTH CAROLINA SHERIFFS ASSOCIATION CONVENTION

ASHEVILLE
August 4, 1956

Governor Hodges reviewed the history and traditions of the office of sheriff, and briefly commented on court reorganization and reform, traffic safety, and the need for uniform justice in the enforcement of traffic violations. The major portion of his address was devoted to an explanation of the constitutional changes affecting the public schools recently adopted by the General Assembly. He concluded by saying, "I can think of no better service you could perform for your community and your state than to help see that the voters in your community go to the polls on September 8 and *adopt* these amendments in an *overwhelming majority.*"

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SEVENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MASONIC PICNIC

MOCKSVILLE
August 9, 1956

This gathering, held each year for the benefit of the Oxford Orphanage, attracts Masons from across the state and serves as a homecoming day for former citizens of Davie County. On this occasion, Governor Hodges reiterated his concern over North Carolina's "Pearsall plan." He urged his listeners to support the constitutional amendments to be presented to the voters in a referendum on September 8.

ADDRESS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NORTH CAROLINA ASSOCIATION OF CHAMBER OF COMMERCE EXECUTIVES

HENDERSONVILLE
August 28, 1956

Again the Governor developed one of his favorite themes, the economic development of North Carolina. He stressed the low per capita farm income of the state, and urged the group's support in the establishment of locally financed and locally managed industries, and of projects like the Business Development Corporation and the Research Triangle Committee. Turning his attention to the September 8 referendum, he explained the permissive nature of the constitutional amendments providing for tuition grants and local option, as he strongly recommended their adoption.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SIXTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTHEASTERN ASSOCIATION OF TAX ADMINISTRATORS

ASHEVILLE
August 28, 1956

Commissioner of Revenue Eugene Shaw served as general chairman of this conference, which was attended by tax administrators

from twelve southeastern states. In this thoughtful address, Governor Hodges explained that the centralization of government has placed the emphasis upon a high level of federal taxes, and yet the public pressure for highway development and the expanding enrollment in the schools call for more state revenue: "The states," he said, "have been caught in a fiscal squeeze play." From his experience in business and in government, he spoke of the increasing problems in proper tax enforcement and of the great need for a better public understanding of the tax structure and the revenue schedules of each state.

ADDRESS IN BEHALF OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL AMENDMENT

CHAPEL HILL
September 4, 1956

Governor Hodges again voiced his conviction that constitutional changes are necessary to provide an "escape valve, in order that the people of North Carolina and the General Assembly will continue to give the public schools their full support while the assignment statute has a chance to work." Speaking of the opponents of the Pearsall plan he said, "I welcome this disagreement and discussion so long as it is honest and sincere and does not engage in demogoguery and name-calling . . . let us not blame our fine press for the questionable conduct of one or two newspapers, and let us not blame the University of North Carolina for the questionable conduct of a few individuals from Chapel Hill."

REMARKS WHILE SERVING AS CHAIRMAN OF A PANEL DISCUSSION ON WATER AT THE SOUTHERN GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE

WHITE SULPHER SPRINGS, WEST VIRGINIA
September 12, 1956

At the Southern Governors' Conference at which he was later elected the new chairman, Governor Hodges opened a panel discussion on water with a few introductory remarks. He spoke of the necessity of protecting the water resources of the South-

east; summarized state legislative action during the past year; reviewed North Carolina's experience in the field of conservation and development since 1787; and cited the need for "careful, factual, long-range planning on a state, regional, and national basis" and coordination of all agencies concerned with water.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE BUDGET OFFICERS

ASHEVILLE
September 14, 1956

This organization had held its first annual conference ten years earlier at the Grove Park Inn in Asheville, and Governor Hodges welcomed the delegates back to North Carolina. From his experience, first as a businessman and now as a government administrator, he made several observations concerning better governmental budgeting. Improved public relations are needed, he said, and he pointed out that modern business has found that financial reports can be "readable, brief, and enlivened, without sacrificing essential facts."

ADDRESS AT OFFICIAL OPENING OF A NEW FACTORY OF THE PHILPOTT FURNITURE CORPORATION

LEXINGTON
September 24, 1956

The Governor commended the Philpott family and their associates for "their initiative, their imagination, their sound planning, and their faith in the future," as he participated in the dedication of this latest addition to one of the state's major industries. He then spoke on the history of the furniture industry in North Carolina and evaluated its significance in the state's economy.

REMARKS BEFORE A LUNCHEON MEETING OF THE YOUNG BANKERS DIVISION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA BANKERS ASSOCIATION

GREENSBORO
September 24, 1956

Governor Hodges challenged this group of young bankers to "learn well, know your people and your communities, and keep before you constantly the needs for better banking services for a growing state." He discussed the economic outlook of North Carolina and expressed his faith in the ability of the Advisory Budget Commission and the 1957 General Assembly to work out the state's budgetary problems. He cited the need for a more efficient tax structure, and encouraged banking interests to look closely at the recommendations of the Tax Study Commission.

REMARKS BEFORE A MEETING OF ADVISORY COMMITTEES OF THE SCHOOL OF FORESTRY OF NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE

RALEIGH
September 28, 1956

Some 200 leaders of the South's paper, pulp, and lumber industries, who serve on advisory committees to the School of Forestry of North Carolina State College, met in Raleigh on this occasion. The Governor noted with pleasure the completion of the new pulp and paper laboratory at the College. He discussed the value of forest products to the state's economy, and lamented the devastation wrought annually by forest fires, as he made known plans for a large-scale Governor's Forest Fire Prevention Conference at the State Fair Grounds Coliseum on November 14. "This," he said, "will be a mass meeting of state leaders from every walk of life who will gather for the day to 'kick-off' this new state-wide program."

ADDRESS AT A DINNER MEETING TO LAUNCH A FUND-RAISING DRIVE FOR CAMPBELL COLLEGE

BUIE'S CREEK
September 29, 1956

Governor Hodges expressed his hope for overwhelming success in this drive to raise $250,000 as the beginning of a long-range building and development program for Campbell College. He foresaw a bright future for properly-administered, qualified junior colleges in North Carolina because "they can bring low-cost education within the reach of thousands of worthy youngsters."

SPEECH AT THE TWELFTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT RALLY

ASHEVILLE
October 2, 1956

In this political address before nearly 1,000 Democratic stalwarts from the ten counties comprising the Twelfth Congressional District, Governor Hodges spoke with enthusiasm and confidence of a national Democratic victory in November. Referring to the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket, he tactfully discussed the health of the President and expressed his conviction that the people do "not trust Mr. Nixon to be President."

STATEMENT BEFORE THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ELIZABETH CITY
October 3, 1956

Governor Hodges was unable to be present at the hearing and his statement was delivered by Colonel Harry F. Brown. The Congressional Committee was meeting in the home district of its chairman, Representative Herbert C. Bonner, to consider the need for additional federal legislation to regulate recreational boating in the interest of safety. The Governor's statement expressed his strong feeling that definite action must be taken to curb the reckless use of motor boats and his hope that a cooperative program

for the states and the federal government would result from these investigations being held in boating centers throughout the country.

REMARKS BEFORE THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE STATE BOARD OF CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT

WINSTON-SALEM
October 8, 1956

Taking as his theme the "challenge of the future," Governor Hodges referred to state government as a multimillion dollar operation. He explored the need for governmental reorganization to provide the efficiency and service required by the expanding economy, citing with emphasis the necessity for revision of the Revenue Act and revamping the tax structure; for better coordination between local, county and state units; and for more industrial and agricultural research and training.

ADDRESS BEFORE SMALL BUSINESS PROCUREMENT CONFERENCE

CHARLOTTE
October 11, 1956

The United States Small Business Administration and the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce sponsored this workshop for small businessmen of the Carolinas. Governor Hodges expressed his gratitude to the Small Business Administration and its regional director, Mr. Clarence T. Moore, for the "prompt and effective disaster assistance given our state following the four destructive hurricanes of the past year or two." Then he reviewed briefly the opportunities that exist, "in spite of the multitude of problems," for small businessmen in the region.

ADDRESS AT THE PRESENTATION OF THE FRANCIS BELLAMY FLAG AWARD TO PANTEGO HIGH SCHOOL

PANTEGO
October 12, 1956

This award, named in honor of the author of the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag, is given annually to a secondary school in recognition of its promotion of good citizenship. Pantego High School in Beaufort County was selected as the fifteenth recipient, the first rural school in the nation to be so honored. In a brief address Governor Hodges urged his listeners to take an active interest in government at all levels—community, county, state, and national. American citizenship, he said, "is a precious commodity which we should never take for granted and must exercise constantly if it is to be of any value."

REMARKS AT THE GREEN PASTURES AWARD CEREMONY

WASHINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA
October 12, 1956

Beaufort County had been designated the 1956 state winner in the Green Pastures Program which is designed to encourage pasture production in North Carolina. The Governor commended the program as a means of expanding livestock operations on farms throughout the state and providing part of the diversification that is needed in the changing agricultural economy.

ADDRESS AT ANNUAL BANQUET OF RURITAN INTERNATIONAL

WILLIAMSTON
October 12, 1956

Speaking to members of the Roanoke District of Ruritan, Governor Hodges explained that the current interest and emphasis on industrial development did not mean any lessening of interest and effort in building a stronger, more prosperous agriculture. He called for teamwork and understanding to help achieve

well-balanced, profitable agricultural operations, under the leadership of the State Department of Agriculture, State College, and other agencies.

ADDRESS AT FOUNDER'S DAY CELEBRATION, ELON COLLEGE

ELON COLLEGE
October 15, 1956

Governor Hodges spoke of the important values of the small, liberal arts college in our society, and of the contributions of church-related institutions as he assisted in the launching of a campaign to raise $1,000,000 for the further expansion of Elon College. He reviewed the history of the school, founded at the Alamance County location by the Christian Church in 1889 and now undergoing a major capital improvements program.

REMARKS AT THE FORMAL OPENING OF THE 1956 STATE FAIR

STATE FAIR ARENA, RALEIGH
October 16, 1956

Governor Hodges and Commissioner of Agriculture L. Y. Ballentine were the featured speakers at this formal opening of the 1956 State Fair in Raleigh. In his address the Governor described the State Fair as "an exciting, ever-changing showcase of North Carolina, its agriculture, its industry, its life, and its people," and the Arena where the ceremonies were taking place as a "useful symbol of progress and our never-ending reach for a better life for all." He reviewed the history of the fair since its beginnings in 1853 under the sponsorship of the State Agricultural Society and expressed the hope that the fair would always remain purposeful, educational, and entertaining.

Hugh Haynie in Greensboro News, July 12, 1956

The segregation issue puts the Governor "out on a log."

Hugh Haynie in Greensboro News, July 17, 1956

Conflicting views in regard to the Pearsall school plan.

ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF NEW BUILDINGS AT THE STATE HOME AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

SAMARCAND
October 17, 1956

The completion of an academic building and a vocational school marked a step forward in the major re-building program of this correctional and training institution for delinquent white girls, ages nine to eighteen. After reviewing the history of the school, Governor Hodges spoke of the juvenile delinquency problem and the responsibility it imposed on the state, the county, the community, and the individual. He cited the good works of certain non-public agencies—the Scouts, 4-H Clubs, boys clubs, church youth organizations—that are providing "important channels toward constructive citizenship."

SPEECH AT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DINNER HONORING THE P. LORILLARD COMPANY

GREENSBORO
October 17, 1956

This occasion marked the dedication of P. Lorillard's new $13,000,000 factory in Greensboro. The Governor warmly welcomed the company to North Carolina and congratulated the community, explaining that the decision to build in Greensboro was the result of two or three years of detailed analysis and search for a proper location. He pointed to the state's policy of "conservatism in fiscal matters and liberality in human services" as a major factor in the promotion of industrial development, and expressed his hope that the 1957 General Assembly would revise the Revenue Act to provide a more modern tax structure which will "produce adequate revenue and will be competitive in the never-ending search for new industry and business."

REMARKS AT THE NASH COUNTY HARVEST FESTIVAL HONORING HAROLD D. COOLEY

NASHVILLE
October 18, 1956

Governor Hodges spoke in high praise of "Nash County's best known and most outstanding native son," the Honorable Harold D. Cooley, a member of the U. S. House of Representatives since 1934 and a former chairman of the House Agricultural Committee. "He has been either the author or the co-author of much of the progressive farm legislation written in the past fifteen years," the Governor said as he lauded Cooley's efforts to stabilize the agricultural economy.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SUPERVISORS ASSOCIATION OF WINSTON-SALEM

WINSTON-SALEM
October 18, 1956

Speaking to a group of industrial supervisors and those in charge of employee groups, the Governor drew a parallel between the problems he faced in his personnel work in the 1920's and similar experiences he had found in state employee relations. He encouraged the supervisors to use their talents outside the plant as well as on the job—by taking an active interest in government and by participation in civic and church affairs.

ADDRESS AT THE SEVENTH ANNUAL FALL FESTIVAL

RED SPRINGS
October 24, 1956

The Governor again spoke on the problem of North Carolina's low per capita income, particularly as it affects Robeson County, which ranked first in the state in cotton production and third in tobacco and had a per capita income of $976 as compared with a state average of $1,236. He called on the citizens of the area to work together to promote more profitable farming and to establish local industry. Most of the new industry coming into North Carolina is going into the western part of the state and the Pied-

mont, he warned, and the eastern communities must submit themselves to an objective self-examination to see if they want new industry to locate in their region.

ADDRESS THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN FURNITURE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, WEST VIRGINIA
November 2, 1956

The Governor was a frequent and willing speaker before trade and business associations during this period. In this address made before the Southern Furniture Manufacturers Association meeting at White Sulphur Springs, he gratefully acknowledged the group's establishment of the Furniture Foundation, Inc. at North Carolina State College. The financial support of the foundation had made it possible for the College to offer a four-year course in furniture manufacturing, leading to a degree of Bachelor of Science. He discussed briefly the growth of industry in the South with emphasis on furniture manufacture, reviewed some of the problems of government, and stressed the need for active citizen participation on all levels. The speech was enhanced by the inclusion of several related and humorous anecdotes.

ADDRESS AT AN INFORMATIONAL DINNER MEETING OF THE NORTH CAROLINA WESLEYAN COLLEGE COMMITTEE

ROCKY MOUNT
November 8, 1956

Governor Hodges had announced his intention to restrict his speaking engagements in order to devote more time to work on the forthcoming legislative program, but he made a special effort to attend this meeting to discuss plans for the formation of a new Methodist senior college at Rocky Mount. Praising the denomination and the community that had joined together in this "tremendous challenge," the Governor pointed to estimates showing that an increasing number of young people will be seeking college educations in the future. This expansion, he said, will mean

"great things . . . in North Carolina in the field of higher education, and especially among our church-related institutions," which "deserve our continued warm support, appreciation, and help."

ADDRESS BEFORE THE GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE ON FOREST FIRE PREVENTION

RALEIGH
November 14, 1956

This state-wide conference, attended by 2,000 people, was designed to highlight the destructiveness of forest fires and to lead to the formulation of an action program to impress every citizen with the need for prevention of this waste. Leaders in agriculture, government, wildlife, industry, law enforcement, and the courts were heard on various aspects of the subject. Governor Hodges spoke of forest resources as a major segment of the state's economy, and called for a sensible, effective program to reduce the "shameful" $35,000,000 annual loss through forest fires.

ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF A NEW HEADQUARTERS BUILDING FOR THE NORTH CAROLINA DEPARTMENT OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

RALEIGH
December 1, 1956

National Commander W. D. Daniel and Legionnaires from all over the state attended this ceremony and heard Governor Hodges praise the American Legion for building a new $200,000 structure as a fitting memorial to the men and women of North Carolina who gave their lives in the service of their state and nation in times of national peril and conflict.

REMARKS AT THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GOVERNOR'S TRAFFIC SAFETY COUNCIL

RALEIGH
December 5, 1956

Governor Hodges discussed the report and recommendations of the Highway Safety Committee of the National Governors' Conference at this meeting of his Traffic Safety Council. He endorsed the adoption of a motor vehicle inspection program and the use of chemical tests to detect drunken drivers. Although the state's traffic fatalities were running six per cent below those of 1955, he characterized this as "small consolation in the face of the fact that nearly 1,000 people have died unnecessary deaths on North Carolina highways so far this year."

ADDRESS BEFORE THE DIVISION OF SUPERINTENDENTS, NORTH CAROLINA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

DURHAM
December 5, 1956

The Governor discussed the thorny and controversial problem of school financing at this annual winter meeting of county and city school superintendents. Taking a firm stand in favor of more local support for the public schools, as distinguished from the appropriation of state monies for this purpose, he said there was a limit to what the state can do until it can "regain its leadership in industrial growth" and "solve the problem of agricultural transition, particularly caused by the problems of tobacco." This speech was in part a repetition of the Governor's address before the North Carolina Education Association at Asheville on March 22, 1956, and was designed to correct certain misunderstandings that had arisen in regard to his remarks on that occasion.

LIST OF OTHER SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES

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AND ADDRESSES

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[This list contains the speeches, addresses, and other talks made by Governor Hodges in addition to those printed or digested in the preceding sections of this book. An asterisk following the date on which a speech was made indicates that no copy of this speech has been preserved among the Governor's Papers.]

November 21, 1954*	REMARKS AT THE BIENNIAL MOORE COUNTY DEMOCRATIC VICTORY BALL, Pinehurst
December 3, 1954	REMARKS IN OPENING THE FIRST ANNUAL NORTH CAROLINA TRAFFIC SAFETY CONFERENCE OF THE GOVERNOR'S TRAFFIC SAFETY COUNCIL, Raleigh
December 7, 1954	REMARKS BEFORE STATE EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION MEETING, Raleigh
January 18, 1955*	SPEECH TO COUNTY HEALTH OFFICERS, Raleigh
January 24, 1955	TALK BEFORE THE CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD, Raleigh
January 25, 1955*	REMARKS TO STATE BOARD OF HEALTH, Raleigh
January 31, 1955	REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF SEABOARD AIR LINE'S NEW FREIGHT DISPATCHING YARD, Hamlet
February 3, 1955	SPEECH AT QUADRENNIAL CONVOCATION OF THE SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH, Charlotte
February 5, 1955	TALK AT THE JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY DINNER, Raleigh
February 11, 1955	TALK AT THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE, Raleigh
February 21, 1955*	REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF THE TRENT RIVER BRIDGE, New Bern
February 23, 1955	STATEMENT TO THE COMMITTEES ON HIGHER EDUCATION, Raleigh
February 25, 1955	SPEECH BEFORE THE THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL DINNER OF THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY OF NEW YORK

March 4, 1955*	ADDRESS BEFORE ROTARY CLUB, Kinston
March 5, 1955*	TO THE PEOPLE OF OCRACOKE, Ocracoke
March 7, 1955*	TO HEADS OF STATE DEPARTMENTS, Raleigh
March 16, 1955	REMARKS TO ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE TAR HEEL ELECTRIC MEMBERSHIP ASSOCIATION, INC., Raleigh
March 18, 1955	TO THE HIGHWAY SAFETY COUNCIL, Raleigh
March 25, 1955	REMARKS AT GROUNDBREAKING SERVICES, SEYMOUR JOHNSON FIELD, Goldsboro
March 31, 1955	REMARKS ACCEPTING A PORTRAIT OF FORMER GOVERNOR CAMERON MORRISON, Raleigh
May 23, 1955	REMARKS AT ATOMIC REACTOR DEDICATORY SERVICES, NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE, Raleigh
May 25, 1955	RADIO BROADCAST IN BEHALF OF NORTH CAROLINA'S FIRST "YOUTH APPRECIATION DAY," Raleigh
May 29, 1955*	REMARKS AT NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT, Raleigh
May 31, 1955*	REMARKS AT DIXIE DINNER OF ROTARIANS OF THE SOUTHEASTERN STATES, ROTARY CONVENTION, Chicago
June 3, 1955*	REMARKS AT OBSERVANCE OF JUNE AS DAIRY MONTH, NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE, Raleigh
June 6, 1955*	REMARKS AT UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT, Chapel Hill
June 10, 1955*	ADDRESS BEFORE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, Asheboro
June 12, 1955*	REMARKS AT LAKE JUNALUSKA
June 16, 1955	REMARKS AT THE FRANKLIN CENTENNIAL OF MACON COUNTY, Franklin
June 17, 1955	REMARKS AT THE NORTH CAROLINA BAR ASSOCIATION CONVENTION, Asheville

June 18, 1955	REMARKS TO THE NORTH CAROLINA LETTER CARRIERS ASSOCIATION, Raleigh
June 19, 1955	REMARKS AT A LOYAL ORDER OF MOOSE STATE INITIATION MEETING, Raleigh
June 21, 1955	REMARKS TO STAFF MEETING, DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE, Raleigh
June 27, 1955*	REMARKS BEFORE METHODIST CONFERENCE, Fayetteville
June 29, 1955*	TO FUTURE FARMERS OF AMERICA, Raleigh
July 7, 1955	REMARKS TO BETTER ENFORCEMENT AND COMPLIANCE PROGRAM, DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE, Chapel Hill
July 20, 1955*	REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF NEW FILTRATION PLANT, Valdese
July 25, 1955*	TO STATE BOARD OF CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT, Morehead City
July 29, 1955	REMARKS BEFORE THE ANNUAL 4-H CONVENTION, Raleigh
July 30, 1955*	TO YOUNG DEMOCRATS RALLY, Haw River
August 20, 1955	REMARKS AT A MEETING OF FARMERS IN BELHAVEN
August 25, 1955	REMARKS AT THE OPENING OF THE EASTERN CAROLINA TOBACCO MARKET, Rocky Mount
August 25, 1955	REMARKS AT YOUNG DEMOCRATIC RALLY, Winston-Salem
September 1, 1955	REMARKS TO A SELECTED GROUP OF SCHOOL LEADERS, Raleigh
September 11, 1955*	REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF NEW COLISEUM, Charlotte
September 25, 1955*	TALK AT GROUNDBREAKING, AMERICAN LEGION BUILDING, Raleigh
September 28, 1955	SPEECH BEFORE THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, NORTH CAROLINA MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION, Raleigh

September 29, 1955*	TALK AT ROTARY MEETING, Ahoskie
October 1, 1955	REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF NEW ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, Raleigh-Durham Airport
October 6, 1955	REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF NEW WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC CORPORATION METER PLANT, Raleigh
October 11, 1955	REMARKS AT JOINT MEETING OF FOUR CIVIC CLUBS, Lumberton
October 12, 1955	REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF NEW ESSO ASPHALT TERMINAL, Fayetteville
October 12, 1955	ADDRESS AT ANNUAL MEETING OF NEW SOUTH RIVER BAPTIST ASSOCIATION, Mingo Baptist Church, Harnett County
October 12, 1955	REMARKS AT HARNETT COUNTY CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, Buie's Creek
October 13, 1955	REMARKS ON OCCASION HONORING MR. EDWIN MORGAN OF SCOTLAND COUNTY, Laurinburg
October 17, 1955*	ADDRESS AT ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL GUARD ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES, New Orleans
October 27, 1955	REMARKS AT COMMEMORATIVE TREE-PLANTING CEREMONY IN HONOR OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, Capitol Square, Raleigh
November 6, 1955*	TALK BEFORE EXCHANGE CLUBS, Sanford
December 1, 1955*	TALK AT PINEHURST FORUM, Pinehurst
December 8, 1955*	TALK BEFORE NCEA SUPERINTENDENTS, High Point
December 8, 1955*	TALK AT LEGION DAY, Pilot Mountain
December 8, 1955*	ADDRESS BEFORE NORTHWEST NORTH CAROLINA DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION, Elkin
December 16, 1955*	CHRISTMAS PROGRAM, State Capitol, Raleigh
January 23, 1956	REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING, Greensboro

January 25, 1956*	REMARKS AT ANNUAL BOSSES NIGHT AND DISTINGUISHED AWARDS PRESENTATION, Greenville
February 10, 1956*	REMARKS AT ANNUAL GATHERING, ESSO STANDARD OIL COMPANY, Raleigh
February 20, 1956	REMARKS BEFORE THE FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRI-STATE MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, Charlotte
February 21, 1956*	ADDRESS BEFORE JOINT MEETING OF CIVIC CLUBS, Gastonia
March 2, 1956	REMARKS BEFORE THE JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND OTHER CIVIC CLUBS, Spindale
March 3, 1956	REMARKS TO THE BANKERS OF TEN COUNTIES, Raleigh
March 12, 1956	SPEECH BEFORE THE NORTH CAROLINA ICE ASSOCIATION, Raleigh
March 18, 1956	REMARKS AT ATOMIC ENERGY MEETING, Raleigh
March 19, 1956*	REMARKS AT ANNUAL MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION DINNER, Durham
March 21, 1956*	ADDRESS BEFORE NORTH CAROLINA CITIZENS ASSOCIATION, Raleigh
March 23, 1956	SPEECH AT DEDICATION OF NORTH BUNCOMBE SCHOOL, Weaverville
March 24, 1956	REMARKS AT ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF MANAGEMENT, Asheville
March 31, 1956	SPEECH BEFORE THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, Elizabeth City
April 2, 1956	REMARKS AT MITCHELL COLLEGE FUND-RAISING CAMPAIGN, Statesville
April 3, 1956	SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF HEADQUARTERS BY THE GOVERNOR, Raleigh
April 12, 1956	REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF NEW HOME OFFICE BUILDING OF OCCIDENTAL LIFE INS. CO., Raleigh
April 12, 1956	REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF BROOKS HALL, NEW HOME OF THE SCHOOL OF DESIGN, NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE, Raleigh

April 13, 1956*	ADDRESS BEFORE THE NEWCOMEN SOCIETY, Charlotte
April 20, 1956	REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF BROUGHTON MECHANICAL ENGINEERING BUILDING, NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE, Raleigh
April 20, 1956	REMARKS BEFORE THE SOUTHERN PIEDMONT SAFETY COUNCIL, Kannapolis
April 23, 1956*	REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF NEW SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL, Marion
April 26, 1956	ADDRESS BEFORE MEETING OF STEERING COMMITTEE FOR COORDINATION OF LOCAL COUNCIL BOY SCOUT CAMPAIGNS IN NORTH CAROLINA, Raleigh
May 3, 1956*	ADDRESS AT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DINNER HONORING OFFICIALS OF J. P. STEVENS COMPANY, Wallace
May 5, 1956	ADDRESS AT SPRING PLEDGE BANQUET, ALPHA TAU CHAPTER OF ALPHA KAPPA PSI, Raleigh
May 8, 1956*	TALK AT RICHMOND COUNTY POLITICAL RALLY, Rockingham
May 9, 1956	ADDRESS BEFORE THE SEVENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, THE NORTH CAROLINA PHARMACEUTICAL ASSOCIATION, Raleigh
May 9, 1956	REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF RALEIGH ENGINEERING LABORATORY, AMERICAN MACHINERY FOUNDRY COMPANY, Raleigh
May 9, 1956	REMARKS TO RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS DINNER GIVEN FOR NORTH CAROLINA CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION, Washington, D. C.
May 15, 1956*	TALK BEFORE GUILFORD COUNTY YOUNG DEMOCRATS CLUB, High Point
May 19, 1956	REMARKS ACCEPTING PORTRAIT OF FRANK P. GRAHAM, Chapel Hill
May 22, 1956	REMARKS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE CHARLOTTE MISSILE PLANT, DOUGLAS AIRCRAFT CORPORATION, Charlotte

May 22, 1956*	ADDRESS BEFORE COMBINED CIVIC CLUBS, Huntersville
May 27, 1956*	REMARKS AT NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT, Raleigh
May 28, 1956	REMARKS AT UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA BOARD OF TRUSTEES MEETING, Chapel Hill
June 3, 1956*	REMARKS AT WOMAN'S COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT, Greensboro
June 3, 1956	REMARKS IN ACCEPTING SUN DIAL GIFT FROM JOHN MOTLEY MOREHEAD FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, Chapel Hill
June 4, 1956*	REMARKS AT DUKE UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT, Durham
June 4, 1956*	REMARKS AT UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT, Chapel Hill
July 2, 1956	REMARKS AT CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD MEETING, Morehead City
July 19, 1956	REMARKS TO BOARD OF WATER COMMISSIONERS MEETING, Raleigh
August 8, 1956	REMARKS AT INFORMAL DINNER FOR GROUP OF NUCLEAR ENGINEERING STUDENTS FROM STATE COLLEGE, Raleigh
September 2, 1956*	TV SPEECH IN FAVOR OF PEARSALL PLAN, Charlotte
September 5, 1956*	TV SPEECH IN FAVOR OF PEARSALL PLAN, Washington, North Carolina
September 5, 1956*	TV SPEECH IN FAVOR OF PEARSALL PLAN, Greenville
September 14, 1956	REMARKS BEFORE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, Asheville
September 18, 1956	REMARKS BEFORE NORTH CAROLINA PEANUT GROWERS ASSOCIATION, Raleigh
September 27, 1956*	SPEECH BEFORE UNITED FUND GROUP, Raleigh

September 27, 1956	REMARKS BEFORE STATE DEPARTMENT HEADS, Raleigh
October 2, 1956*	SPEECH AT TRI-COUNTY POLITICAL RALLY, Spruce Pine
October 3, 1956*	SPEECH AT ELEVENTH DISTRICT RALLY, Spindale
October 4, 1956*	SPEECH AT TENTH DISTRICT RALLY, Charlotte
October 9, 1956	REMARKS AT OPENING OF DIXIE CLASSIC FAIR, Winston-Salem
October 10, 1956	REMARKS BEFORE THE SECURITY ANALYST, New York
October 11, 1956*	REMARKS AT NINTH DISTRICT RALLY, Taylorsville
October 16, 1956*	SPEECH AT SIXTH DISTRICT RALLY, Durham
October 16, 1956*	SPEECH AT POLITICAL RALLY, Asheboro
October 17, 1956*	SPEECH AT FIFTH DISTRICT POLITICAL RALLY, Wentworth
October 24, 1956*	REMARKS AT POLITICAL RALLY, Tarboro
November 12, 1956	REMARKS AT LUNCHEON GIVEN BY UNION NATIONAL BANK IN CONNECTION WITH OPENING OF ENLARGED BELK STORE, Charlotte
November 16, 1956	REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF MANN HALL, NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE, Raleigh
November 16, 1956	REMARKS ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF THE EXHIBITION REMBRANDT AND HIS PUPILS, NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART, Raleigh
December 17, 1956	REMARKS BEFORE THE WAKE COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION MEETING, Raleigh
December 31, 1956	REMARKS LAUNCHING THE 1957 MARCH OF DIMES CAMPAIGN FOR NORTH CAROLINA, Raleigh

GREETINGS, STATEMENTS, AND ARTICLES FOR THE PRESS

GREETINGS, STATEMENTS, AND ARTICLES FOR THE PRESS

[No effort has been made to include in this book all the greetings, statements, press releases, and public announcements that emanated from the governor's office during the first two years of the Hodges administration. Those here printed have been selected as being among the more important documents of this category and as being illustrative of this phase of the Governor's activity.]

TRIBUTE TO GOVERNOR UMSTEAD

November 10, 1954

Yesterday we all joined in final tribute to the late William B. Umstead, ninetieth Governor of North Carolina. The state and the nation mourned his loss.

He was a great and good man. His career was one of dedicated devotion to public service. He was a man of strong will power, of the highest ideals and unquestioned integrity.

Those of us who served with him in the state administration had great admiration for his outstanding ability and for his courage to fight for the things in which he believed. Today, through constitutional succession, and, in a spirit of great humility, I shoulder the responsibilities of the governorship of North Carolina.

Our state is faced with difficult and complex problems, solution of which must be had for the good of the state, its progress and development, and for the welfare of its people.

It is my determination to meet these problems squarely, to to study them carefully, and to handle them to the best of my ability.

I expect to be guided in large measure by the considered opinion of state committees appointed to study the problems and to make recommendations on the many critical subjects. And, I shall seek the advice of the members of the Council of State. I shall welcome, also, suggestions from any source.

I will have more to say at a later date on specific matters after I have had ample opportunity to study and discuss the reports of various special committees previously appointed, the most imminent being the report of the Advisory Budget Commission.

The hundreds of messages of goodwill and good wishes that have come to Mrs. Hodges and me have given us courage to do the task ahead of us, and faith that we will have support and cooperation in the effort.

"SAFE DRIVING DAY"

November 17, 1954

Motor vehicle accidents on our streets and highways have become one of the most critical problems in the State of North Carolina, as in the rest of the nation. In each of the last two years, these accidents have taken more than 38,000 lives, injured more than 1,000,000 persons, and caused approximately $4,000,000,000 in damage and related costs. In North Carolina alone, 1,118 persons died in traffic during 1953. This is a matter of concern for every individual in every community in every state.

The extent of our exposure to accidents is evident in the fact that we now have more than 55,000,000 motor vehicles in the United States, and approximately 70,000,000 licensed drivers operating them. Last year, these vehicles traveled an aggregate of 40,000,000,000 miles. We can readily appreciate how much more serious our situation will be when we have the 85,000,000 vehicles which are predicted for 1975.

And yet, tremendous as the problem may be, we can solve it, if we really want to solve it. We can do so by doing the things which we know we should do when we drive and walk—and doing them every day, the year around.

Proof of this can be seen in the fact that, in every one of the first nine months of 1954, the number of deaths has been lower than in 1953. Much of this heartening record is no doubt traceable to the stimulation of effort in communities throughout the nation, as the result of last February's White House Conference on Highway Safety.

In order to demonstrate to everyone that traffic accidents can be reduced materially when all motorists and pedestrians do their part, the President's Action Committee for Traffic Safety, in cooperation with various national organization and public officials,

Hugh Haynie in Greensboro News, July 25, 1956

The Governor launches the Pearsall school plan.

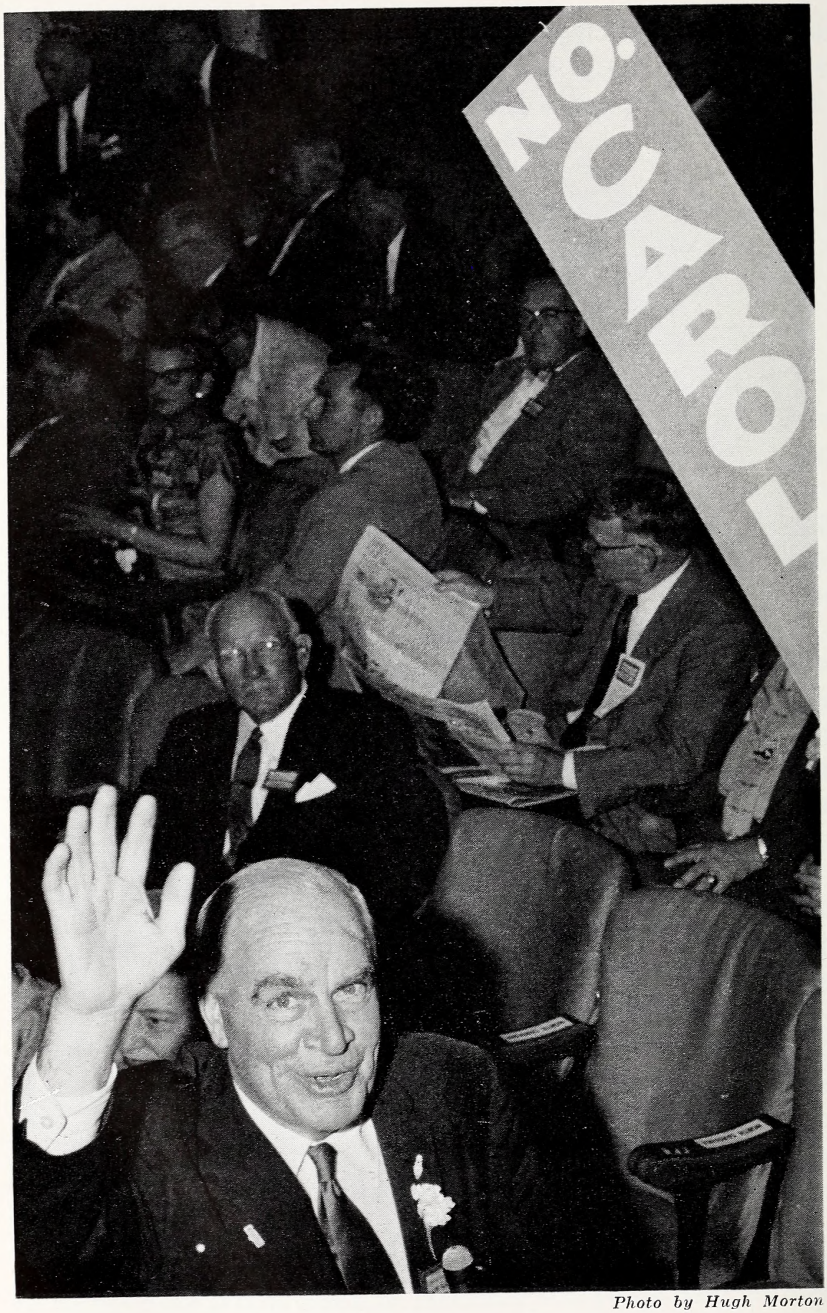


Photo by Hugh Morton

Governor Hodges at the National Democratic Convention in Chicago, August, 1956.

is sponsoring a "Safe Driving Day"—or "S-D Day"—throughout the United States. The date is *Wednesday, December 15.*

President Eisenhower has given his wholehearted endorsement to this undertaking, and has appealed to all Americans to enlist in it. He is concerned, as all of us are, with the needless toll which we are paying.

Every state and every community is being asked to accept the challenge to remain completely free of traffic accidents for that twenty-four hour period. I fervently hope that the State of North Carolina will accept this challenge gladly, and that all of us will exert the most conscientious effort to achieve the accident-free goal.

No one has the idea that a single day's effort will solve the traffic accident problem; but certainly this day, plus the thirty days of preparatory activity, will make all of us more sharply aware that every one of the 365 days in the year should be "S-D" days.

By December 15, each of us will be more conscious of the need for year-around observance of proven methods of traffic safety, and of year-around support for those public officials and others who are devoting their efforts to making our streets and highways safe places to be.

As governor, I am happy to pledge my full cooperation in this great and worthy effort; and, to that end, I hereby designate Wednesday, December 15, 1954, as *"Safe-Driving Day"* in this state. I have designated Edward Scheidt, commissioner of motor vehicles, as director of S-D Day activities which are state-wide in scope; and I appeal earnestly to all mayors and heads of county governments to designate comparable directors for S-D Day programs in their jurisdictions.

ON THE OPENING OF A NEW PLANT BY THE GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY AT HENDERSONVILLE

December 17, 1954

The citizens of North Carolina are deeply gratified that the General Electric Company has decided to put a new plant into operation at Hendersonville, North Carolina. As governor of North Carolina, I wish to extend a hearty welcome to the officers

and members of the staff of this company and to assure you that everything that can be done officially to make all of you feel at home in North Carolina will be done. We are very proud that our state is to be the headquarters for the Outdoor Lighting Division of your company.

Establishment of this plant will provide additional opportunities within the state for the technically trained men from our colleges, thus tending to keep within the state these very valuable young citizens, because the added job opportunities will be here. Naturally, we are happy that the operations of General Electric here at Hendersonville will provide such opportunities.

More and more, corporations are turning to North Carolina for the establishment of new plants, and we are delighted with this important development in Hendersonville. It is gratifying to know that we have the environment, the facilities, the proper type of labor and other advantages which appeal to industries generally. The General Electric Company will find that the people of this beautiful mountain section are friendly, progressive, and intelligent, and they will be good neighbors to the company. We bespeak for General Electric a happy and successful business life in this state.

CHRISTMAS STATEMENT

December 23, 1954

With Christmas approaching, I would like to take this opportunity to send a word of greeting and best wishes to the people of North Carolina. We all look forward to this holiday season, and we should never forget the real purpose for celebrating this annual event.

Perhaps the most obvious thing about Christmas is the way all our activities are stepped up. Nearly everybody seems busier at this time of the year. To the routine responsibilities of ordinary seasons are added extra buying, extra cooking, extra eating, extra traveling, extra entertainment; churches put on extra features and preachers put extra study on Christmas messages; stores employ extra salespeople, display extra stocks, sell extra inventories, and count extra cash sales. Indeed, so extra is this season that it

has actually become a routine of itself. To lose the Christmas holidays would badly disturb our whole life.

And yet, no one who thinks seriously about these happy days stops with an estimate of its plus value to such matters as we have spoken of. It is the great festival of spiritual happiness, and all the extras are provided ultimately in order that the spirits of men may be given an extra at this time. For this reason if spirits are not made glad, all the tinsel and excitement are wasted.

Of the great words frequently quoted during these days, none are more important than "good will among men." Since this is part of the Christmas promise it is helpful to remind ourselves about its meaning. There is a difference between peace and good will. Peace is a condition of satisfied repose; good will is a condition of satisfying action. It is perhaps true to say that unless we have good will we cannot have peace.

Good will is not just an amiable sensation; it is a determination to be on good terms with others, or as the familiar phrase puts it, "among men."

Think of what this means in our world. President Eisenhower recently said there is a better prospect of world peace today than at any time during the last four years. Why has this come about? Part of the answer is that there is more energetic good will among men. Not enough yet, but it is increasingly in evidence in our widening areas of aid to less favored nations than our own. As a matter of fact, most of our statesmen are confident that the only sure way to world peace is through the greater exercise of good will.

What can this mean to our own North Carolina? There are problems awaiting solution that will demand the best wisdom we can bring to their study. Surely there is no single one that cannot better be served by good will than by ill will. We can actually differ honestly and make differences of opinion serve constructive ends, so long as good will, wholesome and decent impulses are not lost in controversy.

North Carolina has been a state in which good will has abounded among its varied people. This largely accounts for our steady and happy progress during the years. It is our wish that in the times that are ahead of us we can carry an extra amount of good

will into all our relations, social, political, economic, and thus continue into the coming year the emphasis that is felt during these holidays.

FOR THE (SPRUCE PINE) *TRI-COUNTY NEWS* SPECIAL EDITION

December 30, 1954

It is a pleasure to send greetings and best wishes to the great mountain area served by the *Tri-County News*. This is a fine section of North Carolina, ranking high in the production of minerals.

The Spruce Pine district is well known for the production of such minerals as feldspar, mica, kaolin, vermiculite, and asbestos, as well as a considerable amount of gems production as a result of pegmatite mining in the district. According to our state geologist, Dr. J. L. Stuckey, this mining production amounts to approximately $500,000 a month and I understand that at least 40 per cent of the people living in this area are dependent wholly or in part on the production of minerals.

Our state, in 1953, ranked fourteenth in mineral output among the Southern states and the District of Columbia. We should rank higher. The geologists tell us that we have great mineral wealth and, as a result of continuous investigations carried on by the Department of Conservation and Development's Mineral Resources Division and other public and private agencies, we should accomplish more in this direction.

The Museum of North Carolina Minerals, which is now being constructed by our Department of Conservation and Development with the assistance of the National Park Service, will be completed and ready for opening by early summer. Located at Gillespie Gap on the Blue Ridge Parkway near Spruce Pine, the museum should do much to point up the importance of minerals production in North Carolina's general economy.

FOR THE *NEWS AND OBSERVER'S* SPECIAL FARM EDITION

February 21, 1955

Thank you for this opportunity to participate in the *News and Observer's* Special Farm Edition which each year reviews the agricultural progress made in North Carolina and examines thoughtfully some of the problems which face our rural people. I am glad to know that your theme for this year is "Building Stronger Rural Communities."

We have so many valuable natural resources in our state—fertile soil, forests, water, minerals, and temperate climate. However, the most important resources in our state have always been, and will always be, our people. It has been the people of our state whose hard work, courage, ambition, imagination, and talents have developed our state.

Since one-third of our people live and work in rural farm areas, this represents a large and important part of our human resources. Any improvement in building a stronger rural community will help every part of our state. We must improve farm family living just as we seek to improve crops, livestock, and other farming objectives.

We have made great strides in better farm living and better farming during recent years. Much of the credit for this advancement should go to the combined efforts of many people and organizations who are interested in the welfare and improvement of agriculture and farm people. This includes, of course, the Federal Farm Program, the Extension Service at State College, the experiment stations, the State Department of Agriculture, the Farm Bureau, the Grange, vocational agriculture and home economics teachers, the Rural Electrification Authority, and many other agricultural agencies.

Much work remains to be done, however, but it is encouraging to know that we do have the people, the programs, and the ability to keep moving ahead toward stronger, better rural communities. Good schools, roads, utility services, markets, health, and full spiritual development are needed to build better rural communities and a better, more prosperous North Carolina. With the help of all concerned, we can and will make great progress in the months and years ahead.

COMMENDING THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE FAIR

March 1, 1955

It is a pleasure for me to invite you to participate in the 1955 North Carolina State Fair. It is one of our oldest and best loved annual events. If you participate in the State Fair this year, either by becoming an exhibitor or by your attendance, you will gain a far greater understanding of our state's growing diversity in agriculture, commerce, industry, and the arts.

North Carolina has had many State Fairs and our people are justly proud of the success which these exhibitions have achieved. However, each year offers a new challenge to the fair management and to the people of the state. Each year sincere attempts are made to make the North Carolina State Fair the best ever. Nineteen hundred and fifty-five is no exception.

The State Fair brings us together for the basic purpose, always, of becoming better informed. The North Carolina State Fair, 102 years old this year, is more than a show of fruits and vegetables, farm animals and commodities, machinery, and factory and homemade articles. Exhibitors, challenged by competition and the lure of the blue ribbon, strive year after year to improve their displays. From the wide range of exhibits, urban and rural visitors to the fair discover how closely each in his daily life is dependent on the other. And there is always top flight entertainment to provide music and laughter.

From personal experience, I commend the North Carolina State Fair to you as a truly memorable event.

STATEMENT AT STATE-WIDE PRESS CONFERENCE ON THE SEGREGATION ISSUE

March 4, 1955

Assuming that the General Assembly enacts into law the legislation based on the Pearsall report, which provides for assignment and enrollment of pupils at the local level; and, assuming that the implementation decree of the Supreme Court is extreme or abrupt and would tend to seriously disrupt our public school system, I would plan to call the General Assembly into a special session to consider whatever further legislation may be necessary.

COMMENDING NATIONAL WILDLIFE WEEK

March 17, 1955

In an effort to call nationwide attention to the need for conserving our renewable natural resources—soils, forests, waters, and wildlife, the National Wildlife Federation is sponsoring National Wildlife Week from March 20-26.

North Carolina has an abundance of these resources, but these are in grave danger of depletion unless we use them wisely. In past years great strides have been made in conserving our priceless soils. We are learning to contour hilly farm lands and plant soil-saving crops and shrubs. In the field of forestry we have learned that trees are a crop and that through forest management practices we can harvest valuable timber and at the same time assure a supply of pulp and lumber for the future. Much is yet to be done to make the conservation of soils and forests more efficient.

Only in recent years have we come to realize that water is one of our most vital resources. Recent drought has in many cases made the situation critical. North Carolina is an agricultural state, and agriculture must have water. It is rapidly becoming an industrial state, and industry demands water that is usable. At the same time, it has an obligation to return water to our steams untainted by pollution.

Our wildlife resources provide recreation for a large segment of our population and at the same time are the source of nearly one hundred millions of dollars of income annually in goods and services. Wildlife is a beneficiary of the wise use of our other natural resources. Properly managed land produces farm game such as quail and rabbits. Properly managed forests provide such big game as deer, bear, and wild turkeys. Our steams, marshes, swamps, and bayous furnish homes for waterfowl and furbearing animals.

On our renewable natural resources depend the welfare and prosperity of us all. I therefore strongly urge that during the week of March 20-26 the people of North Carolina give special thought and consideration to the conservation of these resources.

THE WILMINGTON AZALEA FESTIVAL

March 21, 1955

I am glad to have this opportunity to join with the sponsors in welcoming you to the Eight Annual Azalea Festival in Wilmington. I expect to attend the Festival and look forward to the outstanding program planned for this year.

The historic seaport city of Wilmington is a friendly host to thousands of visitors during the Azalea Festival, and these visitors can testify to the beauty and splendor of more than a million azaleas which herald the arrival of spring. The beauty, hospitality, and charm of the Azalea Festival have made it a truly outstanding event in southeastern North Carolina and this section of the South.

North Carolina is proud of the Azalea Festival, its hard-working and imaginative sponsors, and the thousands of people who each year visit and enjoy the spectacular and colorful program. The scenic sights of this area alone are a treat for any visitor.

DESIGNATING NORTH CAROLINA HOSPITAL WEEK

April 7, 1955

The North Carolina Hospital Association will observe the week of May 8-14 as North Carolina Hospital Week, using as its theme the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Blue Cross Hospital Plan in America. The Blue Cross idea was originated twenty-five years ago in Dallas, Texas, when a group of school teachers made an agreement with Baylor University Hospital for pre-paid, non-profit hospital protection. They paid monthly sums into a common fund, which was then drawn upon to pay their hospital bills as needed.

The basic idea hasn't changed in the past twenty-five years. According to figures released by the Blue Cross Commission in Chicago, some 47,000,000 people in America, Canada, and Puerto Rico now belong to Blue Cross. Every eight seconds last year, a Blue Cross member entered the hospital. The total bill for hospitalization of these members came to $673,000,000.

By the middle of the 1930's Blue Cross had come to North Carolina where the hospitals, like those everywhere during the depression years, were having serious financial difficulties. Our hospitals were only half full, and less than 50 per cent of these patients were able to pay their bills. The North Carolina Hospital Association has expressed its gratitude for the assistance received from the Blue Cross plans during those difficult years and since that time. These health insurance plans have paid North Carolina hospitals more than $75,000,000 for benefits received by their members.

We are proud of our hospitals and clinics which have contributed so much to the health and welfare of the people of North Carolina. The growth of pre-payment health insurance has helped our people and made an outstanding contribution to the ability of our hospitals to operate successfully. The increased benefits, improved facilities, and modern methods for treatment now available would mean very little unless people could pay for them as needed. At the same time, our hospitals cannot operate unless their services are within the financial reaches of the people.

I am pleased to designate the week of May 8-14 as North Carolina Hospital Week which is being dedicated this year as a tangible expression of appreciation by the North Carolina Hospital Association for the services provided by the Blue Cross plans in this state.

TO THE JEFFERSON STANDARD BROADCASTING COMPANY

April 8, 1955

It is a pleasure to send greetings and best wishes to Radio Station WBT and Television Station WBTV in Charlotte, both pioneers in their respective fields in North Carolina. We are all proud of our institutions, which furnish public services to our people and reflect credit upon our state and its many accomplishments.

The Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Company, in the operation of these two stations, has a record of good citizenship through

donating its facilities freely for the promotion of many worthwhile community projects. These two stations have been leaders in the powerful media of broadcasting and television within our state, with WBT now being in its thirty-third year of service and WBTV in its sixth year.

I am looking forward to visiting the new home of these two stations in Charlotte and have been informed that this radio and television center represents the latest in electronic development and enables both stations to render even greater service to our state in the future. Their potentiality for service is tremendous.

May I take this opportunity to extend my personal best wishes to the management, staff, and listeners and viewers of WBT and WBTV. The week of April 11-16 will truly be "Fulfillment Week" for the Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Company as it enters upon a new era of service to North Carolina.

FOR THE ANNUAL FARM EDITION OF THE GREENVILLE *DAILY REFLECTOR*

April 15, 1955

Thank you for this opportunity to participate in your annual Farm Edition. I commend you for your genuine interest in the agricultural progress of Pitt County and eastern North Carolina. Your farm readers are grateful, I am sure, for the information provided in this special edition and also your continued support and assistance during the year.

While there has been a great deal of industrial growth in North Carolina recently, our state still remains primarily agricultural in nature. About one-third of our people live and work in rural farm areas, representing a large and important part of our human resources. Due to the combined efforts of many people and organizations, we have made great strides in better farming and better farm living in recent years. These improvements in agriculture must be continued. We must improve our crops, livestock and poultry, conserve our resources, diversify our agricultural production, and endeavor to raise the average per capita income of the people working on our farms.

We can accomplish a great deal in North Carolina if we work

together with understanding and a genuine effort to do what is in the best interest of our state. We know from experience what good schools, paved roads, adequate utility services, efficient markets, and good health and full spiritual development can mean in building a sounder agricultural economy and better rural communities.

While our farmers face many difficult problems today, I am greatly impressed with what they have been able to do in years past, and I want to assure them of my warm interest and hearty support in their efforts to meet the challenge of the future.

TO YOUNG DEMOCRATS OF NORTH CAROLINA

April 18, 1955

It is a great pleasure to send my greetings and sincere best wishes to the Young Democrats of North Carolina. May I also add my every best wish for the success of your Directory and Handbook.

As you know, I was tremendously impressed during the campaign last fall with the interest and enthusiasm which I observed among the Young Democrats throughout the entire state. I wholeheartedly endorse this splendid interest in good citizenship and compliment you and the Young Democrats in the progress you have made in stimulating increased interest in the Democratic party. If our party and state is to continue to meet the challenge of today, we need the vigorous support of all you young people. Our party, although the oldest in the world, is still young and modern in its ideas.

The Democratic party has given North Carolina sound and progressive government for more than half a century. The Young Democrats of our state are the inheritors of that magnificent tradition of leadership. I urge all of you to dedicate yourselves now to that responsibility.

FOR THE WILSON *DAILY TIMES* CENTURY OF PROGRESS EDITION

April 26, 1955

I am pleased to learn that the Wilson *Daily Times* will publish a "Century of Progress Edition" commemorating Wilson

County's one hundredth anniversary. I commend the *Times* for telling the story of Wilson County's outstanding growth and prosperity as an agricultural, industrial, and business area. This special edition is in keeping with your reputation as one of our state's better community newspapers.

We are all very proud of Wilson County and its outstanding record of growth and progress as "The Largest Bright Leaf Tobacco Market in the World." In a state where farm per capita income is low, Wilson County leads our state with the highest per capita farm income and is doing an outstanding job of increasing crop yields, practicing new and better methods of farming, and diversifying its products.

Please extend my best wishes to the people of Wilson County as it enters its second century of progress.

DESIGNATING JUNE DAIRY MONTH

May 18, 1955

For some years June has been observed in North Carolina as Dairy Month as a means of calling attention to the tremendous importance of milk and milk products in the life and economy of our state. Dairy farming now ranks among the leading agricultural enterprises in North Carolina and last year meant a gross farm income exceeding $109,000,000, three times what it was in 1940.

Milk and milk products mean a livelihood, or an important supplementary source of income to more than 35,000 Tar Heel farm families. Dairy farming has put back to work thousands of acres of farm land made idle by crop control restrictions. It has rebuilt and saved much land we were losing to soil-depleting crops and to erosion.

In the field of dairy manufacturing, there has been tremendous growth with about half of the 130 plants in the state having been built since 1939. About 6,000 North Carolina families are dependent upon the processing and distribution of dairy products for a livelihood or for a part of their income.

The June Dairy Month observance will highlight the importance of dairy products in building and maintaining our people's health. A nation-wide event, it was inaugurated in 1938 by the

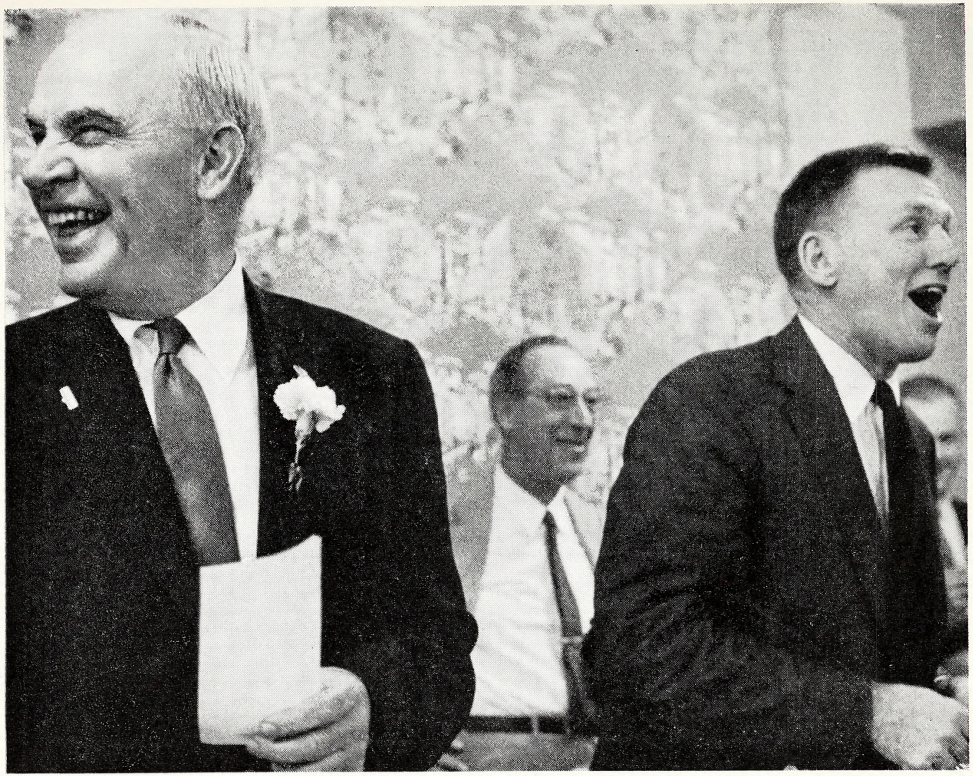


Photo by Hugh Morton

Governor Hodges with B. Everett Jordan (*center*) and John Larkins (*right*) at the Democratic Convention in Chicago, August, 1956.

Photo by Hugh Morton

Caucus at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, August, 1956. Seated (*left to right*): Herman A. Moore, secretary, state Democratic executive committee; Mrs. Libby Johnson; B. Everett Jordan, state Democratic national committeeman; and Governor Hodges. Standing: Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

dairy industry, in cooperation with other industries and groups to call attention to dairy products when they are most abundant.

I am happy to join in this salute to our growing dairy industry and hereby designate the month of June as June Dairy Month in North Carolina.

RELATING TO THE APPOINTMENT OF JUDGES

June 3, 1955

Today I would like to give you the names of some of the persons I am appointing to serve as Superior Court judges. Before mentioning the names, however, I would like to review briefly just how it comes about that I am making these appointments to the Superior Court bench.

For several years there has been a movement to redistrict the state's judicial system so as to increase the number of regularly elected judges of the Superior Court and decrease the number of special judges who in the past have been appointed by governors to serve for two-year terms. The proponents of the redistricting movement have felt that in too many cases the appointments of special judges by governors were made largely on a political basis and as a reward for political support. For one reason or another, these attempts to redistrict the state have until this year failed to receive the approval of the General Assembly. However, I am pleased to be able to say that this year redistricting legislation has finally been enacted.

The ultimate effect of this legislation upon the state's judicial system is that instead of having twenty-one districts, each with a regularly elected judge, and as many as twelve special judges appointed by each governor, we will have thirty-two regularly elected judges and not more than four special judges. The great improvement accomplished by this legislation is not merely the possible addition of four judges to the total number, but is rather the placing of the election of eleven additional judges in the hands of the people rather than having twelve judges appointed every two years by the governor.

The effect of this legislation, insofar as my duties of appointment are concerned, is that I must appoint eleven regular judges who next year will run for election, and up to four special judges who will serve for terms of four years.

Having to appoint at one time more than one-third of the total number of the state's Superior Court judges is a grave responsibility. I am not a lawyer, but my experiences as a businessman and as a citizen have taught me to value highly the standards of the bench and the bar. I have not been unaware of the possible lasting effect of these appointments on the tone and quality of our entire judicial system. I have read carefully every letter that has been sent to me recommending particular persons. I have listened at length to delegations of citizens who have come in support of particular candidates. I have also felt justified and even anxious to consult with the leaders of the legal profession and to discuss the qualities which go to make up good judges.

It was quite natural that in my desire to consider these matters with leaders of the bench and bar, I should spend some time in discussion with the chief justice and the associate justices of the Supreme Court of this state. These are the men who have gone through periods of service as attorneys at the bar, and for the most part as trial judges, and have been elevated to the very top of their profession to become members of our highest judicial body. To them I have turned for additional guidance—not with respect to particular persons, but in an attempt to learn for myself the qualities which they, in their experience, have come to recognize as indispensable in a first-rate judge. For their help I am grateful, but I hasten to add that the selections of the particular people are my own. For these appointments or reappointments announced today and for those yet to be announced, I assume full responsibility. I may add here that in measuring possible candidates as against the standards sought to be applied, the final choice between particular individuals has been most difficult.

For the resident judge of the Second Judicial District (Beaufort, Hyde, Martin, Tyrrell, Washington Counties), I have appointed the *Honorable Malcolm Carlyle Paul of Washington,* who has been serving as a special judge of the Superior Court. Born in Beaufort County, he attended public schools at Pantego, and received his LL.B. degree at Wake Forest College in 1935. Judge Paul has served as prosecuting attorney of the Beaufort County Recorders Court, County Attorney, and chairman of the County Democratic Executive Committee. He served as State Senator from the Second District in the 1953 General Assembly,

and is a Navy veteran of World War II. He is married to the former Hulda Winfield, and they have one son.

For the resident judge of the Fourteenth Judicial District (Durham County), I have appointed the *Honorable C. W. Hall of Durham,* who has been serving as a special Superior Court judge since August, 1953. A native of Carteret County, he attended Oak Ridge Military Academy and received his A.B. degree from the University of North Carolina in 1926. He was awarded his law degree from the University in 1928 and entered the practice of law in Durham the same year.

Judge Hall was a law partner of the late Governor William B. Umstead at one time before going into partnership with Marshall Spears, with whom he practiced until his appointment as special judge. He has been active in civic affairs, has served as president of the Durham County Bar Association, and is an overseas veteran of World War II. He is married to the former Inez Abernethy of Durham, and they have two children.

For the resident judge of the Twenty-fourth Judicial District (Avery, Madison, Mitchell, Watauga, Yancey Counties), I have appointed the *Honorable J. Frank Huskins of Burnsville,* who has been serving as a special judge of the Superior Court. A native of Yancey County, he attended public schools of that county and then entered Mars Hill College. He later received his A.B. degree from the University of North Carolina in 1930 and was graduated from the University Law School in 1932. He entered the practice of law the same year and has served as vice president of the North Carolina Bar Association. He is a former mayor of the Town of Burnsville, resigning in the middle of his second term to enter the United States Navy during World War II. Judge Huskins served as a Representative from Yancey in the General Assembly of 1947 and 1949. He is also former chairman of the State Industrial Commission. He is married to the former Miss Mary Bailey.

For resident judge of the Twenty-sixth Judicial District (Mecklenburg County), I have appointed the *Honorable Hugh Campbell of Charlotte,* an outstanding attorney and civic leader. A native of Haywood County, he is a graduate of Amherst College and received his legal education at the University of North Carolina. He first entered the practice of law in Goldsboro before

moving to Charlotte in the early 1930's where he became associated with Mr. Charles W. Tillett in the general practice of law. An active Democrat, he is also president of the Charlotte Kiwanis Club, and is affiliated with a number of civic organizations. He is an Episcopalian and his younger brother is Bishop of the Episcopal Church in West Virginia. He is married and the father of three children.

COMMENT ON THE SUPREME COURT'S SEGREGATION DECISION

June 3, 1955

It seems to have been generally expected that I would comment today on the Supreme Court's recent decision having to do with segregation in the public schools. I cannot, however, say more at this time than that there seems to be more to the opinion than newspaper headlines have indicated. The attorney general's office is of the opinion that, although first impressions of the Court's opinion may lead to the belief that the South achieved a measure of victory, a closer study of the Court's language reveals much graver possibilities than to date seem to have been realized.

I shall, during the next few days, be in constant touch with leaders of the state who have been dealing with this problem. It is my present intention to discuss this matter further in my Report to the People by television and radio on Monday night. I cannot, at this time, say more.

ON THE DEATH OF HARRY McMULLAN

June 24, 1955

I was shocked and saddened to learn of the unexpected passing of the Honorable Harry McMullan, attorney general of the State of North Carolina. He was a valued and trusted member of the Council of State whose judgment and experience were greatly respected. First appointed attorney general by Governor Hoey in 1938, Mr. McMullan made a distinguished record in this high office and provided his department with wise and understanding leadership. He was elected for his first full four-year term in 1940 and had won reelection since that time. His record of devoted and

dedicated service to the State of North Carolina will always be remembered.

As a person, Mr. McMullan was a warmhearted, able, Christian gentleman, who showed great understanding of our people and their problems. His willingness to serve everyone to the best of his ability was one of his best-known characteristics. He was a close, personal friend of mine. He will be greatly missed, and I have extended my warmest sympathy to Mrs. McMullan and the members of his family.

ON OPERATING THE SCHOOLS THROUGH PRIVATE CORPORATIONS

July 14, 1955

Since I have been asked to comment by the press, I would like to say that the first information which I had about the proposal for operation of North Carolina schools through private corporations was contained in the stories in this morning's newspapers. I understand, of course, that Dr. Beverly Lake, who is a distinguished lawyer and who as assistant attorney general has carried much of the state's legal burden in matters growing out of the Supreme Court's decision, was speaking as a private citizen and not as a state official. The particular proposal which he has made seems to be primarily a legal matter, and I believe that any further comment on this matter should come from the attorney general.

REPLY TO THE NAACP REQUEST FOR REMOVAL OF BEVERLY LAKE

July 17, 1955

The NAACP has issued to the press a resolution requesting me as governor of North Carolina to use my official position to remove a state official from office for expressing as a private citizen his own views on a subject which is of vital interest to this state.

I am amazed that this private organization, whose policies are determined in its national office in New York and are obviously designed to split North Carolina citizens into racial camps, and which I am convinced does not actually represent any substantial

portion of our Negro citizens, should have the effrontery to make such a request. Of course, I will not attempt to influence the attorney general, for whom Dr. Lake works, to remove Dr. Lake from office. On the contrary, it is my intention to use every means at my command to retain for the state the services of this distinguished lawyer.

I have been working on an address to be made to the people of the state on my program as to how we can try to save the public school system of North Carolina and at the same time permit each race to have its own schools. I will make this address within the next few weeks and will at that time review and consider the entire situation.

FOR THE FIRST ISSUE OF *THE TAR HEEL GUARDSMAN*

July 21, 1955

Thank you for this opportunity to share in the first issue of *The Tar Heel Guardsman,* which will be published monthly for the North Carolina National Guard, the Army and Air National Guardsmen. I understand that this first issue will be mailed to more than 9,600 citizen-soldiers.

As Commander in Chief of the North Carolina National Guard, I would like to send my greetings and best wishes to all officers and men now serving in the Guard. We are proud of the record of service which our National Guard and all its components have made in North Carolina. The eagerness of local communities to participate in armory construction and the location of Guard units serves as a good indication of the value of the National Guard Program.

I commend the founders of *The Tar Heel Guardsman* for publishing a magazine which can serve the North Carolina National Guard as a means of publicizing the many and varied activities of the guardsmen and units, as well as building morale and esprit de corps among our guardsmen.

ON RESPONSE TO ANNOUNCEMENT OF A FORTHCOMING RADIO BROADCAST

August 4, 1955

I am encouraged with the response which I have received to my recent announcement that I would make a state-wide, radio-

television address to the people on Monday, August 8, at 10:00 p.m., EST. Many radio and television stations have indicated their willingness to carry this message, and the press, of course, is always cooperative. I want to express my thanks in advance to all media for rendering this public service.

Because of the urgency and importance of problems arising from the U. S. Supreme Court decision on segregation in the public schools, my address will be the longest one I have made since becoming governor. It will be 36 minutes, 15 seconds in length.

I would also like to call attention to the fact that, in my address, a portion of my remarks will be directed to the Negro citizens of North Carolina.

It is my sincere hope that our people—white and Negro—will hear, see, or read this message on August 8.

WELCOMING VISITORS TO NORTH CAROLINA'S "VARIETY VACATIONLAND"

August 8, 1955

In North Carolina the Blue Ridge Parkway meets the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and there are the highest mountains in Eastern America.

North Carolina's "Variety Vacationland" is 503 miles long. It extends from the mountains to the Atlantic Ocean. Nearly 70,000 miles of highways make travel easy.

North Carolinians' welcome to their visitors is as friendly as their state is long and their mountains are high.

Take your time. The Great Smokies and the Blue Ridge are restful mountains, whether you visit them in the green of summer, the color of autumn, or in the flowering spring.

I am sure you will enjoy your visit to picturesque North Carolina.

RECOMMENDING THE STORING OF GRAIN UNTIL BETTER PRICES

August 9, 1955

Every indication points to a bumper corn crop in North Carolina this year. This is good news to our farmers and to our state,

provided our farmers market their crop wisely and get the best prices available.

I would like to join with our other agricultural leaders in reminding the farmers of the value of storing their grain until they can get the best price for it. Obviously, with a heavy crop on hand, top prices will not be available until later in the year or the first of 1956. If a farmer is able to store his grain and market it gradually it will reflect in higher prices for his grain and will create a healthier market situation.

The Agricultural Stabilization Service, through the Commodity Credit Corporation, has a loan program which will enable farmers in the commercial corn counties, as well as the non-commercial areas, to borrow at a good rate on their corn so that it may be held and sold at a more profitable price later.There is also a good program which will enable a farmer to borrow up to 80 per cent of the cost of erecting approved grain bins for the storage of his own grain production. Through the ASC, 1,300,000 bushels of modern farm storage facilities have already been erected. At the same time, a million bushels of storage space has been erected by other farmers with their own funds or through other channels.

There is a great future in North Carolina for grain farming, and we must encourage everyone to work together in helping produce and market a profitable grain crop. I have been working with the State Ports Authority in an effort to locate a grain elevator or two in Wilmington or Morehead City so that our grain can move through our deep water ocean ports.

Farmers who need help in borrowing funds for erecting grain storage bins should contact their local ASC Office.

ON THE REACTION TO AUGUST 8 SPEECH

August 18, 1955

The approximately one thousand letters, wires and resolutions I have received followed my August 8 address are overwhelming in their approval of the school enrollment program I have suggested. These communications are 95 per cent favorable. Nevertheless, I have had some strong letters of condemnation of the program which have come from certain individuals, most of whom are

doubtless well-intentioned and sincere. In commenting on the adverse communications, I would like to assure all whose minds are still open to reason that in making a proposal that a choice be exercised in a particular way, I neither advocate nor suggest any defiance of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court. In recommending a program of voluntary action I neither advocate nor suggest that Negro citizens be deprived of their constitutional rights. Furthermore, I would remind all that those who advocate immediate and complete integration in the public schools would, in the final analysis, deprive both races of their right to choose, would deprive both races of their right to voluntary action, and it is my sincere belief, would deprive both races of their privilege to educate their children in the public schools. Finally, I would like to emphasize again that the program I proposed in my speech is a sincere effort on my part to save our public schools.

In connection with the public discussion of the school segregation problems, I noticed a recent editorial in one of the daily papers which was based on what appears to have been a misunderstanding of Attorney General Rodman's action in calling attention to the grave possibilities that might arise as a result of the desegregation suit being brought from Montgomery County. The editorial refers to Mr. Rodman as having "put forth his proposal" as if he were proposing the eventuality of which he warns; namely, that our state constitutional provision requiring the General Assembly to provide public schools might be rendered inoperative. It should be noted that Mr. Rodman did not propose that such a thing be done. Rather, he was simply discharging the duties of his office by pointing out the possibility which might result from the suit which has been brought by the plaintiffs in Montgomery County. Mr. Rodman referred to these possibilities as "grave" which indeed they are.

As to what may be the result if the General Assembly should be left with the authority to take whatever action it deems necessary with respect to the public schools (free of any constitutional restrictions, and thus free of any legal requirement of submitting the question to the people) I do not believe there is any likelihood of the General Assembly's taking any drastic action such as eliminating the public schools without consulting the people of the state. I know that regardless of the technical requirements of the

law, if I were a legislator I certainly would not consider doing away with the public schools or even substantially changing them without submitting the question to the people in some form of referendum. It is my belief that the great majority of the members of the General Assembly would feel the same way. In fact, I have today checked this question with the president of the Senate, Luther E. Barnhardt; the speaker of the House, Larry I. Moore, Jr.; the president pro-tem of the Senate, Dr. Paul Jones; the chairman of the Senate Education Committee, Carl Hicks; the chairman of the House Education Committee, C. Gordon Maddrey; the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, J. C. Eagles, Jr.; the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Kemp Doughton; the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, Nelson Woodson; and the newly appointed chairman of the House Finance Committee, Carl Venters; and without exception they all say they feel exactly the same way. The newspaper editorial to which I referred, even though it may have been based on a misunderstanding, nevertheless renders a service by raising the questions that it has.

COMMENT ON THE PATRIOTS, INCORPORATED

August 24, 1955

I have been requested by the press to comment on the organization of Patriots, Incorporated.

My knowledge of the Patriots organization, its purposes and membership, is limited to what I have seen in the papers. I welcome any individuals and organizations who want to help on our school problem, with the assumption of course that all that is done will be done with a temperate and constructive attitude. Help along these lines will aid in the solution of the problem, which needs more and more study and discussion. The official body of the state and this office, in these matters, is of course the Advisory Committee on Education, headed by the Honorable Thomas Pearsall of Rocky Mount.

FOR THE CARTERET COUNTY *NEWS-TIMES* SPECIAL EDITION ON COMMERCIAL FISHERIES

September 2, 1955

I wish to congratulate you on your enterprise in publishing a special edition devoted to the interests of the commercial fishermen of the state and containing numerous factual articles which will bring this industry into sharp relief in the minds of your readers. I think that it is an enterprise well worth the time and effort of a newspaper publisher, and more especially when the newspaper is published in the section which is so important in the commercial fisheries picture.

It is the purpose of my administration to do everything possible in the way of aiding the commercial fishing industry to become even more important. Every step we take that will increase the per capita income of those who make their living from the products of the sea will mean that much more in the way of comfortable living for the families of the fishermen. I do not think any phase of my administration is more important than the program to increase the average earning power of all our citizens, and those like you who are aiding in this have my most sincere appreciation.

I also wish to commend the North Carolina Fisheries Association for its constructive work on behalf of the fishermen. This organization can, and I am sure will, supply the leadership for the fishing industry to the end that more modern and progressive methods may be utilized in handling their products. With the cooperation of all, I believe we can make the fishing industry one of much greater importance to those engaged in it and to the citizens of the state generally. I pledge my efforts to do all in my power to bring this about.

ON THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SITUATION

September 15, 1955

Now that our fall school openings have taken place, I would like to express my appreciation to the citizens of our state and

both races for their exemplary conduct during this period. Almost without exception our schools have opened without incident. However, according to reports in the papers there have been one or two occurrences which indicate that in some areas there may have been a tendency to forget some of the fundamental concepts upon which our government of freedom within the law is based.

On August 8, I proposed to the state that in order to operate our public schools in accordance with the policies set out by the General Assembly and at the same time avoid defiance or evasion of the opinions of the United States Supreme Court, the children of both races voluntarily attend separate schools. I believe it can be safely concluded at this time that for the present at least North Carolinians of both races have overwhelmingly accepted this proposal.

As might have been expected, some extremists have condemned my proposal and in one instance a group of Negro school teachers formally refused to support the program. In spite of the formal refusal of support by the group of teachers, the actual test of the acceptance of the program must, I believe, be in what is done and not in what is said. The group of teachers who refused support of the program consisted of about 80 persons and it may well be that their action does not truly represent the feelings of the 8,000 Negro teachers throughout the state. Certainly the extremists do not accurately represent our Negro citizenry.

FOR THE *SOUTHERN TEXTILE NEWS*

September 24, 1955

North Carolina has long been among the national leaders in the manufacture of textile products. It still is.

We are proud of this great industry. It is a real bulwark of our economy. Its management and employes constitute a working force which has left and continues to leave a lasting impact on the overall economy of our state.

North Carolina is among the pioneers in the development of the great textile industry. Long before the Revolutionary War there was a textile mill in Chowan County. It did not succeed to any

appreciable extent, so the historians tell us, but it was truly a trail blazer for an industry destined to grow great in our Tar Heel State.

This nation was in another war—the War of 1812—when the Schencks and the Battles began the establishment of the first successful textile mills in North Carolina. The year was 1813, according to available records, and the mills were constructed at Lincolnton and Rocky Mount.

Since these hardy pioneers ventured to go into the business of manufacturing textile goods at a time when this nation was again being harassed by the one-time mother country of England, the textile industry has made great strides in North Carolina, a state which also produces so much of the cotton and other raw materials necessary to successful operation of the mills.

At the present time there are about 1,100 textile manufacturing plants in North Carolina. Ten years ago, at the end of 1945, we had 765 such plants.

Approximately 231,000 of the 441,000 persons engaged in manufacturing work in North Carolina at the end of 1954 were employed in textile plants. In 1945, the number of persons employed in textile manufacturing was slightly more than 204,000.

We are especially grateful for our own textile pioneers and for the tremendous growth and achievements which they have made. Many of them have developed into national leaders in their own fields.

It is interesting to compare figures as to how we stood in the field of textile manufacturing in 1945 and how we stood at the end of 1954. During that ten-year span the number of textile plants in this state increased by 335, and we are still growing in this respect.

Ten years ago the people who worked in textile mills in our state were paid approximately $314,000,000. In 1954, the payroll had more than doubled, being placed at $664,000,000 by the *Blue Book of Southern Progress.*

Not only has the increased payroll and profit income been of immense value to those engaged in textile manufacturing, but it has also been of incalculable benefit in the building of a bigger, better, and stronger North Carolina.

It is well, I think, to take a look at the value of the products

manufactured in our textile mills in 1954 and compare them with 1945, the year when World War II came to a happy end.

The output of textile mills operating in North Carolina in 1954 had a value of $2,430,000,000, or about 40 per cent of the value of all manufactured products turned out that year by all types of manufacturing plants in the state. In 1945, the output of the state's textile plants was valued at $867,230,000.

Through the efforts of scores of industrial development organizations, the Department of Conservation and Development, and other groups, we are still bringing textile plants into North Carolina.

It is interesting to note from a recent report of the Division of Commerce and Industry of our Department of Conservation and Development that since January, 1953, and up to September, 1955, there were seventy-six new textile plants announcing plans to locate in North Carolina. In addition to these new plants, there were fifty-five expansions made to existing plants, many of which have been operating in North Carolina for long years and which have long been stalwart builders of our economy.

As we go about building a bigger, better, and stronger North Carolina and thus helping our people to find and enjoy a more abundant life, we are grateful for the constant growth of our textile industry.

Director Ben Douglas and his staff in the Department of Conservation and Development, aided splendidly by development groups throughout the state, are striving constantly to bring more industry into the state and thus help provide the better balance beween agriculture and industry which is needed to help build a stronger North Carolina.

At the same time, we are giving renewed interest and vigor to a program encouraging the establishment and growth of our own small industries—especially those designed for processing and merchandising the products of our fields, forests, streams, and seacoast.

We are, of course, proud of the fact that we lead the entire Southeast in value of manufactured products and in the South as a whole we are only topped by Texas in this respect.

We are also well aware of the fact that we cannot afford to be satisfied with what we have done and with what we are now doing.

We must do more. By working together to help raise the living standards of our people, we can make North Carolina a better, more prosperous state in which to live.

DESIGNATING GREEN PASTURES DAY

October 5, 1955

One of the most important agricultural movements of this decade is the Green Pastures Program in North Carolina. Where farmers once fought grass as one of their bitterest enemies, they are now coming to look upon grass-legume mixtures as their greatest ally in conserving soil and water, improving and making better use of the land, providing feed for production of meat, dairy, and poultry products, and thus supplementing and stabilizing agricultural income in areas where row-crops have traditionally been dominant.

A great deal has been accomplished since the first Green Pastures Committee was organized in 1950. Despite four years of unfavorable weather, we have made substantial progress.

However, we still have a long way to go. We still need to use better cultural and management practices on the improved pastures we already have. Many of our improved pastures and hay crops need to be made a part of our regular *crop rotation* system. All of these need proper management and plant food.

We still have nearly 1,000,000 acres of unimproved pastures. Many can be renovated, while others should receive lime and fertilizer treatments. Grazing should be controlled on all pastures. Careful attention should be given to supplementary grazing crops and to an adequate silage and hay program.

Our agricultural experts point out that we must have a dynamic Green Pastures Program if we reach and maintain the state goal of one and one-half acres of improved pastures for each mature animal equivalent on each farm. These experts tell us that if we are to support our present and immediate livestock on an economic and competitive basis, we must reach these minimum standards.

To complete the job before us, I urge all the citizens of North Carolina to give the Green Pastures Program their whole-hearted

support. I also call upon all our people to observe Friday, October 14, as Green Pastures Day in North Carolina and to join in honoring the ten counties which have made the most outstanding records in pasture production during the past year.

TO THE PEOPLE OF HARNETT COUNTY ON THEIR 100TH ANNIVERSARY

October 10, 1955

Greetings on your 100th Anniversary! I want to commend all those who had a part in the planning and effort which went into this centennial celebration and wish you every success as you begin the various activities of this special week. It is altogether fitting that you should choose this manner to observe the 100th anniversary of the formation of your county and to commemorate a century of progress.

I am looking forward to participating in part of the program and urge all the people of Harnett County and the surrounding area to give their wholehearted support to this observance.

Such a celebration tends to unite the citizens in a common cause, calling for participating in religious, governmental, industrial, agricultural, educational, and social activities; thereby inspiring a cooperative county spirit and acquainting one community with another's values.

As we begin this week of celebration, let us not only look back to the achievements of the past century but ahead to the opportunities for future development and growth.

COMMENT ON PROPOSED OPERATION OF THE SCHOOLS THROUGH LOCAL OPTION

October 13, 1955

Local option with respect to schools as I see it now would simply put into local communities the authority to run their schools the way they want to or not to run them at all if they choose. Just what would be the details of the suggestion I am not prepared to

say. It is being studied by the Advisory Committee on Education, and inasmuch as it appears that there is no immediate need for haste in the matter, I hope the committee will take sufficient time to consider it thoroughly along with all other suggestions that have been made before any final evaluation or detailed recommendation is made.

ON COORDINATING THE STATE RETIREMENT SYSTEM WITH SOCIAL SECURITY

October 21, 1955

October 26 is referendum day for all state employees belonging to the state retirement system. Teachers and state employees on that day will decide whether they would like to coordinate their retirement system with Old Age and Survivors Insurance.

The Board of Trustees of the Teachers' and State Employees' Retirement System has made a careful study of the proposed plan for coordinating the Teachers' and State Employees' Retirement System with Old Age and Survivors Insurance and has recommended this new retirement plan. The General Assembly has approved the plan subject to this referendum. The governing boards of the North Carolina Education Association, the State Employees' Association, and the State Highway Employees' Association have also recommended the proposed plan.

The results of this election are of great importance to the future efficiency of state administration. I would like to urge each employee to make up your own mind and, above all, vote in the referendum on October 26.

CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

December 22, 1955

Once again the Christmas Season is here and the people of North Carolina are busily engaged in preparing for the holidays. New and colorful decorations brighten our communities, commercial establishments, churches, schools, and homes. Retail

business in much of the state appears to be reaching a new Christmas peak and there is every indication that Christmas 1955 will be a prosperous one for most of our citizens.

For this prosperity and all its blessings we are deeply grateful. North Carolina, despite more than its usual share of natural disasters, crop failures and other economic difficulties, has been richly blessed.

In the midst of these holiday festivities, we should not forget those who are having financial difficulties, those who are handicapped by illness or infirmity, the lonely and aged who too often remain unnoticed on the fringes of our busy life, those who are inmates or patients in our state institutions and hospitals, and those who will be away from their homes and their loved-ones during Christmas. Many communities, churches, and civic organizations make a special effort at this time of the year to bring food, clothing, fellowship, and joy to our more unfortunate people.

Christmas, of course, is a great religious holiday and a time of emphasis upon peace and good will among all men. I hope that we in North Carolina will be able to retain the feelings, the understanding and compassion for others throughout the coming months and year.

It has been a great privilege to serve the people of North Carolina from this office during the past year. I have had wonderful cooperation and assistance from the many thousands of state employees and officials. My experience has deepened and broadened my respect and love for North Carolina, its people, its heritage, and its great possibilities. If we will work together on common problems which face us all, great things can be acomplished.

I would like to extend to everyone warmest greetings and best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy, Prosperous New Year.

NEW YEAR'S STATEMENT

December 29, 1955

I would like to express, in a very few words, greetings and best wishes to the people of North Carolina as we stand on the threshold of a New Year—1956. For each family and each individual

Wide World Photo

Governor Hodges seconding the nomination of Adlai Stevenson at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, August 16, 1956.

Photo by Ed Chabot

Governor Hodges looking over election returns on the night of September 8, 1956 (following the referendum on the Special Session School Amendment). To the left is Holt McPherson.

in our fair state, I wish a full year of happiness, prosperity, and good health.

This is a time for all of us—individuals, groups, communities, or our state—to take stock of where we are and where we are going. We should examine carefully our accomplishments and our shortcomings of the past twelve months. Above all, we should look and plan for the New Year ahead.

While there are many problems ahead, I look to the future with confidence, hope, and faith in our ability as a people and as a state to meet successfully the challenges which face us. One of our greatest challenges during the coming New Year holiday and for 1956 is to drive safely—and cut down our accidents.

Good luck and a good year!

LAUNCHING THE 1956 MARCH OF DIMES DRIVE

December 31, 1955

I am happy at this time to open officially the 1956 March of Dimes drive, which will extend throughout the month of January.

The theme this year is "Polio Isn't Licked Yet." The national goal is $46,700,000, compared to $64,000,000 in the 1955 campaign. Reducing the goal was made possible because the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis no longer needs to invest funds in the Salk vaccine or in gamma globulin. Funds for patient aid will continue to be needed in great amounts for some time to come. The new year will see at least 68,000 polio patients needing financial assistance.

The National Foundation will use campaign contributions for the care of patients, for further scientific research in many directions as well as improved methods of care, and for professional education and recruitment—a burden greater in relation to its resources than any that has ever confronted it before.

North Carolina was fortunate in 1955 in suffering only 434 new cases of polio, up to December 8. This compares with 703 new cases for the same period in 1954, and with 926 cases for the entire year, 1953. This is wonderful.

However, hundreds of North Carolinians stricken by polio must for a long time look to the March of Dimes for needed help.

The Salk polio vaccine came too late for many of them. They must not be forgotten.

I was reading the other day where Dr. Hart E. Van Riper, medical director of the National Foundation, said that a recent study shows that from 1,200 to 1,300 children in America were saved from polio by the Salk vaccine program in 1955.

Dr. Van Riper said statistics gathered by the Foundation also show that the polio hospital cases among children who received the vaccine—seven and eight-year-old—dropped much more sharply than among other groups.

America went into the polio season of 1955 with about 6,500,000 school children—fewer than five per cent of the total population—partially protected by one or more shots of the Salk vaccine, thanks to the National Foundation's vaccination program.

By spring, 1956, medical authorities hope there will be enough vaccine to innoculate every child in the country. The foundation will do its utmost to create the public confidence which the vaccine deserves and which will result in its widespread use.

In the past eight years there has been more polio in the country than there was in the preceding twenty years. This tends to bear out the supposition of scientists that improved sanitation and generally higher living standards, while they reduce the risk of many other diseases, only leave us more vulnerable to polio (by reducing the "silent infections" in infancy that would otherwise immunize us).

The Salk vaccine's effectiveness, as demonstrated in the 1954 mass field trial, was placed at 60 to 90 per cent. The hope has been expressed that through better production methods and a revised dosage schedule, immunity among children vaccinated in 1955 may prove even higher. But the search goes on in many laboratory projects sponsored by the National Foundation for a better vaccine, for more knowledge of the polio virus, for preventive and therapeutic drugs, and for better ways of taking care of those who are not spared from the attack of polio.

In closing, I urge each of you to give generously to the March of Dimes Campaign.

ON THE INTERPOSITION MOVEMENT

January 5, 1956

In commenting on the proposed interposition movement, I would like to say that I am in accord with the opinion which believes that quite apart from the race problem, and far beyond the merits of a particular decision, the Supreme Court of the United States in the school segregation decisions assumed the authority to change the Constitution of the United States at the will of the members of the Court and without legal precedent. The assertion of such authority by the Supreme Court seems to me to be highly dangerous to the fundamental principles of our federal government as well as to the sovereignty of the individual states of the United States.

If the so-called movement for interposition could provide a curb on this assumption of authority, I would much prefer this method of protests against the Supreme Court decision be used than some of the more violent ones.

GREETINGS TO RADIO STATION WBIG

January 6, 1956

This is Luther H. Hodges sending greetings and best wishes to Radio Station WBIG in Greensboro on the occasion of its thirtieth anniversary and the formal dedication of a fine new building at 2838 Battleground Road.

Owned and operated by the Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Company, WBIG is one of the oldest stations in North Carolina and has a fine record of service to Greensboro and its listening area. I commend the management of this radio station for its successful operations during the past thirty years and wish continued success and prosperous growth during 1956 and the years ahead.

I regret that another engagement prevents me from attending the WBIG rededication ceremonies, but send my best wishes to Mr. Allen Wannamaker, vice president and general manager, and the staff of WBIG.

A "NEW LOOK" AT TRAFFIC SAFETY

January 6, 1956

At the beginning of this new year North Carolina must take a "new look" at traffic safety.

In previous years, and all through 1955, safe driving programs have warned motorists repeatedly of the dangers of irresponsible and careless driving.

These programs have tried to promote operating skill with rules and tips on technique. They have told both motorists and pedestrians the "what" facts on accidents and the "how" of improving the record by observing the laws and common-sense rules of safety.

Yet in 1955, a total of 1,154 of our citizens died in traffic accidents—a 16 per cent increase over the number of unfortunate victims who were killed the preceding year.

That's why a "new look" in traffic safety is imperative at the beginning of 1956. Our very lives depend on it!

As drivers, we all might consider the "why" of traffic safety observances.

"Why" should we know traffic laws and obey them?

"Why" should we learn safe driving techniques, such as those constantly discussed by the Department of Motor Vehicles and other life-saving agencies?

A rather obvious answer is found in a slogan publicized last year by the Governor's Traffic Safety Council: "Stay alert—Stay alive!" By getting through 1956 without a traffic accident we may very well save our own life.

Just as important a reason, perhaps, is found in the phrase: "It's your responsibility."

And that responsibility is two-edged. You are responsible for your own safety in traffic—for being accident-free yourself.

You also are responsible for others—motorists and pedestrians—who may be in the wrong, safety-wise, but whom you can save from their own folly if you are careful and alert.

Expert drivers have their cars under control at all times. Expert walkers never take chances in traffic.

So don't blame the weather, the highway, the other fellow if you have a traffic accident in 1956.

Safety is your responsibility!

ON THE SEGREGATION PROBLEM

January 24, 1956

My attendance at the meeting of several Southern governors held in Richmond to discuss problems common to all our states with respect to our public schools and segregation was of substantial benefit and encouraging to us. After hearing the governors and other officials from other states describe conditions in their states and review the actions that have been taken by their legislatures concerning segregation problems, all of us from North Carolina who attended are in agreement that for the moment at least North Carolina is in a more satisfactory position than most of the other Southern states.

Inasmuch as our General Assembly is not now in session as are the legislatures of the states of the other governors attending the meeting, my attendance was primarily as an observer, and our group did not participate in the formulation or adoption of the proposed resolution considered at the meeting. This proposal strives to give expression to the position of the South and will of course be given serious consideration by our Advisory Committee on Education and myself for possible recommendations to our General Assembly at its next meeting.

ON THE RACE FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

January 30, 1956

Governor Hodges has received a press inquiry asking whether or not he has or will take any part in the forthcoming race for lieutenant governor.

"I am having nothing to do in any way with the race for lieutenant governor," the Governor stated. "I have said this repeatedly to all who asked me, because I do not believe a governor should try to pick candiates for other political offices. This includes Congressional races as well."

ON REAFFIRMING NORTH CAROLINA'S POSITION IN REGARD TO THE SEGREGATION DECISIONS

February 2, 1956

Last night I had an extended conference with Mr. Thomas Pearsall, chairman of our Advisory Committee on Education, before he left for a brief vacation. We agreed that the Advisory Committee should consider possible wording of a resolution to be recommended to our General Assembly, which will reaffirm North Carolina's position with the other Southern states in emphasizing the strong resentment our people feel toward the unjustified usurpation of power by the Supreme Court of the United States.

I will say definitely now that in our opinion a resolution of this type will be presented to the North Carolina General Assembly and that it will be in the spirit of the meeting held in Richmond. I hope and believe the South can present a united position in protest and at the same time leave sufficient room for each state to use every legal means to protect its traditions and its local customs, as was contemplated in the proposal adopted in Richmond.

We must have a determined point of view in the South which will awaken the rest of the nation to the dangers inherent in what seems to be the Supreme Court's attitude that all ultimate power lies in that Court. We must continue to carry this fight against centralized concentration of authority to the nation, as I attempted to do in my New York speech two weeks ago.

I expect to restate my position on the whole segregation matter in Leaksville next Saturday afternoon.

ON THE NORTH CAROLINA SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

February 9, 1956

We here in North Carolina are greatly blessed in that we have a state symphony orchestra of our own which is doing such a spendid job of bringing us the musical riches of the world.

Dr. Benjamin F. Swalin, conductor of our North Carolina Symphony, believes implicitly that good music, like oxygen, is in some quantity virtually everywhere. Music is not only a great human and social art but a complex technological science and one of the largest mechanized industries in the nation. It pervades the spirit of Christmas and Easter. It is heard in public schools, homes, churches, concert halls, theaters, and, more recently, on TV.

Music has become a major study in our colleges and universities throughout the nation. It ennobles and inspires man and it constitutes virtually the only international language that we have in the world today. Thus it is being utilized increasingly as a factor for peace and understanding among the peoples everywhere, as attested by the increasing number of visits to other lands by American orchestras.

Apart from its aesthetic appeal, a symphony orchestra is actually good business. On tour a symphony spends money for room accommodations, meals, transportation, telephone and telegraph, postage, printing, equipment, and clothes. And money is spent locally on music, music lessons, and recordings.

But a symphony orchestra, like an art museum, high school, college, or university, finds it very difficult to be self-maintaining; for it bases its service largely on need rather than income. The income of our North Carolina Symphony Society is derived partially from memberships, of which there are approximately 27,000, and partially from an appropriation from the State of North Carolina.

This year, during the eleventh annual tour of the North Carolina Symphony, 150,000 children in the state will hear the Symphony as it now travels throughout the length and breadth of the state, taking good music to towns both large and small. This is one of the greatest contributions to the cultural growth of our children.

The Symphony is now on its tour which involves 110 performances in fifty-six communities. I commend it to you. I hope that our citizens will do all they can to support the North Carolina Symphony and, above all, that they will have the opportunity to hear it. Noted for its vast public service and artistic excellence, the Symphony belongs to all of us and is doing a wonderful job of helping us to grow in an appreciation of the best in music.

FOR *THE AMERICAN SALESMAN*

February 22, 1956

I am happy to greet the salesmen and saleswomen of this country and to commend you for the fine work you are doing. I am glad, also, to commend *The American Salesman* magazine, now in its first year, for its efforts to help salesmen better understand their work and to develop methods which will make them even more expert, as well as to increase their prestige by making them aware of the high calling which is theirs.

As governor of the State of North Carolina, I too am a salesman. At present I am attempting to sell the people on good government, show them the industrial potential of the state, increase their pride in the state and its history, preserve our public schools, and raise our per capita income and our standard of living.

When I was sixteen years of age, in the year 1914, I got a job as a "news butcher," selling newspapers, magazines, candy, pop corn, etc., on the Norfolk and Western Railroad. I worked for several months on the "Punkin Vine" run between Roanoke and Winston-Salem, and return. I later achieved my ambition by getting on the main line between Roanoke and Suffolk, Virginia. This experience was invaluable to me.

Today more than ever before we need good salesmen to sell everything from A to Z. Just recently I was reading in one of our daily papers where we need a super salesman to extol the Salk vaccine. One of the greatest medical discoveries of the century will go unused by many people unless the people are sold on the idea of its value.

Perhaps our greatest failure in the line of salesmanship lies in the fact that we have not as yet sold the world on the idea of peace on earth, good will to ALL men.

In closing, I have but two suggestions to offer those who would be successful salesmen: (1) Have confidence in yourself; (2) Sell only those products in which you have the utmost confidence.

ON THE PROJECTED REPORT OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

March 12, 1956

I have been asked to comment on a story appearing in some of the morning papers, concerning the report of the Advisory Committee on Education. I have talked this morning with Mr. Thomas J. Pearsall, chairman of the committee, and he tells me that the report has not been completed at this time. He adds that since the report is not complete, naturally, no conclusions have been reached as to what statutory or constitutional changes may be recommended to implement what is finally proposed.

Stories appearing in the press, purporting to have inside information as to what the committee will recommend are, I am told by Mr. Pearsall, pure speculation and nothing more.

ON 1956 CAMPAIGN PLANS

March 16, 1956

The press has asked me about my campaign plans now that the filing date has passed. During the next few months I intend to conduct my campaign for the Democratic nomination for governor in the same manner that I have fulfilled my duties as governor. That is, I will carry on my activities on a frank and business-like basis with full confidence that the people of this state want and will support clean, efficient government.

All of us North Carolinians take pride in the magnificent record of progress we have had in our state. I pledge my every effort to continue in this fine tradition of good government, with abounding faith in the future of North Carolina. I will make my campaign a progress report to the people of North Carolina, and will try to make suggestions as to how we may make further progress along various lines.

I do not believe in vicious name-calling, mud-slinging, or any similar tactics which result in the creation of ill-will that does not end with the close of a campaign—but which lingers in the hearts

of North Carolinians for years. I do not want to see our wonderful, progressive state become torn by racial strife.

We shall preserve our Southern school traditions, and we have a program to do just that.

We also must continue our educational progress on all fronts in North Carolina.

ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AGRICULTURAL TELEVISION NETWORK IN NORTH CAROLINA

April 20, 1956

I think it is quite significant that North Carolina, the state with the largest farm population within the United States, should be the first state to establish an agricultural television network. This unique undertaking by our University educational television station, North Carolina State College, and several commercial television stations, is just one more example of the cooperative spirit which has helped our state grow and develop.

Here at State College is concentrated one of the nation's greatest sources of valuable agricultural information, research, technology, and specialists in every conceivable field of agricultural endeavor. This is a great storehouse of knowledge as well as a busy educational plan working to serve the needs and solve the problems of agriculture.

As agriculture becomes more technical, as farm people are called on to make more decisions and adjustments, it thus becomes more imperative that we afford the farmer every opportunity to keep abreast with late research findings, market information, and current news which will affect his livelihood.

Television has been developed through the application of science. Science must likewise be applied to agriculture, if it is adequately to feed, clothe, and in other ways help maintain a healthy and prosperous nation.

As governor, I am pleased to dedicate this new service to agriculture to all the people of North Carolina.

TO THE NORTH CAROLINA TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL STATE-WIDE INDUSTRIAL SAFETY CONFERENCE

May 2, 1956

I send congratulations and best wishes to all who attend this outstanding State-wide Industrial Safety Conference which is sponsored by the North Carolina Industrial Commission. You have an outstanding program planned and I deeply regret that other commitments prevent my attending and participating in your program.

Industrial safety is a subject in which I have been deeply interested for many years. Accident prevention is such a basic necessity in our life today that we must never take it for granted or assume that somebody else will do the job.

I know that most of you are thoroughly familiar with the outstanding safety program which the North Carolina Industrial Commission has been directing in our state for many years. Through the organization of Regional Safety Councils, the Industrial Commission has encouraged industrial and manufacturing firms to work together in a continuing effort to prevent industrial accidents, save needless pain and injury, reduce lost earnings of employees and employers, and save the needless suffering which so often follows these accidents. From these conferences and from this Industrial Safety Program has come a greater realization that safety is a good investment and that education, discipline, and courtesy helps keep down accidents.

Keep up your good work and continue your emphasis upon making safety such a habit that all of us will take this habit with us to our homes and on the highways.

This is the challenge which must be met, and I know each of you will do your part.

DESIGNATING "TWEETSIE" HOMECOMING DAY

May 15, 1956

During the early years of the twentieth century a narrow gauge train known as Tweetsie served the people of the then known lost

province, operating from Johnson City, Tennessee, by way of Elk Park into Boone, North Carolina.

The devastating waters of the 1940 flood badly damaged roadbeds and bridges to such an extent that it was deemed economically unsound to rebuild its roadbeds and bridges. Following this destruction, Tweetsie changed hands several times and was taken from its original home in our North Carolina mountains to the State of Virginia.

I am pleased to know that Tweetsie is being returned through the facilities of the Carolina and Northwestern Railroad to Hickory, North Carolina, for minor repairs and from there to a point between Boone and Blowing Rock where it will make daily runs within whistle sound of its former terminal. I understand that there are only two such trains now in operation and Tweetsie will be the only one in the East.

In view of the service of this historical narrow gauge train to western North Carolina and the great interest which has been shown by the people of that area, as well as the American Association of Railroads, I hereby designate May 20, 1956, as Tweetsie Homecoming Day.

ON THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BLUE RIDGE PARKWAY

June 21, 1956

It is a pleasure to send greetings and best wishes upon the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the Blue Ridge Parkway by an Act of Congress. This is indeed an event worthy of celebration and I wish that it had been possible for me to attend. However, I do want to express my approval of this observance and call attention to the value of this great parkway.

The fact that the Blue Ridge Parkway is a great asset to western North Carolina is verified by the record of more than 4,000,000 people each year visiting this beautiful "Highway in the Sky," which is both a vacation area and an access road to famous scenic attractions and resort areas. First conceived by the United States Government in the early thirties as a means of connecting

two national parks—the Shenandoah National in Virginia and the Great Smoky National in North Carolina—the parkway has made history as a public works project and as a public recreational facility which is now truly a natural resource.

We are immensely proud of the active part which North Carolina has played in the establishment, planning, location, and actual construction of this magnificent toll-free highway. Since construction began in 1935, the North Carolina State Highway and Public Works Commission has acquired, or will acquire, approximately 125 acres per mile or a total of approximately 25,000 acres for the parkway. North Carolina has spent approximately $2,500,000 in acquiring land for the parkway, and it is estimated that the state will spend another $1,000,000 for other right-of-way areas when all the land has been acquired. It is hoped that the remaining seventy miles in North Carolina will soon be completed and paved, and we should never lose sight of this goal.

We are also grateful for the cooperation and assistance of the National Park Service and its officials who have worked with our State Highway Commission, western communities and counties, and others down through the years. We share their interest in the proper development of western North Carolina and will work together to preserve the parkway as it is today and strive to complete as soon as possible the remaining unfinished links in this wonderful mountain highway.

COMMENT ON THE NOMINATION OF RICHARD NIXON FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

July 25, 1956

The presence of Mr. Nixon's name on the Presidential ticket will certainly not help Mr. Eisenhower in his attempt for renomination in North Carolina or in most of the nation. Through his unprincipled approach to politics and government, Mr. Nixon has successfully managed to lose the confidence of a large number of the American people. The recent illnesses of the President call attention to the importance of the Vice-Presidency and this places Mr. Nixon in a potential position of greater responsibility than most people would want to assign him.

ON THE WORK OF THE 1956 SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

July 27, 1956

The General Assembly, representing the people of North Carolina, has confirmed my great confidence in the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education and the wisdom of its approach to the present public school problem. No General Assembly has ever given any more devoted time and concentrated study to specific legislation than this one has given to the recommendations of what is known as the Pearsall Committee.

The overwhelming support by the members of the General Assembly, in my opinion, reflects the thinking and the feelings of the general public of North Carolina and the great confidence of the people in the legislation that has been enacted.

In numerous conferences before and during the Special Session, I have talked with many individual members of the General Assembly who have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to explain further this important program to their fellow citizens who are so keenly interested in our public schools. I believe that the correctness with which the members of the General Assembly have represented public sentiment in this state, borne out by hundreds of letters, telegrams, and calls which I have received, indicates a heavy vote on the constitutional amendment on September 8, and an overwhelming endorsement of this program to preserve our state-wide public school system.

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF SWISS INDEPENDENCE A MESSAGE READ OVER RADIO STATION WNYC

July 28, 1956

I understand that the people of Switzerland will celebrate the 665th anniversary of their independence August 1.

I am happy to send greetings and best wishes to the Swiss people on this important occasion and to say that I hope the friendship and good trade relations between our two nations will continue in ever-increasing proportions.

Such friendship was given official expression by the American-Swiss Treaty of Friendship and Commerce of 1850, but like feelings and temperaments and political philosophies of national independence and love of individual freedom of the two peoples have always afforded the broad natural basis of that friendship.

The two nations are alike in other respects. The Swiss Constitution of 1848 adopted American political forms. Swiss schooling is like that of the United States in its good quality and in support of the Alpine confederation's four national languages. States' rights are firmly grounded in both countries. The beauty of the land, the vigor of the Swiss farmers, and the precision of Swiss industry are like those of the United States in quality, though the two countries are economically complementary in their products.

I am told that Switzerland trades with all forty-eight states and that in 1954 the Swiss people spent $4,849,000 for North Carolina products alone.

We in this country are proud of the friendship and good trade relations between the two countries and hope that such will continue down through the years. I commend the people of Switzerland for their long struggle for freedom and independence and wish them well on this memorable day.

TO MEMBERS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

August 3, 1956

Dear Friends:

You finished your Special Session a week ago today. Public reaction has been good, and the handling of the session and the public hearings by your presiding officers have been praised. Certainly, the radio and TV audiences had a good impression that *everyone* had a chance to "have his say."

May I thank you personally (even if through a form letter in interest of time and economy) for your help in the school legislative program. A few of you disagreed with the program presented but, in the final vote, only two voted in the negative.

I believe the people agree with your decision and will vote "For" the school amendment on Saturday, September 8. Quite a

few legislators have already begun work in their counties to get out a large and favorable vote. We believe each of you has a great opportunity to preserve our public schools by helping in this endeavor.

Information will be furnished you from time to time to help in your contacts, speeches, etc. Get as many groups and individuals to help you as possible as the election will be most important.

We plan to announce before long a state chairman, and headquarters will be set up next week at the Sir Walter Hotel. This organization will stand ready to help you in any way. Write or call the "Governor's Committee For the Public School Amendment," or me, as I shall be in constant touch with this program.

Sincerely yours,
Luther H. Hodges

P.S. If you have any suggestions, send them in. If you feel you cannot actively help, please advise us.

COMMENT ON ADLAI STEVENSON'S STATEMENT ON SEGREGATION

August 8, 1956

In commenting on Mr. Stevenson's statement of yesterday, I want it clear that my feelings with respect to the Supreme Court's segregation decisions are embodied in the resolution of condemnation and protest adopted by the Special Session of the General Assembly, which termed it a "usurpation of power."

As to what will happen in Chicago, I am leaving Friday morning and will get acquainted with conditions there after I arrive. I intend, of course, as chairman of the delegation, to confer with the North Carolina delegates in Chicago before reaching any decision.

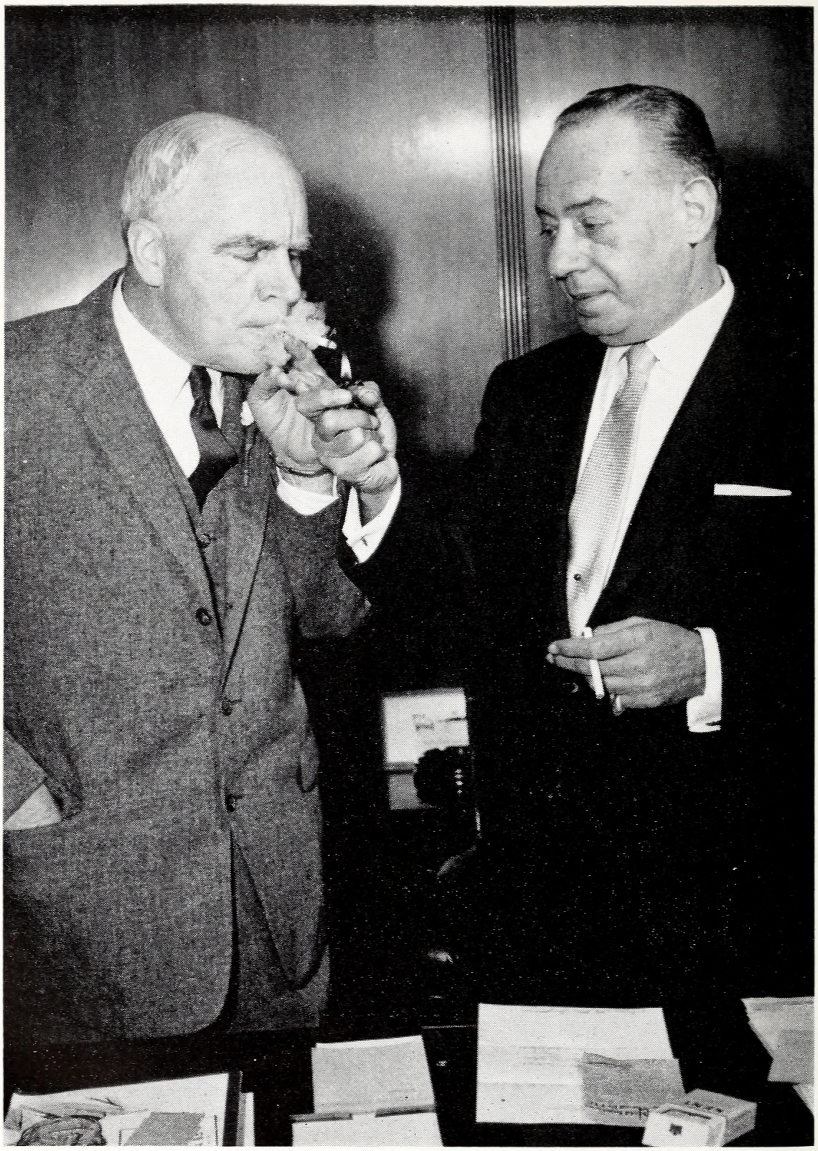
REMARKS MADE ON ELMO ROPER BROADCAST—CBS

August 11, 1956

I am not surprised at Mr. Truman's endorsement of Governor Harriman as candidate. It confirms what many of us have thought for months he would do.

Hugh Haynie in Greensboro News, September 14, 1956

The new chairman of the Southern Governors' Conference has problems at home.



Wide World Photo

Governor Hodges and Lewis Gruber, president of P. Lorillard Company at the dedication of this company's new factory in Greensboro, October 17, 1956. The Governor, a non-smoker, is accepting a cigarette.

The issue is now joined! We in the South welcome it!

As I have said before, I do not like Mr. Harriman's associations. I do not agree with Mr. Truman that Mr. Harriman has any undue ability to be President. Mr. Harriman will through his associations try to get votes, but he will find out that large cities and minority groups do not represent all of America.

The South will not accept him!

Mr. Stevenson is a great person, a good administrator, a world citizen who represents the best of our America and the rest of the world needs the universality of his heart and mind.

There was a "spirit of '76," and Mr. Stevenson represents the "Spirit of '56."

FOR THE ANNUAL TOBACCO EDITION OF THE SANFORD *DAILY HERALD*

September 5, 1956

I welcome this opportunity to share in the annual Tobacco Edition of the Sanford *Daily Herald* and commend all who had a part in its preparation. It is truly a fine public service and I know it will do much to focus the attention of our people on our rural way of life and on the contributions to our state and national economy made by tobacco.

I understand that the Sandhills Belt, with tobacco markets at Sanford, Carthage, Aberdeen, and Ellerbe, will open around September 4. Last year the Sandhills Belt produced about 24,500,000 pounds of tobacco. The outlook for this year is good, with a prospective yield of about 15 per cent less than last year.

North Carolina farmers derive more than one-half their cash income from the sale of tobacco. Although acreages have trended downward, per-acre yields have trended sharply upward. Production of 997,395,000 pounds of all tobacco (flue-cured and burley) in 1953 fell only 2,300,000 pounds below the largest on record, while the 663,000 acres from which this tobacco was harvested is 22 per cent below the record of 851,000 acres harvested back in 1939.

Last year's harvested yield per acre was about 160 pounds above the previous record and reflects continuation of the upward trend in production of tobacco per acre brought about by constantly

improving cultural practices and by the breeding of higher-yielding varieties and strains. The annual average yield of tobacco during the five-year period 1951-1955 is calculated at 1,325 pounds, compared with only 779 pounds twenty years earlier during the 1931-1935 period.

I am distressed at the way our over-all farm income is dropping steadily, while costs continue high, and prices are off sharply. According to one recent survey, American farmers took an average cut of 8 per cent in income in 1953 and an additional 1 per cent in 1954, a cut of 3 per cent more in 1955, and, unless the trend changes, we will take still another cut in 1956. Net income per farm in the United States has dropped from $4,301 in 1952 to $3,600 in 1956. This compares with net income per non-farm (or industrial-business-professional) household of $6,100 for 1952, as compared to $6,500 in 1956. Our farmers are caught in a cost-price squeeze that is getting steadily tighter.

With farm income on the decline, many farmers are seeking jobs in industry to supplement their income. As one writer recently expressed it, "our farmers have one foot on the farm and one foot in industry."

I value greatly our agricultural heritage and what we have been able to achieve in the way of life which we now have. We are fortunate to have a balance in our population of one-third rural, one-third non-farm, and one-third urban. It is my hope that we can strengthen and protect our agricultural economy and lend assistance and encouragement to those who have the ability and persistence to stay with and make their full-time living from the soil.

ON THE RESULT OF THE SEPTEMBER 8 REFERENDUM

September 8, 1956

I am gratified at the margin given the school amendment. The people of North Carolina, in my opinion, overwhelmingly approved the approach of moderation recommended by the Pearsall Committee.

My sincere thanks go to our campaign committee headed by Mr. Holt McPherson of High Point and our information officer,

Mr. Ralph Howland, and to the legislators and other interested citizens who helped get out a favorable vote. The press, the radio and television, the volunteer speakers, school men and women, and others deserve much credit.

Even though some of our citizens opposed the school amendment, we should all now close ranks in the support of our public schools and the continuance of good race relations.

I was particularly pleased with the conduct of the campaign and the fine spirit and high plane upon which the debate was carried on. This is a good North Carolina fashion. Our state can take pride before the whole nation in the fact that our people can express themselves in an issue so grave and controversial and do it without rampant emotionalism and bitterness. This is indeed a good omen for the future.

I was very happy to see the other amendments passed.

FOR THE *NORTH CAROLINA RECREATION REVIEW*

September 21, 1956

I am happy to have this opportunity to contribute to the November issue of the *North Carolina Recreation Review.*

I want to commend the North Carolina Recreation Commission and the North Carolina Recreation Society for their unceasing efforts on behalf of a better recreation program for all the people of our state. Your interest and work toward eliminating the problem of juvenile delinquency by providing wholesome recreation for our young people is especially worthy of commendation.

We never get too old for recreation—in fact, some people feel we get old when we stop having some form of recreation every day. Your work to provide the older folks with varied and interesting forms of recreation becomes increasingly important and I hope that even more can be done for this age group.

The North Carolina Recreation Commission has received national and international recognition for the professional recreation work of the state and has pioneered a new era in governmental recreation services.

To all who work or have a part in our many recreational programs and activities, I send greetings and best wishes.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

October 1, 1956

To keep you informed, I am writing you briefly about the budget hearings which have just been concluded. We had two weeks of hearing the various departments and agencies, and I sat through these meetings. Chairmen Kemp Doughton and Carl Venters of the House and Messrs. LeRoy Martin of Raleigh and Alonzo Edwards of Hookerton, members at large, were present. Senator Nelson Woodson was hospitalized in Texas and could not attend. Senator Joe Eagles was not able to be there full time, but joined us in the final executive session.

I am giving you on the attached sheet a very brief summary of the figures which are somewhat staggering, but which I think you ought to look at carefully so that you may have some idea ahead of time of the size of the requests. You will note that the requests for the next biennium, 1957-59, for general and highway funds total over $1,000,000,000. This, of course, is by far the highest in history.

The Advisory Budget Commission hopes to meet again for further discussion in about two weeks, and following that we hope to send you some brief summaries of the presentation of some of the larger and more important agencies, so that you may be more fully informed about what is going on.

If you have any questions about the budget hearings or about any of these figures, or have suggestions, don't hesitate to get in touch with either me or Mr. Dave Coltrane, direct. We will help any way we can.

Memo of Budget Request Figures sent with Governor Hodges' letter of October 1, 1956.

Expenditures:	*General Fund*	*Highway Fund*	*Total*
1955-56 Actual	$202,617,674	$133,213,269	$335,830,943
1956-57 Estimated	215,090,218	171,667,432	386,757,650
Total 1955-57	$417,707,892	$304,880,701	$722,588,593
Requested by Departments and Agencies For Operation:			
1957-58	$270,338,326	$183,873,404	$454,211,730
1958-59	275,266,088	194,326,660	469,592,748
Total 1957-59	$545,604,414	$378,200,064	$923,804,478
Capital Expenditures Requested	86,937,615		86,937,615
Total Requested	$632,542,029	$378,200,064	$1,010,742,093
Total Requested *Beyond Present Biennium Expenditures*	$214,834,000	$ 73,320,000	$288,154,000

Our credit balance as of June 30, 1956, was about $38,000,000. Revenues for 1957-59 will be estimated later, but they, with any cash balances, will be far short of meeting above requests.

DESIGNATING NORTH CAROLINA HERITAGE WEEK

October 2, 1956

North Carolina Heritage Week will be observed throughout the state the week of October 7-13.

Our great state is the site of numerous historical firsts—first English settlement, first full-scale movement of the frontier against English domination, first colony to authorize its Continental Congress delegates to vote for independence, first state to build a state university, and the first state to establish an adequate public school system in the South.

Today, North Carolina ranks first in the nation in the production of wooden furniture, textiles, and tobacco products and leads the Southeast in industrial production.

The farmers, industrialists, statesmen, merchants, teachers, and laborers who have brought North Carolina to its favored place today have been guardians of our heritage of foresightedness, independence, individualism, resourcefulness, and democracy.

These citizens have settled here from many lands and varied conditions.

I am glad, therefore, to designate hereby the week of October 7-13, 1956 as North Carolina Heritage Week and urge all our citizens to broaden their knowledge of North Carolina and thereby deepen their understanding of our precious heritage.

DESIGNATING SMALL BUSINESS DAY IN NORTH CAROLINA

October 9, 1956

Since colonial days, North Carolina has been known as a state made up largely of small land owners, small communities, and small businesses. While we have had tremendous growth and progress, both on the rural and urban level, North Carolina remains primarily a rural state with many small-family farms. Approximately 90 per cent of all business establishments are classified as small businesses.

We in North Carolina are rightfully proud of our rural heritage, our small towns, and our thousands of small businesses owned and operated by energetic hard-working men and women. They are to be commended for their contributions and participation in the affairs of our communities and of the state and nation, as well as for the services and products they provide through their respective jobs.

In the last fifteen years, the total number of businesses in North Carolina has grown from 55,000 to 79,000. Despite increasing problems from all sides, our small businesses have managed to have fewer failures than the average for the South Atlantic region or the nation. However, survival remains a serious problem for thousands of small businesses which do not fail but at the same time have great difficulty in operating profitably.

I am pleased to learn of plans for a Small Business Conference which will be held in Charlotte Thursday, October 11 for the purpose of showing the small businesses of this state the countless opportunities which are available through the strong national defense program maintained by the federal government. This conference is sponsored by the United States Small Business Ad-

ministration and the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce with the South Carolina State Chamber of Commerce also cooperating.

Theme of the conference is "How to Do Business with the Government" and there will be more than $20,000,000 worth of current bid invitations on display for the review of interested small operators.

Numerous exhibits will also be on display by major government agencies and private contractors of items they buy from small business with counsellors present to explain how to qualify as a supplier.

In recognition of the importance of small business to our economy and to the defense and general welfare of the state and nation, I hereby designate Thursday, October 11, 1956 as Small Business Day in North Carolina and urge the full participation of our qualified business people in the Charlotte conference on that day, and extend North Carolina's cordial welcome to those who come from South Carolina.

ON RUMORS OF PROPOSED CHANGES IN SELECTING MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE

October 15, 1956

I have been out of the office this past week end and find on my return considerable reaction to news stories and editorial comments in the press about basic changes in the method of selection for many members of the Council of State. Today has been my first opportunity to check on this.

Since the newspaper stories had mentioned the proposed changes in connection with the Commission on Reorganization of State Government, I have telephoned the chairman, David Clark of Lincolnton, to see if such a proposal has been on the commission agenda or has been discussed by the group. He told me that it had not been before the commission, either on the agenda or through group discussion.

I would like to make it clear that the press accounts of such changes came to me as a surprise. This was the first I have heard of such reorganization plans, and I have no desire to change the method of selection of members of the Council of State as we

have achieved effective relationships under the present setup. As governor, I have far more to do than there is time in which to do it, and I am not concerned with more appointive power.

Even though everyone will agree that state government organization could stand improvement, this particular reference to the Council of State is not being officially considered.

What we in North Carolina need is time, active cooperation, hard work, and adequate planning to help meet the great problems of today and tomorrow.

ON PROBLEMS OF OPERATING THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

November 1, 1956

At the press conference last Thursday I promised to make a statement this week on some ideas about the operation of this office and my schedule during the months ahead. I regret that there seems to have been some misunderstanding about the nature of this statement. It was not my intention at this time to discuss my basic approach to government or my legislative program. This is a matter to be handled in the governor's message to the General Assembly.

With the 1957 General Assembly to convene in February, it is essential that I conserve as much time and strength as possible during the intervening months in studying important reports and generally preparing for the work of the legislature.

The demands and pressures upon the governor for public appearances, speeches, and travel appear to increase each year. This is probably a natural consequence in the growth of the state; but it is increasingly difficult for the governor to accept even a small portion of these invitations and still deal properly with the state problems and responsibilities which are his.

Even though we accept only a small portion of invitations, I have made 183 speeches and 62 official appearances since January 1 and have traveled more than 48,000 miles. A great deal of this was by air as a means of saving time and strain.

This has been a wonderful and valuable experience for me, and I hope we have helped the state in some way. However, to

better serve the state, I must confine my schedule as much as possible to the work of this office, my legislative program, and other essential duties. I am making this statement now in the hope that my actions will be understood in declining so many invitations from outstanding groups and organizations and many good friends in North Carolina in the next few months. Furthermore, once the General Assembly is in session, this will mean a further curtailment of many outside activities with speeches at a minimum.

I believe that the people of North Carolina want the governor to give his time primarily to the essential duties of his office which deal with broad governmental policies and programs involving all parts of our life and economy and to serve the people as a whole. This naturally will include some speeches and appearances, but at a greatly reduced schedule.

TO THE DEMOCRATS AND VOTERS OF HIGH POINT

November 2, 1956

I am happy to join with the Democratic leadership of High Point and Guilford County in expressing my full support for the Democratic ticket on the local, state, and national levels. The people of North Carolina have entrusted their state government to the hands of the Democratic party for the past fifty years and the Democratic record of accomplishments is well known.

The people as a whole do not trust the philosophies and the program or the past performance of the Republican party. There has been a recent slogan that I like very much. It says, "The Democratic party is the party for you, not just a few." I think that characterizes the philosophy of the Democratic party as opposed to the Republican party. Our philosophy from its very beginning has been one of recognizing first the welfare of all the people and one of trying to do something for the average person.

We have great leadership in our Presidential candidate, Governor Stevenson. He and his running mate, Senator Estes Kefauver, have been talking sense to the people of America in their campaign efforts. I am sure that the people of North Carolina will

give Governor Stevenson an overwhelming majority over Mr. Eisenhower.

Good luck and best wishes for a Democratic victory in High Point and Guilford County on November 6.

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF VOTING IN THE 1956 GENERAL ELECTION

November 5, 1956

Tuesday is election day and a day of decision for North Carolina and the United States. It is the day when the people speak. Regardless of the outcome on the state or national level, we as a nation and a people will still have grave problems to solve and our state and nation will need the patriotic service of members of both parties.

In my opinion, we will have a large vote and a quiet vote. The opinion polls do not necessarily reflect today's true feelings of many millions—witness 1948! The shattering events of the last few days have brought confusion, dismay, and concern to the minds and hearts of our people and they are disheartened and disillusioned by our lack of national leadership. The bungling in foreign affairs is obvious to all.

Where is the peace about which the Republicans boasted a few weeks ago? Where is the vast influence over foreign nations with which Mr. Nixon credited Mr. Eisenhower? How have we lost the confidence and support of our strongest allies after so many years of working together? To find the answer to these questions, we must look squarely at Mr. Eisenhower and his administration.

As Americans, we must all hope for the best. It will take calmness, courage, and patriotism of a high order to handle this crucial situation, involving so many difficult problems.

In the meantime, let us in North Carolina go out in great numbers and vote! It's our privilege and our duty. Vote for your choice and your convictions—but *vote*.

My choice is Adlai Stevenson, who, with his courage, character, and brilliant discussion of the issues of the day, is the best equipped man in America to be the President of the United States.

ON THE OUTCOME OF THE 1956 ELECTION

November 8, 1956

With reference to the outcome of the national election, I should like to join with Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic candidate for President, in what he said in his telegram which he sent to President Eisenhower conceding the election. Mr. Stevenson said that the President had won not only the election, but also an expression of the great confidence of the American people.

I share his feelings that we are all Americans who must work together in the face of grave difficulties, both international and domestic. It will take the best that America has to offer to meet the challenge of today and the future.

Despite the loss of the Presidency, the Democratic party has shown its strength by retaining both Houses of Congress. This will offer an opportunity for the Democrats to retain an important responsibility in our federal government. As Democrats, we must be realistic, evaluate our weaknesses, and look ahead to building a stronger and better party. To do this we must continue to emphasize the fundamental principles of the Democratic party and must continue to develop the strongest candidates possible at all levels of government.

We are grateful for the great vote of confidence given the state Democratic ticket and expect to carry forward the administration of the state government in the best traditions of our party and sound government. I deeply appreciate the vote given me as governor and the confidence expressed in me by the people of North Carolina. I shall do everything possible to merit this confidence.

Now that the election is over and the people have spoken, let's get going! There is much to be done, and we must all work together in the best interests of all the people if we are to move ahead. I welcome suggestions and ideas of all our people.

ON CHANGING THE DATE OF THE GOVERNOR'S INAUGURATION

November 15, 1956

In order to carry forward the tradition of the governor being inaugurated before a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives of the General Assembly, the inauguration in 1957 will take place in February.

It has been customary that this ceremony take place on the day following the convening of the General Assembly in regular session. In the past this has meant that an incoming governor has been inaugurated on the first Thursday following the first Monday in January, after his election. It is our belief that the people of North Carolina, having voted to permit the convening of the General Assembly in February rather than in January, would also prefer that the inauguration take place before the Assembly in February rather than in January; therefore, subject to a formal resolution of the General Assembly, it is my desire that inauguration take place on the first Thursday following the first Monday in February, which in 1957 falls on the seventh of the month.

We have consulted with the attorney general and because of the unique situation in this instance of the governor succeeding himself, a February inauguration can take place next year without any difficulty or any prior oath.

Looking ahead, however, it will probably be desirable for governors of the future to assume office as soon as possible after January 1, following their election. This will require some action of the General Assembly to take care of this situation.

REVIEW OF THE RECORD OF THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS

(Written at the Request of the United Press)
December 28, 1956

The end of a year is traditionally a time for taking inventory, and reviewing the record of the past twelve months. Generally

speaking, 1956 was a good year for North Carolina and most of its people.

State government has ended another year of service to the more than 4,000,000 citizens whom it serves. From the biennial reports which are coming in, there has been continued progress and hard work in the major areas of service such as education, highways, agriculture, public health, prisons, highway safety, welfare, etc. There are always major problems involved in these programs, but government is an enduring and continuing process which must deal with current situations and facts on a day-to-day and month-to-month basis.

Much of the credit for the progress of the state departments and agencies must go to the hard-working and dedicated administrators in charge and to the thousands of loyal, diligent state employees who carry out the daily operations. Their work, in one way or the other, touches the life of every man, woman, and child in the state.

While we are all grateful for the accomplishments of 1956, we must recognize the fact that North Carolina does not share enough in the great economic wealth of our nation. The problems of low per capita income and the distress of our small farmers, especially in tobacco, speak for themselves. There is a growing awareness in government, business, agriculture, and among our people generally that we must develop more economic wealth through a diversified economy in both agriculture and industry in every section of our state. This means working together at level, state and local, for a fuller, more productive development of each county and community.

Public education has been an important part of our heritage, and 1956 brought grave threats to its continued progress and development through the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court dealing with segregation. North Carolina has acted calmly and sensibly in this crisis and has amended its constitution to return the basic problems of school operations to the local level of government. The Pearsall plan, which was passed by a special session of the General Assembly and adopted by an overwhelming majority in the special election, has been an honest effort by North Carolina to keep our public schools and yet not defy the U. S. Supreme Court.

As governor, 1956 has been a very busy and happy year for me. My travels, speeches, and appearances took me to almost every county in the state and certainly into every major section of North Carolina. It was my pleasure to speak to people from every walk of life—farmers, businessmen, educators, housewives, young people, church and civic club members. During many meetings and conferences on a variety of subjects I had the opportunity to discuss state problems with thousands of Tar Heels and found them interested and helpful in so many ways.

This is truly a great state, and we are blessed with fine people who appreciate our great heritage and our bright future. With the help of all concerned, we should continue our progress and our accomplishments in 1957.

APPOINTMENTS

APPOINTMENTS

[This list includes only the appointments made by Governor Hodges during the two years and two months of his first administration. It does not contain all the persons who served on the various boards, commissions, and other appointive agencies during this period. These may be found in the *North Carolina Manual, 1955* (issued by the Secretary of State), pp. 263-316. The arrangement of the agencies here follows the order in which they appear in the *Manual.*

An asterisk by a name indicates that the person was appointed and reappointed by Governor Hodges. A dagger indicates appointment during a previous administration and reappointment by Governor Hodges.]

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
PRIVATE SECRETARY[1]			
Edward L. Rankin, Jr.†	Greensboro	11-7-54	At pleasure of governor
ATTORNEY GENERAL, SOLICITORS, AND JUDGES			
ATTORNEY GENERAL[2]			
William B. Rodman, Jr.[3]	Washington	6-1-55	12-31-56
George B. Patton[4]	Franklin	8-21-56	12-31-56
SOLICITORS, SUPERIOR COURTS[5]			
Harvey A. Lupton[6]	Winston-Salem	11-23-54	12-31-54
Lester V. Chalmers, Jr.[7]	Raleigh	11-24-54	1-3-55
E. Maurice Braswell[8]	Fayetteville	6-10-55	12-31-56
Hubert E. May[9]	Nashville	9-20-56	12-31-56
Charles M. Neaves[10]	Elkin	11-21-56	12-31-58
Grady B. Stott[11]	Gastonia	12-3-56	12-31-58
JUDGES OF THE SUPERIOR COURT OF NORTH CAROLINA[12]			
Hugh Campbell	Charlotte	6-3-55	General Election, 1956
C. W. Hall	Durham	6-3-55	General Election, 1956
J. Frank Huskins	Burnsville	6-3-55	General Election, 1956
Malcolm Carlyle Paul	Washington	6-3-55	General Election, 1956
Hubert E. Olive	Lexington	6-3-55	General Election, 1956
Malcolm Seawell	Lumberton	6-3-55	General Election, 1956
William J. Bundy	Greenville	6-10-55	General Election, 1956

P. C. Froneberger	Gastonia	6-10-55	General Election, 1956
Hamilton Hobgood	Louisburg	6-10-55	General Election, 1956
Raymond Mallard	Tabor City	6-10-55	General Election, 1956
L. Richardson Preyer	Greensboro	6-10-55	General Election, 1956

[1] The governor shall appoint a private secretary who shall enter in books kept for that purpose all such letters, written to and by the governor, as are official and important, and such other letters as the governor shall think necessary. *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1868,* Ch. 270; *General Statutes of North Carolina of 1952,* Sec. 147-14. (Hereinafter the *Public Laws of North Carolina* will be cited as *P. L.,* and the *General Statutes of North Carolina* as *G. S.*)

[2] The attorney general is an elective official, but appointed by the governor when there is a vacancy during the term, as in this instance. *G. S.,* Sec. 147-4; Constitution of North Carolina, Art. III, Secs., 1, 13.

[3] Succeeded Harry McMullan, deceased.

[4] Succeeded William B. Rodman, Jr., appointed to the Supreme Court.

[5] Solicitors are elected by the qualified voters of the state for a four-year term and hold office until their successors are qualified. Vacancies are filled by appointment of the governor until the next general election. The Constitution of North Carolina, Art. IV, Secs. 23 and 25; *P. L. 1868-1869,* Ch. 270, Sec. 27-3.

[6] Succeeded Walter E. Johnston, Jr., resigned to become judge of Superior Court.

[7] Succeeded William Y. Bickett, resigned to become judge of Superior Court.

[8] Succeeded Malcolm B. Seawell, appointed Superior Court judge.

[9] Succeeded Elbert S. Peele, resigned.

[10] Succeeded Ralph J. Scott.

[11] Succeeded Basil Whitener, resigned.

[12] Resident judges of the Superior Courts are elected for terms of eight years beginning in January following the general election. Vacancies are filled by appointment of the governor to serve until the next general election. The General Assembly of 1955 increased the number of resident judges from twenty-one to thirty-two and directed that the additional eleven should be appointed by the governor to serve until the general election of 1956. *G. S.,* Sec. 7-40; *Session Laws of North Carolina,* 1955, Sec. 129. (Hereinafter the *Session Laws of North Carolina* will be cited as *S. L.*)

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
SPECIAL JUDGES, SUPERIOR COURT[13]			
J. Frank Huskins	Burnsville	12-22-54	6-30-55
George M. Fountain †	Tarboro	6-6-55	6-30-59
Susie Sharp †	Reidsville	6-6-55	6-30-59
W. A. Leland McKeithan †	Pinehurst	6-23-55	6-30-59
George B. Patton †	Franklin	6-23-55	6-30-59
J. Braxton Craven[14]	Morganton	8-26-56	6-30-59
JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF NORTH CAROLINA			
John Wallace Winborne,[16] *Chief Justice*	Marion	8-21-56	General Election, 1956
William Blount Rodman, Jr.[17]	Washington	8-21-56	General Election, 1956
EMERGENCY JUSTICES, SUPREME COURT[18]			
William A. Devin	Oxford	3-7-55	For life
Maurice Victor Barnhill	Raleigh	8-21-56	For life
GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1955 AND SPECIAL SESSION, 1956[19]			
Senate			
Raymond R. Nicholson, Sr.[20]	Sylva	9-29-55	End, 1955 General Assembly
Charles H. Randleman[21]	Mount Airy	6-20-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
Wilbur H. Currie[22]	Carthage	6-20-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
H. Grady Greer[23]	Boone	6-28-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
O. B. Moss[24]	Spring Hope	6-28-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
James G. Stikeleather, Jr.[25]	Asheville	7-16-56	End, 1955 General Assembly

House of Representatives

William T. McShane[26]	Hendersonville	1-10-55	End, 1955 General Assembly
Thomas G. Dill[27]	Rocky Mount	2-1-55	End, 1955 General Assembly
Mrs. Thelma R. Fisher[28]	Brevard	4-26-55	End, 1955 General Assembly
Hugh S. Johnson, Jr.[29]	Rose Hill	7-21-55	End, 1955 General Assembly
Daniel K. Edwards[30]	Durham	2-23-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
Zeno L. Edwards, Sr.[31]	Washington	6-20-56	End, 1955 General Assembly

[13] Prior to 1955 the law provided for four special judges, two from the western judicial division and two from the eastern judicial division, appointed by the governor, and for four additional judges, two from each judicial division, if in his judgment the necessity exists. The 1955 General Assembly repealed the provision for the four additional judges and limited the governor to four appointments of special judges. *G. S.*, Sec. 7-54, 56; *S. L., 1955* Ch. 1016.

[14] Succeeded George B. Patton, resigned.

[15] The Supreme Court of North Carolina is composed of seven justices elected by the people for terms of eight years each. Vacancies are filled by appointment of the governor, and justices thus appointed serve until the next general election. The Constitution of North Carolina, Art. III, Secs. 21 and 25; *P. L., 1901,* Ch. 89, Sec. 4; *P. L., 1937,* Ch. 16.

[16] Succeeded Maurice Victor Barnhill.

[17] Succeeded John Wallace Winborne, appointed chief justice.

[18] Justices of the Supreme Court who have reached the age of sixty-five and have served for fifteen years on the Supreme Court and Superior Court combined or for twelve years on the Supreme Court may retire, subject to temporary recall to active service in place of any justice of the Supreme Court who, by reason of injury or illness or other cause, is temporarily unable to perform the duties of his office. Justices who retire under the provisions of this act are commissioned emergency justices of the Supreme Court for life by the governor. *S. L., 1955,* Ch. 90.

[19] The Governor follows the recommendation of the county executive committee of the political party to which the vacating legislator belongs in appointing a successor. Constitution of North Carolina, Art II, Sec. 13, *G. S.*, 163-6.

[20] Succeeded David M. Hall, resigned to accept appointment on Board of Water Commissioners.

[21] Succeeded R. Posey Jones, resigned.

[22] Succeeded J. Hawley Poole, resigned.

[23] Succeeded H. B. Perry, deceased, November 19, 1955.

[24] Succeeded C. Settle Bunn, resigned to accept appointment on Board of Water Commissioners.

[25] Succeeded John F. Shuford, resigned.

[26] Succeeded Wiltshire Griffith, resigned.

[27] Succeeded Ben E. Fountain, resigned.

[28] Succeeded Ralph R. Fisher, resigned.

[29] Succeeded Robert Carr, resigned to accept appointment on Wildlife Resources Commission.

[30] Succeeded Oscar G. Barker, resigned to accept appointment as judge of Durham Small **Claims Court.**

[31] Succeeded William B. Rodman, Jr., resigned to accept appointment as attorney general.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
W. D. Reynolds[32]	Lumberton	6-20-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
Frank M. Wooten, Jr.[33]	Greenville	6-20-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
Edwin S. Pou[34]	Raleigh	6-28-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
S. E. Burgess[35]	Belcross	7-5-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
Peter W. Hairston[36]	Mocksville	7-5-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
Ned Delamar[37]	Oriental	7-6-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
Lewis L. Combs[38]	Columbia	7-12-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
Mercer J. Blankenship[39]	Charlotte	7-12-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
Irvin C. Crawford[40]	Charlotte	7-12-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
John T. Henley[41]	Hope Mills	7-16-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
Dick O'Neal[42]	New Holland	7-17-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
F. W. Bynum, Jr.[43]	Rockingham	7-19-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
James E. McKnight[44]	Mooresville	7-19-56	End, 1955 General Assembly
Eugene T. Bost, Jr.[45]	Concord	7-23-56	End, 1955 General Assembly

GOVERNMENTAL BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

Board of Directors of the North Carolina Agricultural Hall of Fame[46]

Thomas E. Browne	Murfreesboro	1-27-55	1-27-57
Ira O. Schaub	Raleigh	1-27-55	1-27-59
Mrs. Charles Graham	Linwood	1-27-55	1-27-61

State Board of Agriculture[47]

J. Atwell Alexander[48]	Stony Point	5-19-55	5-4-61
Glenn G. Gilmore †	Julian	5-19-55	5-4-61
W. I. Bissette[49]	Grifton	5-20-55	5-4-61

J. Muse McCotter †	New Bern	5-20-55	5-4-61
J. Hawley Poole †[50]	West End	7-6-55	5-4-57

STATE BOARD OF ALCOHOLIC CONTROL[51]

Thomas W. Allen, *Chairman*†	Creedmoor	7-8-55	4-23-58

[32] Succeeded G. P. Henderson, resigned.
[33] Succeeded Sam O. Worthington, resigned to accept appointment on Utilities Commission.
[34] Pou had resigned from the House of Representatives to accept appointment on the Insurance Advisory Board as of September 1, 1955. He resigned from this board on June 6, 1956, and was reappointed to the House of Representatives.
[35] Succeeded J. Wilbert Forbes, resigned to accept appointment as burial commissioner.
[36] Hairston had resigned from the House of Representatives to accept appointment on the Insurance Advisory Board as of September 1, 1955. He resigned from this board in June, 1956, and was reappointed to the House of Representatives.
[37] Succeeded T. J. Collier, resigned.
[38] Succeeded Delbert M. Sawyer, resigned.
[39] Succeeded Arthur Goodman, resigned.
[40] Succeeded James G. Stikeleather, Jr., resigned.
[41] Succeeded I. H. O'Hanlon, resigned to accept appointment on Structural Pest Control Commission.
[42] Succeeded Russell A. Swindell, resigned.
[43] Succeeded J. W. Hayes, resigned.
[44] Succeeded George W. Randall, resigned to accept appointment on State Parole Board.
[45] Succeeded Clyde Propst, Jr., resigned to accept appointment to become a judge.
[46] This board is composed of three members appointed by the governor and five ex officio members specified by the legislature: the commissioner of agriculture, the director of the North Carolina Agricultural Extension Service, the state supervisor of vocational agriculture, the president of the North Carolina Farm Bureau Federation, and the master of the State Grange. The three members first appointed by the governor serve for two, four, and six year terms. Reappointments are for six years. *S. L., 1953,* Ch. 1129.
[47] The board is composed of the commissioner of agriculture who is ex officio chairman, and ten members serving six-year terms, appointed by the governor with the confirmation of the Senate. *G. S.,* Sec. 106-2.
[48] Succeeded O. J. Holler.
[49] Succeeded J. E. Winslow.
[50] Poole had vacated his position on this board on January 1, 1955, to serve in the 1955 General Assembly and no successor had been appointed.
[51] The board consists of a chairman and two associate members, all appointed by the governor for three-year terms. *G. S.,* Sec. 18-37, 38.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
J. Clinton Newton, Jr.[52]	Shelby	11-15-56	4-23-59
Chief of the Malt Beverage Division[53]			
Herbert Ronald Hocutt [54]	Wendell	11-2-55	
STATE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY EXECUTIVE BOARD[55]			
Fletcher M. Green[56]	Chapel Hill	8-8-55	3-31-61
Josh L. Horne †	Rocky Mount	8-8-55	3-31-61
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY, SPECIAL PEACE OFFICERS[57]			
William W. Wood, Jr.	Mount Gilead	8-3-55	At will of the governor
John W. Walker	Mount Gilead	2-27-56	At will of the governor
ARMORY COMMISSION[58]			
Ivan Hardesty[59]	Raleigh	1-24-55	At pleasure of governor
STATE ART COMMISSION[60]			
C. Sylvester Green[61]	Winston-Salem	6-28-55	8-1-55-57
Edwin M. Gill †	Raleigh	9-15-55	8-1-57
Clemens Sommer †	Chapel Hill	9-15-55	8-1-57
Robert L. Humber †	Greenville	8-6-56	8-1-58
Clarence Poe †	Raleigh	8-6-56	8-1-58
BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA ART SOCIETY, INCORPORATED[62]			
Robert L. Humber †	Greenville	6-28-55	5-1-59
Ralph C. Price[63]	Greensboro	6-28-55	5-1-59

Charles B. Aycock Memorial Commission[64]

B. F. Aycock †	Fremont	12-2-55	5-24-59
Mrs. Ruth Pate Andrews†	Goldsboro	12-2-55	5-24-59
Henry Belk †	Goldsboro	12-2-55	5-24-59
William A. Dees, Sr.[65]	Goldsboro	12-2-55	5-24-59
Hugh Dortch †	Goldsboro	12-2-55	5-24-59

[52] Succeeded Frank T. Erwin, Jr., resigned.

[53] This appointment was made to insure strict enforcement of the regulations of the board. The length of the term is not specified by law. *S. L., 1949,* Ch. 974, Sec. 11.

[54] Succeeded Leonard Kyle Matthews, resigned.

[55] Seven members appointed by the governor for six-year terms, *G. S.,* Sec. 121-1.

[56] Succeeded Mrs. Callie Pridgen Williams.

[57] Upon application of the director of the Department of Archives and History, the governor is authorized to commission as special peace officers, such of the employees of the department as the director may designate for the purpose of enforcing the laws, rules, and regulations adopted for the protection, preservation, and government of state historic or archeological properties under the department's control. *G. S.,* Sec. 121-9; *S. L., 1955,* Ch. 543.

[58] The commission is composed of five members, two of whom are appointed by the governor. The remaining three are ex officio members as follows: the governor, who is chairman, the attorney general, and the adjutant general. *S. L., 1947,* Ch. 1010.

[59] Succeeded Joe T. Carruthers, resigned.

[60] The commission is composed of five members appointed by the governor. The terms are for two years, after the initial appointments, which are for one-and two-year terms. *G. S.,* Sec. 140-5.5.

[61] Appointed to fill unexpired term of Mrs. Katherine P. Arrington, deceased; reappointed for full term on August 1, 1955.

[62] The board is composed of sixteen members, four of whom are appointed by the governor for a term of four years, eight of whom are chosen by the members of the North Carolina State Art Society, Incorporated, and four of whom are ex officio members, as follows: the governor, the superintendent of public instruction, the attorney general, and the chairman of the Art Committee of the North Carolina Federation of Woman's Clubs, *G. S.,* Sec. 140-1.

[63] Replacing Mrs. Louis V. Sutton.

[64] The commission is composed of twenty-one members,, three of whom, the director of the Department of Archives and History, the superintendent of public instruction, and the director of the Department of Conservation and Development, serve as ex officio members, and eighteen are appointed by the governor, six of whom serve two-year terms, six four-year terms, and six serve six-year terms. *S. L., 1949,* Chap. 1021.

[65] Succeeded R. O. Dail, resigned.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
Joseph C. Eagles, Jr. †	Wilson	12-2-55	5-24-59
Frank P. Graham[66]	New York	12-2-55	5-24-59
Mrs. Fred Harrell †	Goldsboro	12-2-55	5-24-59
Emmett Robertson †	Goldsboro	12-2-55	5-24-59
H. L. Stephenson †	Smithfield	12-2-55	5-24-59
Hardy Talton[67]	Pikeville	12-2-55	5-24-59
Miss Gertrude Weil †	Goldsboro	12-2-55	5-24-59
Jesse Aycock, Sr. †	Fremont	12-2-55	5-24-61
Mrs. Martha Gold Borden †	Goldsboro	12-2-55	5-24-61
Miss Gertrude Carraway †	New Bern	12-2-55	5-24-61
Mrs. Charles G. Doak †	Raleigh	12-2-55	5-24-61
William T. Joyner[68]	Raleigh	12-2-55	5-24-61
D. J. Rose †	Goldsboro	12-2-55	5-24-61
STATE BANKING COMMISSION[69]			
William W. Jones, *Commissioner* †	Raleigh	5-20-55	4-1-59
M. B. Fowler* [70]	Durham	12-7-54	4-1-55-59
Edwin B. Brown[71]	Murfreesboro	5-25-55	4-1-59
Edwin Duncan[72]	Sparta	5-25-55	4-1-59
R. P. Holding †	Smithfield	5-25-55	4-1-59
Charles M. Reeves, Jr.[73]	Sanford	12-9-55	4-1-57
COMMITTEE TO PARTICIPATE IN CELEBRATING THE 250TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TOWN OF BATH[74]			
Braxton A. Brooks, *Mayor*	Bath	7-23-55	
James Silverthorne, *Mayor*	Washington	7-23-55	

W. T. Ralph, *Mayor*	Belhaven	7-23-55
William Bryan, *Mayor*	Aurora	7-23-55
Edmund Harding, *Chairman*	Washington	7-23-55
Mrs. Harry Archbell	Bath	7-23-55
R. B. Forbes	Bath	7-23-55
O. J. Gaylord	Bath	7-23-55
Mrs. G. W. Marsh	Bath	7-23-55
William Midgette	Bath	7-23-55
Rev. A. C. D. Noe	Bath	7-23-55
Mrs. John H. Oden	Bath	7-23-55
Mrs. Wilson Smith	Bath	7-23-55
Mrs. John M. Tankard	Bath	7-23-55
Rev. Harold Tyer	Bath	7-23-55
John Whalen	Bath	7-23-55
Herbert C. Bonner	Washington	7-23-55
Ashley Futrell	Washington	7-23-55
Milo Gibbs	Washington	7-23-55
Jim Hawes	Washington	7-23-55

[66] Succeeded Cameron Morrison, deceased.

[67] Succeeded J. Y. Joyner, deceased.

[68] Succeeded Mrs. Mary Cleaves Stenhouse, resigned.

[69] The General Assembly of 1953 added two appointive members to the commission, bringing the total membership to nine, including two ex officio members, who are: the state treasurer, who is chairman, and the attorney general. Terms of members appointed by the governor are for four years, and the terms of the two new members expire April 1, 1957, with reappointment for four years. Five members of the commission are to be practical bankers, the remainder are to be selected to represent fairly the industrial, manufacturing, business and farming interests of the state. Any vacancies are filled by the governor for unexpired terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 53-92; *S. L., 1949,* Ch. 372; *S. L., 1953,* Ch. 1209.

[70] Appointed to fill unexpired term of William Hal Ferrell, deceased; reappointed for full term on May 25, 1955.

[71] Succeeded James R. McKenzie.

[72] Succeeded Garland Johnson.

[73] Succeeded W. P. Saunders, resigned.

[74] Authorized by the 1955 General Assembly. Size of the committee and length of terms not stated. *S. L., 1955,* Ch. 1369.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
W. F. Patterson	Washington	7-23-55	
William B. Rodman	Washington	7-23-55	
Wayland Sermons	Washington	7-23-55	
Mrs. Henry Swartzell	Washington	7-23-55	
W. F. Veasey	Washington	7-23-55	
Lindsay C. Warren	Washington	7-23-55	
John Wilkinson	Washington	7-23-55	
Howard Wortley	Washington	7-23-55	
Mrs. F. S. Worthy	Washington	7-23-55	
Togo Wynne	Washington	7-23-55	
John B. Bonner	Aurora	7-23-55	
P. H. Johnson	Pantego	7-23-55	
Dan Paul	Pantego	7-23-55	
Allen Swindell	Pantego	7-23-55	
Mrs. Pattie Wilkinson	Pantego	7-23-55	
Elijah Edwards	Belhaven	7-23-55	
Vann Latham	Belhaven	7-23-55	
Axson Smith	Belhaven	7-23-55	
P. A. Taylor	Chocowinity	7-23-55	
Mrs. Essie Barr Waters	Chocowinity	7-23-55	
Thad Eure	Raleigh	7-23-55	
S. J. Ervin	Washington, D. C.	7-23-55	
Rt. Rev. Thomas H. Wright	Wilmington	7-23-55	
Don Tracy	Chapel Hill	7-23-55	
W. Kerr Scott	Washington, D. C.	7-23-55	
Mrs. Inglis Fletcher	Edenton	7-23-55	
Mrs. Charles A. Cannon	Concord	7-23-55	
Sam Selden	Chapel Hill	7-23-55	
C. C. Crittenden	Raleigh	7-23-55	

Carl Goerch	Raleigh	7-23-55	
Aycock Brown	Manteo	7-23-55	
John Messick	Greenville	7-23-55	
Miss Gertrude Carraway	New Bern	7-23-55	
Charles F. Carroll	Raleigh	7-23-55	
Mrs. William McKoy Bellamy	Wilmington	7-23-55	
Mrs. A. T. St. Amand	Wilmington	7-23-55	
Mrs. Roy Cagle	Asheville	7-23-55	
Norman Cordon, Jr.	Chapel Hill	7-23-55	
Bill Sharpe	Raleigh	7-23-55	
Mrs. George Wood	Edenton	7-23-55	
Mrs. John A. Kellenberger	Greensboro	7-23-55	

STATE COMMISSION FOR THE BLIND[75]

Sam Alford †	Henderson	5-24-55	5-21-60
Sam M. Cathey †	Asheville	5-24-55	5-21-60
Frank C. King †	Brevard	6-18-56	5-21-61

NORTH CAROLINA BOARD OF BOILER RULES[76]

William M. Reading, Jr.[77]	Kinston	11-7-55	7-18-60
R. Gordon Thomas †	Raleigh	7-20-56	7-18-61

[75] The board is composed of eleven members, of whom six are appointed by the governor to serve terms of five years. The superintendent of the State School for the Blind and Deaf, the state supervisor of vocational rehabilitation, the secretary of the State Board of Health, the director of the North Carolina Employment Service, and the commissioner of public welfare are ex officio members. *G. S.*, Sec. 111-1, 2, 3.

[76] The board is composed of six members, of whom five are appointed by the governor for terms of five years each. The sixth member is the commissioner of labor, who serves ex officio and is chairman of the board. Of the five appointive members one is a representative of the owners and users of steam boilers within the state, one a representative of the boiler manufacturers or boiler-makers within the state, one a representative of a boiler inspection and insurance company licensed to do business in North Carolina, one a representative of the operating steam engineers in North Carolina, and one a licensed heating contractor. The membership was amended in 1953, when an additional member was added, to represent heating contractors and length of future terms was increased from four to five years. Any vacancy is filled with a representative of the same class. *G. S.*, Sec. 95-54; *S. L., 1953*, Ch. 569.

[77] Succeeded William H. Ruffin.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
BUILDING CODE COUNCIL[78]			
John Smith, Jr.[79]	Leaksville	1-6-55	4-19-59
Eccles D. Everhart †	High Point	6-2-55	4-19-60
Verne G. Moser[80]	Asheville	8-1-56	4-19-57
L. H. Rouse, Sr.†	Wilmington	8-6-56	4-19-61
BURIAL ASSOCIATION COMMISSIONER[81]			
J. Wilbert Forbes[82]	Shiloh	6-8-55	6-30-57
CAROLINA-VIRGINIA TURNPIKE AUTHORITY[83]			
Guy H. Lennon †	Manteo	7-7-55	7-1-59
THE NORTH CAROLINA CAPE HATTERAS SEASHORE COMMISSION[84]			
Ben Dixon MacNeill[85]	Buxton	5-11-55	1-1-58
GOVERNOR RICHARD CASWELL MEMORIAL COMMISSION[86]			
Mrs. R. O. Everett	Durham	11-30-55	11-30-57
Ray Galloway	Raleigh	11-30-55	11-30-57
Mrs. G. A. Kernodle	Burlington	11-30-55	11-30-57
Mrs. Charles M. Johnson	Raleigh	11-30-55	11-30-57
Mrs. J. Rogers Brooks	Kinston	11-30-55	11-30-59
Mrs. Inglis Fletcher	Edenton	11-30-55	11-30-59
Paul A. Rockwell	Asheville	11-30-55	11-30-59
J. Carlyle Sitterson	Chapel Hill	11-30-55	11-30-59
Mrs. W. M. Bellamy	Wilmington	11-30-55	11-30-61

R. Hunt Parker	Roanoke Rapids	11-30-55	11-30-61
Mrs. Edwin Pate	Laurinburg	11-30-55	11-30-61
J. Lawrence Sprunt	Wilmington	11-30-55	11-30-61
Sam N. Clark	Tarboro	11-30-55	11-30-63
John G. Dawson	Kinston	11-30-55	11-30-63
Mrs. George W. Knott	Kinston	11-30-55	11-30-63
Thomas J. White	Kinston	11-30-55	11-30-63

[78] The council is composed of five members who are appointed or removed by the governor. Terms of appointments are for five years. The members are representative of the following fields: general contracting, architecture, structural engineering, plumbing and heating contracting, and a representative of organized labor. Vacancies are filled by appointments of the governor for the duration of unexpired terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 143-139.

[79] Succeeded W. Price Hand.

[80] Succeeded George Robb, resigned.

[81] The commissioner is appointed by the governor for a term of four years. His salary is fixed by the governor. *G. S.*, Sec. 58-224.

[82] Succeeded Don Gilliam, Jr., resigned.

[83] This group is composed of four members, including the chairman of the State Highway and Public Works Commission, who serves ex officio, and three members appointed by the governor for four-year terms. Vacancies are filled by appointment of the governor for the remainder of unexpired terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 136-89.3; *S. L., 1953,* Ch. 1159.

[84] This commission consists of five members appointed by the governor for four-year terms, and four ex officio members consisting of the director of the Department of Conservation and Development, as chairman, and three members of the Board of Conservation and Development to serve at the governor's pleasure. The commission files annual reports with the governor, *P. L., 1939,* Ch. 257.

[85] Succeeded Don E. Scott, deceased.

[86] Consists of twenty members, sixteen appointed by the governor and four ex officio (the director of the State Department of Archives and History, the state superintendent of public instruction, the mayor of the city of Kinston, and the chairman of the Board of County Commissioners of Lenoir County.) Of the governor's appointees, four were to serve for two years, four for four years, four for six years, and four for eight years. All subsequent appointments were to be for eight-year terms. *S. L., 1955,* Ch. 977.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
NORTH CAROLINA STATE CIVIL AIR PATROL AGENCY[87]			
Charles T. Hagan, Jr.[88]	Greensboro	9-8-55	9-1-57
James C. Pennington[89]	Wilmington	9-8-55	9-1-57
Frank Sherrill[90]	Charlotte	10-26-55	9-1-57
COMMERCIAL FISHERIES ADVISORY BOARD[91]			
Monroe Gaskill*	Cedar Island	6-28-55-56	6-30-56-60
Kenneth Meadows	Swansboro	6-28-55	6-30-56
W. H. Mason	Oriental	6-28-55	6-30-57
Dick O'Neal	New Holland	6-28-55	6-30-57
Winfield Daniels	Cedar Island	6-28-55	6-30-59
Lewis J. Hardee	Southport	6-28-55	6-30-59
George Wise	Stumpy Point	6-28-55	6-30-59
Arnold Daniels[92]	Wanchese	4-19-56	6-30-59
Eric Rodgers[93]	Scotland Neck	7-10-56	6-30-60
BOARD OF CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT[94]			
William P. Saunders, *Director*[95]	Southern Pines	11-4-55	At will of governor
Members			
Charles S. Allen †	Durham	6-29-55	7-1-61
Floyd J. Boling[96]	Siler City	6-29-55	7-1-61
Robert M. Hanes †	Winston-Salem	6-29-55	7-1-61
Leo Harvey †	Kinston	6-29-55	7-1-61
Amos Kearns †	High Point	6-29-55	7-1-61

Special Peace Officers for Division of Parks, Department of Conservation and Development[97]

William H. Dartt	William B. Umstead State Park	5-20-55	At pleasure of the governor
Charles A. Kohlbecker	Fort Macon State Park	5-20-55	At pleasure of the governor
Charles S. Walters	Fort Macon State Park	5-20-55	At pleasure of the governor
Joseph W. Best †	White Lake	6-10-55	At pleasure of the governor
Thomas H. Hampton	Pettigrew State Park	6-10-55	At pleasure of the governor
J. Knox Harrington †	Lake Waccamaw	6-10-55-56	At pleasure of the governor
John A. Hemingway†	White Lake and Lake Waccamaw	6-10-55	At pleasure of the governor
Billy L. Montague	William B. Umstead State Park	11-30-55	At pleasure of the governor
Richard L. Revis	Reedy Creek State Park	3-8-56	At pleasure of the governor

[87] This agency is composed of three members appointed by the governor, and six ex officio members specified by the General Assembly: the Adjutant General of the State of North Carolina and the deputy Wing Commander, the Executive Officer, and Adjutant, the Communication Officer, and the Co-ordinator of the Civil Defense of the North Carolina Wing of the Civil Air Patrol. Members serve a term of two years, and vacancies in the appointive membership are filled by the governor, who may also remove any member appointed by him. The agency was created by a law enacted in 1953. *G. S.*, Sec. 167-1; *S. L., 1953,* Ch. 1231.

[88] Succeeded Henry H. Wilson, Jr.

[89] Succeeded Clyde A. Shreve.

[90] Succeeded Roy Rowe.

[91] Composed of seven members, appointed by the governor: one from the Southport area; one from the New River Inlet area; one from the Morehead area; one from the Pamlico area; one from the Hatteras area; one from the Albemarle area; and one from the state at large, to be designated as chairman. Three members were appointed for four-year terms; two for two years; and two for one year. Thereafter, all appointments were to be for four-year terms. *S. L., 1955,* Ch. 1031.

[92] Succeeded George Wise, deceased.

[93] Succeeded Kenneth Meadows.

[94] The board consists of a director and fifteen members appointed by the governor for two-, four-, and six-year terms; reappointments are for six-year terms. The director is appointed for a term designated by the governor, but not to exceed the term of office of the governor making the appointment. *G. S.*, Sec. 113-4, 5, 9; *S. L., 1953,* Ch. 81.

[95] Succeeded Ben E. Douglas.

[96] Succeeded Henry Rankin, Jr.

[97] These special officers consist of employees designated by the director of the Department of Conservation and Development, and commissioned by the governor to serve at his pleasure. *S. L., 1947,* Ch. 577.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
Leland L. Smith	Cliffs of Neuse State Park	3-13-56	At pleasure of the governor
Smith Ray	Fort Macon State Park	4-9-56	At pleasure of the governor
John C. Wyatt, Jr.	Morrow Mountain State Park	4-9-56	At pleasure of the governor
Haywood L. Dillard	William B. Umstead State Park	5-8-56	At pleasure of the governor
Philip L. Gray	Fort Macon State Park	6-7-56	At pleasure of the governor
Joshia C. Lamm	White Lake	6-21-56	At pleasure of the governor
James H. McQueen	White Lake and Lake Waccamaw	6-21-56	At pleasure of the governor
Paul B. Berry	Jones Lake	9-19-56	At pleasure of the governor
Ray S. Pardue	William B. Umstead State Park	10-5-56	At pleasure of the governor
STATE BOARD OF CORRECTION AND TRAINING[98]			
Elton Edwards[99]	Greensboro	7-7-55	7-1-57
Mrs. C. L. Gilliatt[100]	Shelby	7-7-55	7-1-61
Joseph W. Nordan †	Raleigh	7-7-55	7-1-61
Charles F. Strosnider[101]	Goldsboro	7-7-55	7-1-61
ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION[102]			
Thomas J. Pearsall, *Chairman*	Rocky Mount	6-21-55	6-21-57
W. Lunsford Crew	Roanoke Rapids	6-21-55	6-21-57
R. O. Huffman	Morganton	6-21-55	6-21-57
Colonel William T. Joyner	Raleigh	6-21-55	6-21-57
William Medford	Waynesville	6-21-55	6-21-57
H. Cloyd Philpott	Lexington	6-21-55	6-21-57
Edward F. Yarborough	Louisburg	6-21-55	6-21-57

STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION[103]

Claude Farrell †	Elkin	5-19-55	4-1-63
John A. Pritchett †	Windsor	5-19-55	4-1-63
Dallas Herring[104]	Rose Hill	6-27-55	4-1-61
Barton Hayes[105]	Lenoir	7-25-56	4-1-63
Charles W. McCrary[106]	Asheboro	7-25-56	4-1-57
Charles G. Rose, Jr.[107]	Fayetteville	7-25-56	4-1-57

NORTH CAROLINA BOARD OF HIGHER EDUCATION[108]

Mrs. Thomas R. Easterling	Rocky Mount	6-26-55	7-1-57
Santford Martin	Winston-Salem	6-26-55	7-1-57
Reginald L. Harris	Roxboro	6-26-55	7-1-59
W. J. Kennedy, Jr.	Durham	6-26-55	7-1-59
Charles H. Reynolds	Rutherfordton	6-26-55	7-1-61

[98] The nine board members are appointed by the governor for six-year terms. The commissioner of public welfare is an ex officio member. If he deems it in the public interest, the governor may remove any member of the board. *G. S.*, Sec. 134-90; *S. L., 1947*, Ch. 226.

[99] Succeeded Mrs. Donald C. Shoemaker, resigned.

[100] Succeeded Miss Pearl Thompson.

[101] Succeeded Jesse C. Fisher, deceased.

[102] Seven members, all appointed by the governor: two from the Senate membership, two from the House membership, and three from the public at large. Terms of office are for two years. *S. L., 1955*, Res. 29.

[103] This board consists of thirteen members. There is one representative from each of the eight educational districts, two serve at large, and three members serve ex officio who are: the lieutenant governor, the state treasurer and the superintendent of public instruction. Appointments are made by the governor and confirmed by the General Assembly in joint session. The term of office upon appointments and reappointment is for eight years. The Constitution of North Carolina, Art. IX, Sec. 8; *G. S.* 115-16.1

[104] Succeeded Archibald M. Graham, deceased.

[105] Succeeded Claude Farrell, resigned.

[106] Succeeded Santford Martin.

[107] Succeeded Paul S. Oliver, deceased.

[108] Nine members, all appointed by the governor and one of whom must be a member of the State Board of Education. Original appointments for two, four, six and eight years. All subsequent appointments for eight years. *S. L., 1955*, Ch. 1186.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
William F. Womble	Winston-Salem	6-26-55	7-1-61
Robert Lassiter, Jr.	Charlotte	6-26-55	7-1-63
L. P. McLendon	Greensboro	6-26-55	7-1-63
D. Hiden Ramsey	Asheville	6-26-55	7-1-63
Dallas Herring[109]	Rose Hill	6-19-56	7-1-57
E. L. White[110]	Wilmington	6-19-56	7-1-59
BOARD OF CONTROL FOR THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION[111]			
J. Harris Purks * [112]	Chapel Hill	11-26-54	6-30-59
F. D. Bluford †	Greensboro	6-28-55	6-30-59
W. T. Gibbs[113]	Greensboro	4-26-56	6-30-59
EMPLOYMENT SECURITY COMMISSION[114]			
Bruce E. Davis[115]	Charlotte	7-6-55	7-1-59
R. Dave Hall †	Belmont	7-6-55	7-1-59
W. Benton Pipkin †	Reidsville	7-6-55	7-1-59
Advisory Council[116]			
Sherwood Roberson, *General Public Representative*	Robersonville	12-22-54	At pleasure of governor
GENERAL STATUTES COMMISSION[117]			
James H. Pou Bailey[118]	Raleigh	5-25-55	6-1-57
Buxton Midyette †	Jackson	5-25-55	6-1-57
E. K. Powe[119]	Durham	8-6-56	6-1-57

State Board of Health[120]

John P. Henderson, Jr. †	Sneads Ferry	6-27-55	5-1-59
H. C. Lutz †	Hickory	6-27-55	5-1-59
Lenox D. Baker[121]	Durham	1-30-56	5-1-57

Commission on the Study of the State Highway System[122]

John G. Clark	Greenville	7-13-55	To report to next General Assembly
Claude Currie	Durham	7-13-55	To report to next General Assembly

[109] Succeeded Santford Martin, resigned.

[110] Succeeded Reginald L. Harris, resigned.

[111] Consists of three members, one of whom is to be chosen from the field of education. Members are to be citizens of this state and are appointed by the governor who serves ex officio, and continues as a member during his tenure of office. Terms of office are for four years. Vacancies are filled for unexpired terms by appointment of the governor. *S. L., 1949,* Res. 26.

[112] Succeeded Luther H. Hodges when Hodges became governor; reappointed for full term, April 26, 1956.

[113] Succeeded F. D. Bluford, deceased.

[114] Seven members appointed by the governor, one of which the governor designates as chairman. Members serve a term of four years. *G. S.,* Sec. 96-3.

[115] Succeeded C. A. Fink, deceased.

[116] The State Advisory Council is composed of an equal number of employer and employee representatives and such members representing the general public as the governor may designate. *G. S.,* Sec. 96-4 (e).

[117] The commission consists of nine members, each of whom are appointed as follows for a two-year term: One each by the presidents of the North Carolina State Bar and North Carolina Bar Association, one each by the deans of the Law Schools of Duke, Wake Forest, and the University of North Carolina, one each by the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly, and two by the governor. *G. S.,* Sec. 164-14 (a).

[118] Succeeded William Joslin.

[119] Succeeded William F. Womble, resigned. Womble was the appointee of the speaker of the House. Powe was appointed by the governor after opportunity of the speaker to appoint had expired.

[120] Composed of nine members serving terms of four years, five of whom are appointed by the governor and four of whom are elected by the North Carolina Medical Society. *G. S.,* Sec. 130-1, 7.

[121] Succeeded Hubert B. Haywood, resigned.

[122] Seven members, all appointed by the governor and including two from the membership of the State Senate and three from the membership of the House of Representatives. To make recommendations to the 1957 General Assembly. *S. L., 1955,* Res. 31.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
B. T. Falls, Jr.	Shelby	7-13-55	To report to next General Assembly
Carroll Holmes	Hertford	7-13-55	To report to next General Assembly
Harold Makepeace	Sanford	7-13-55	To report to next General Assembly
T. Clarence Stone	Stoneville	7-13-55	To report to next General Assembly
James Stikeleather	Asheville	7-13-55	To report to next General Assembly
SPECIAL OFFICERS, HIGHWAY AND PRISON DEPARTMENT[123]			
Otis Boyd Kirby, *Extradition Officer*	Raleigh	1-5-55	At will of the governor
William C. Smith, *Extradition Officer*[124]	Raleigh	9-13-55	At will of the governor
Dexter Emmitt Stell, *Extradition Officer*[125]	Neuse	5-3-56	At will of the governor
NORTH CAROLINA HOSPITALS BOARD OF CONTROL[126]			
Lindsay C. Warren[127]	Washington	6-3-55	4-1-58
J. Melville Broughton, Jr. †	Raleigh	6-7-55	4-1-59
R. P. Richardson †	Reidsville	6-7-55	4-1-59
John W. Umstead †	Chapel Hill	6-7-55	4-1-59
N. Cortez Green[128]	Williamston	1-5-56	4-1-58
Bedford W. Black †	Kannapolis	6-6-56	4-1-60
Mrs. E. F. McCulloch[129]	Elizabethtown	6-6-56	4-1-60
John S. Ruggles †	Southern Pines	6-6-56	4-1-60
EASTERN CAROLINA REGIONAL HOUSING AUTHORITY[130]			
Roland O. Dail †	Goldsboro	4-11-55	4-11-60
NORTH CAROLINA INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION[131]			
Neros F. Randsdell[132]	Varina	12-23-54	5-1-59
Frank H. Gibbs †	Warrenton	5-1-55	5-1-61

INSURANCE ADVISORY BOARD[133]

J. Leslie Atkins, Jr.† ——— Durham	9-1-55	9-1-59
Peter W. Hairston[134] ——— Advance	9-1-55	9-1-59
Edwin S. Pou[135] ——— Raleigh	9-1-55	9-1-59
H. P. Mobley[136] ——— Williamston	7-10-56	9-1-59
Max Welborn[137] ——— Yadkinville	7-10-56	9-1-59

[123] The governor is authorized to appoint officers for the purpose of transferring prisoners from place to place in the state, said officers to be commissioned specifically or generally to return escaped prisoners or other fugitives from outside the state. *G. S.*, Sec. 148-4.

[124] Succeeded A. F. Wadford.

[125] Succeeded Otis Boyd Kirby.

[126] Consists of fifteen members appointed by the governor. There must be one member from each of the twelve Congressional districts and three at large. The terms are for four years, and the governor makes appointments to fill unexpired terms when vacancies occur. The institutions combined under this board are: The State Hospital, Raleigh; the State Hospital, Morganton; the State Hospital, Goldsboro; the State Hospital, Butner; and the Caswell Training School, Kinston. *G. S.*, Sec. 122-7; *S. L., 1943*, Ch. 136; *S. L., 1945*, Ch. 925; *S. L.*, 1947, Ch. 537.

[127] Succeeded Frank M. Kilpatrick.

[128] Succeeded Lindsay C. Warren, resigned.

[129] Succeeded Mrs. E. H. Lasater.

[130] If the area of a regional housing authority consists at any time of an even number of counties, the governor of North Carolina shall appoint one additional commissioner to such regional housing authority, whose term of of office shall be for five years, except that such term shall end at any earlier time that the area of operation shall be changed to consist of an odd number of counties. *G. S.*, 157-36.

[131] Composed of three members appointed by the governor, one of which he appoints chairman. Members serve a term of six years. *G. S.*, Sec. 97-77.

[132] Succeeded J. Frank Huskins, resigned.

[133] The board is composed of seven members, six of whom are appointed by the governor and one of whom, the commissioner of insurance is an ex officio member and chairman. Appointments and reappointments are for four-year terms. The governor appoints members to fill any unexpired term of office, and may remove members when he feels the public interest requires such action. *G. S.*, Sec. 58-27, 1.

[134] Succeeded W. H. Nelson.

[135] Succeeded Jack C. Koonce.

[136] Succeeded Edwin Pou, resigned to attend special session of legislature.

[137] Succeeded Peter W. Hairston, resigned to attend special session of legislature.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
GOVERNOR'S COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE CO-OPERATION[138]			
J. Vivian Whitfield,[139] *Chairman*	Burgaw	5-25-55	At will of governor
NORTH CAROLINA COMMISSION ON INTERSTATE CO-OPERATION[140]			
J. Vivian Whifiteld[141]	Burgaw	5-25-55	At will of governor
JUDICIAL COUNCIL[142]			
Carl L. Bailey, Sr.[143]	Plymouth	7-6-55	6-2-57
David McConnell[144]	Charlotte	7-6-55	6-2-57
JOHN H. KERR RESERVOIR DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION[145]			
Don Matthews, Jr.[146]	Hamilton	9-1-55	7-26-61
J. B. Boyce[147]	Warrenton	9-8-55	7-26-61
D. A. Simmons[148]	Columbia	10-6-55	7-26-57
L. R. Taylor[149]	Jackson	11-17-55	7-26-59
George S. Comer[150]	Warrenton	7-19-56	7-26-61
COMMISSION ON LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION[151]			
Weimar Jones	Franklin	8-26-55	To report to next General Assembly
John R. Jordan, Jr.	Raleigh	8-26-55	To report to next General Assembly
Carroll W. Weathers	Winston-Salem	8-26-55	To report to next General Assembly

[138] This committee is composed of five members, two of whom are appointed from among state officials by the governor for terms which expire at his pleasure, and it constitutes a part of the North Carolina Commission on Interstate Co-operation. The governor, at his own discretion, may appoint one non-administrative official as an additional member, who also serves at his pleasure. Ex

officio members are: the budget director or corresponding official (the assistant director of the budget, is named here, as the budget director is the governor), the attorney general and the chief of staff of the State Planning Board or corresponding official (in this case, the commissioner of labor). In addition to the regular members, the governor is an ex officio honorary non-voting member. *G. S.*, Sec. 143-180; *S. L., 1949,* Ch. 1065.

[139] Succeeded Charles H. Jenkins, resigned.

[140] This commission is composed of sixteen members, fifteen being regular members, five of whom are members of the Governor's Committee on Interstate Co-operation. The governor, at his own discretion, appointed one additional member to his committee on Interstate Co-operation, thus bringing to six the number of representatives from the Governor's Committee. The other members are: five members named by the president of the Senate, and five members of the House designated by the speaker. The governor, the president of the Senate, and the speaker of the House of Representatives are ex officio honorary non-voting members. The act is indefinite as to the term served by the members. *G. S.*, Sec. 143-181.

[141] Succeeded Charles H. Jenkins, resigned.

[142] This council consists of twelve members, two of which are appointed by the governor. There are four members appointed by the Council of the North Carolina State Bar, one appointed by the speaker of the House, and one by the president of the Senate. Ex officio members are: The chief justice, or some other member of the Supreme Court, who serves as chairman; two judges of the Supreme Court, who are designated by the chief justice, and the attorney general. The term of the chief justice extends through his term of office if he designates no other member of the Supreme Court, the attorney general serves during his term of office, and all other members serve for terms of two years. *G. S.*, Sec. 7-448, 449, 451.

[143] Succeeded E. T. Bost, Jr.

[144] Succeeded John C. Rodman, Jr.

[145] Originally called Buggs Island Development Commission; name changed to John H. Kerr Reservoir Development Commission in 1953. The commission consists of ten members, seven of whom are appointed by the governor from the general public and three of whom are ex officio members, also appointed by the governor from the membership of the North Carolina Recreation Commission, the Wildlife Resources Commission, and the Board of Conservation and Development, respectively. The seven regular members serve for terms of six years each. The three ex officio members serve only during their terms of office in the respective commissions which they represent. *G. S.*, Sec. 143-284; *S. L., 1953,* Ch. 1312.

[146] Succeeded Tasker P. Hicks.

[147] Succeeded Earl D. Morton.

[149] Succeeded Woodrow Prise, resigned.

[149] Succeeded J. C. Bolton, resigned

[150] Succeeded J. B. Boyce, resigned.

[151] Nine members: three appointed by the president of the Senate; three by the speaker of the House; and three by the governor. To study the problem of redistricting and reapportionment and report to the 1957 General Assembly. *S. L., 1955,* Res. 48.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE LIBRARY[152]			
Paul S. Ballance	Winston-Salem	6-29-55	7-1-57
Roy B. McKnight	Charlotte	6-29-55	7-1-57
Mark McD. Lindsey	Hamlet	6-29-55	7-1-59
Clifford Peeler	Salisbury	6-29-55	7-1-59
John Harden	Greensboro	6-29-55	7-1-61
Charles E. Jordan	Durham	6-29-55	7-1-61
COMMITTEE TO COMMEMORATE AND PRESERVE IN THE HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA THE DATE OF MAY 20, 1775[153]			
Phillip N. Alexander	Charlotte	9-30-55	At will of the governor
BOARD OF TRUSTEES, NORTH CAROLINA LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL EMPLOYEES' RETIREMENT SYSTEM[154]			
James A. Glover †	Nashville	5-16-56	5-5-60
D. H. Umstead †	Durham	5-16-56	5-5-60
NORTH CAROLINA MEDICAL COMMISSION[155]			
William M. Coppridge †	Durham	6-2-55	6-30-59
George Carrington †	Burlington	7-22-55	6-30-59
G. Fred Hale †	Raleigh	7-22-55	6-30-59
Earl H. Tate[156]	Lenoir	7-22-55	6-30-59
Agnew Bahnson, Sr. [157]	Winston-Salem	7-10-56	6-30-60
J. B. Clemence[158]	Salisbury	7-10-56	6-30-60
Sample B. Forbus †	Durham	7-10-56	6-30-60
William R. Stanford †	Durham	7-10-56	6-30-60
Carl Cline[159]	Hickory	7-10-56	6-30-60

MERIT SYSTEM COUNCIL[160]

Macon P. Miller[161] ——— Spray	6-28-55	4-6-61
Fred S. Royster[162] ——— Henderson	3-22-56	4-6-61

[152] This board was created by the 1955 General Assembly as a successor to the Board of Trustees of the State and Document Libraries and the North Carolina Library Commission. It consists of eight members, six of whom are appointed by the governor and two of whom are ex officio (the state superintendent of public instruction and the librarian of the University of North Carolina). Of the governor's appointees, two are to serve for two years, two for four years, and two for six years. All subsequent appointments are for six years. *G. S.* Sec. 125-29; *S. L., 1955,* Ch. 505.

[153] Seven members, six of whom are appointed by the General Assembly and one by the governor. Terms of office are indefinite. *S. L., 1955,* Res. 45.

[154] The ten members of the Board of Trustees of the Local Governmental Employees' Retirement System consist of the eight members of the Board of Trustees of the Teachers' and State Employees' Retirement System, and two other persons appointed by the governor. Of the two other persons appointed by the governor, one must be a full-time executive officer of a city or town participating in the Retirement System, and one must be a full-time officer of the governing body of a county participating in the Retirement System. These are appointed for terms of four-years each. *G. S.,* Sec. 128-28 (2).

[155] The commission consists of twenty members, of whom ten are appointed by the governor, and eight are nominated by the various medical associations for appointment by the governor. Of these, three are nominated by the North Carolina Medical Society, one by the North Carolina Hospital Association, one by the North Carolina Dental Society, one by the North Carolina Nurses Association, one by the North Carolina Pharmaceutical Association, and one by the Duke Foundation. Two members serve ex officio: the secretary of the State Board of Health, and the commissioner of public welfare. Terms of office are for four years. *G. S.,* Sec. 131-117.

[156] Succeeded P. L. Pearson.

[157] Succeeded Clarence Poe.

[158] Succeeded Lloyd D. Hardy, resigned.

[159] Succeeded Ralph Ramsey.

[160] The council is composed of five members appointed by the governor for six-year terms. No members shall have held political office or have been an officer in a political organization during the year preceding his appointment, nor shall he hold such office during his term. *G. S.,* Sec. 126-1.

[161] Succeeded John W. Harrelson, deceased.

[162] Succeeded Macon P. Miller, resigned.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*	
NORTH CAROLINA MILK COMMISSION[163]				
I. B. Julian	Fayetteville	6-28-55	6-28-59	
William C. McIntire, Jr.	Greensboro	6-28-55	6-28-59	
W. W. Fitzpatrick †	Rougemont	8-8-55	8-6-59	
H. G. Strom †	Asheville	8-1-56	8-6-60	
NORTH CAROLINA MILK PRODUCERS COOPERATIVE, INC.[164]				
J. H. Hundley[165]	Norlina	8-25-55	2-8-58	
NORTH CAROLINA NATIONAL PARK, PARKWAY, AND FOREST DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION[166]				
John Archer[167]	Franklin	7-1-55	7-1-61	
W. F. Osborne †	Sparta	7-1-55	7-1-61	
BOARD OF PAROLES[168]				
W. A. Brame	Wendell	6-27-55	7-1-58	
Johnson Matthews	Durham	6-27-55	7-1-59	
Clarence H. Patrick	Wake Forest	6-27-55	7-1-57	
George W. Randall [169]	Mooresville	6-19-56	7-1-57	
STATE PERSONNEL COUNCIL[170]				
Fred S. Royster †	Henderson	6-29-55	7-1-59	
R. B. Justice[171]	Enka	4-9-56	7-1-57	
Wade Barber †	Pittsboro	6-19-56	7-1-60	
COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE SALE OF PIEDMONT TEST FARM[172]				
Joseph C. Eagles, Jr.	Wilson	6-10-55	Report to governor at intervals	

Charles Phillips	Thomasville	6-10-55	Report to governor at intervals
William E. Webb, Sr.	Statesville	6-10-55	Report to governor at intervals

PRISON ADVISORY COUNCIL[178]

Linn D. Garibaldi[174]	Charlotte	12-16-54	11-18-57
Mrs. J. Melville Broughton †	Raleigh	11-16-55	11-18-61

[163] The commission consists of nine members, eight of whom are appointed by the governor. The members represent: a producer, a producer-distributor, two distributors, three representatives of public interests, a retailer, and the ninth member is the commissioner of agriculture. Terms of office of the appointed members are for four years. *G. S.*, Sec. 106-266.7; *S. L. 1953*, Ch. 1338; *S. L. 1955*.

[164] The affairs of the association shall be managed by a board of not less than five directors elected by the members from their own number, and one or more directors appointed by the director of agricultural extension or any other public official or commission. *G. S.*, 54-146 (b).

[165] Succeeded Wayne A. Hornaday.

[166] The commission is composed of seven members appointed by the governor for terms of six years. In addition there are two ex officio members as follows: the chairman of the State Highway and Public Works Commission and the director of the Department of Conservation and Development. The governor appoints members to fill unexpired terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 143-255, 256.

[167] Succeeded E. C. Guy, deceased.

[168] This board was created by the 1953 General Assembly to succeed the commissioner of paroles and was advisory until 1955 when the General Assembly gave it administrative powers. It consists of three members, appointed by the governor. The first appointments were for two, three, and four-year terms. All subsequent appointments are to be for four-year terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 148-52; *S. L., 1953*, Ch. 17; *S. L., 1955*, Ch. 867.

[169] Succeeded Clarence H. Patrick, resigned.

[170] The council consists of five members appointed by the governor for terms of four years each. At least one member is to be chosen from the field of personnel administration who is not an employee of the state, at least one member is to be engaged in the management of private business or industry, and not more than one member is to be chosen from the employees of the state. *G. S.*, Sec. 143-35 (2); *S. L. 1953*, Ch. 1085.

[171] Succeeded Macon P. Miller.

[172] Three members, appointed by the governor; to make recommendations to the governor and the Council of State from time to time. *S. L., 1955*, Ch. 1321.

[173] This council is composed of seven members, five of whom are appointed by the governor for six-year terms. The governor designates one of his appointees as chairman. The attorney general and the commissioner of public welfare serve ex officio. *G. S.*, Sec. 148-86.

[174] Succeeded Howard W. Odum, deceased.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
STATE PROBATION COMMISSION[175]			
Henry A. Grady*[176]	New Bern	1-21-55-56	5-28-56-61
Allen Langston †	Raleigh	5-25-55	5-28-60
C. B. Holding[177]	Raleigh	7-8-55	5-28-59
STATE BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE[178]			
Edwin N. Brower[179]	Hope Mills	7-7-55	4-1-61
Tom Cornwall †	Shelby	7-7-55	4-1-61
Jack Kirksey †	Morganton	7-7-55	4-1-61
C. M. Vanstory, Jr.[180]	Greensboro	6-19-56	4-1-59
STATE EDUCATIONAL RADIO AND TELEVISION COMMISSION[181]			
Weldon Weir[182]	Asheville	6-6-56	Report to governor as soon as practical
NORTH CAROLINA RECREATION COMMISSION[183]			
Charles S. Hubbard †	Chapel Hill	7-11-55	7-1-56
Roscoe McMillan[184]	Red Springs	7-11-55	7-1-59
Mrs. John F. Matheson †	Mooresville	7-11-55	7-1-59
Mrs. Harriet Pressly[185]	Raleigh	7-10-56	7-1-60
A. E. Weatherford[186]	Durham	7-10-56	7-1-60
NORTH CAROLINA RECREATION COMMISSION ADVISORY COMMITTEE[187]			
Russell Grumman, *Chairman* †	Chapel Hill	10-11-55	7-1-57
Miss Augusta B. Barnett †	Asheville	10-11-55	7-1-57

Charles G. Bennett[188]	Raleigh	10-11-55	7-1-57
B. G. Brooks †	Raleigh	10-11-55	7-1-57
Miss Ruth Current †	Raleigh	10-11-55	7-1-57
Miss Dorothy Davis †	Greensboro	10-11-55	7-1-57
Rev. Harold J. Dudley †	Raleigh	10-11-55	7-1-57
Q. A. Fetch†	Fontana Dam	10-11-55	7-1-57
Fred Fletcher †	Raleigh	10-11-55	7-1-57

[175] Composed of five members appointed by the governor to serve for five years, one member's term expiring each year. Reappointments are for five-year terms, and the governor fills vacancies occurring in the membership for the remainder of unexpired terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 15-201.

[176] Succeeded N. F. Ransdell, resigned; reappointed for full term, June 20, 1956.

[177] Replacing L. P. McLendon.

[178] Composed of seven members appointed by the governor, one of whom he designates chairman, and at least one member must be a woman. The members serve terms of six years, and any vacancy is filled by appointment of the governor for the remainder of the unexpired term. *G. S.*, Sec. 108-1; *S. L., 1945,* Ch. 43.

[179] Succeeded Lewis Sylvester.

[180] Succeeded Frank A. Daniels, resigned. Edwin N. Brower succeeded Daniels as chairman.

[181] This commission was created by the 1953 General Assembly to make recommendations concerning the uses proposed for television facilities for educational and cultural purposes. It consists of twelve members appointed by the governor who are to report their activities and recommendations to him as soon as practicable. The governor designates a chairman, and in choosing the total membership endeavors to appoint persons representative of education, industry, agriculture, and the public at large. The commission was discontinued on November 23, 1956. *S. L. 1953,* Res. 10 and Ch. 1204.

[182] Succeeded Reuben B. Robertson.

[183] The commission is composed of eleven members, seven of whom are appointed by the governor for terms of four years and four of whom are ex officio members as follows: the governor, the superintendent of public instruction, the commissioner of public welfare, and the director of the Department of Conservation and Development. Vacancies are filled by the governor for the duration of unexpired terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 143-207.

[184] Succeeded R. L. McMillan.

[185] Succeeded Mrs. John F. Matheson.

[186] Succeeded W. J. Kennedy, Jr.

[187] The advisory committee is composed of thirty members who are appointed for two-year terms. The governor appoints one member as chairman and fills vacancies for the remainder of unexpired terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 143-210.

[188] Succeeded Fred Grigg.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
John W. Fox[189]	Raleigh	10-11-55	7-1-57
Carlton Garrett[190]	Elizabeth City	10-11-55	7-1-57
Lloyd B. Hathaway †	Winston-Salem	10-11-55	7-1-57
H. C. Hawn †	Winston-Salem	10-11-55	7-1-57
Irvin Holmes †	Durham	10-11-55	7-1-57
Mrs. Maurice Honigman †	Gastonia	10-11-55	7-1-57
Mrs. Miles A. Hughey †	Raleigh	10-11-55	7-1-57
C. Walton Johnson †	Weaverville	10-11-55	7-1-57
Edgar Johnson[191]	Winston-Salem	10-11-55	7-1-57
Ralph Johnson †	Gastonia	10-11-55	7-1-57
Mrs. Joy Kirschner †	Boone	10-11-55	7-1-57
Holt McPherson †	High Point	10-11-55	7-1-57
Miss Lucy Morgan[192]	Penland	10-11-55	7-1-57
L. J. Perry †	Chapel Hill	10-11-55	7-1-57
I. E. Ready †	Roanoke Rapids	10-11-55	7-1-57
E. Frank Ruble †	Washington	10-11-55	7-1-57
Samuel Selden †	Chapel Hill	10-11-55	7-1-57
William Stronach †	Raleigh	10-11-55	7-1-57
Miss Alice Suiter †	Greensboro	10-11-55	7-1-57
J. R. Townsend[193]	Greensboro	10-11-55	7-1-57
R. Quillian Ward †	Rocky Mount	10-11-55	7-1-57

COMMISSION ON REORGANIZATION OF STATE GOVERNMENT[194]

David Clark	Lincolnton	7-22-55	To report to the governor by November 15, 1956
Miss Harriet Herring	Chapel Hill	7-22-55	To report to the governor by November 15, 1956

John Kerr, Jr.	Warrenton	7-22-55	To report to the governor by November 15, 1956
O. Arthur Kirkman	High Point	7-22-55	To report to the governor by November 15, 1956
Roger C. Kiser	Laurinburg	7-22-55	To report to the governor by November 15, 1956
Robert F. Morgan	Shelby	7-22-55	To report to the governor by November 15, 1956
Ashley M. Murphy	Atkinson	7-22-55	To report to the governor by November 15, 1956
W. Frank Taylor	Goldsboro	7-22-55	To report to the governor by November 15, 1956
David Livingstone Ward	New Bern	7-22-55	To report to the governor by November 15, 1956

COMMISSION FOR THE STUDY OF THE REVENUE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE[193]

Brandon P. Hodges, *Chairman*	Canton	7-10-55	To report to next General Assembly
Frank A. Daniels	Raleigh	7-10-55	To report to next General Assembly
Howard Holderness	Greensboro	7-10-55	To report to next General Assembly
J. Y. Jordan	Asheville	7-10-55	To report to next General Assembly

[189] Succeeded Bob Wright.
[190] Succeeded Wally Mars.
[191] Succeeded Charles N. Carroll.
[192] Succeeded Mrs. Chester A. Marsh.
[193] Succeeded William J. Heard.
[194] This commission is composed of nine members appointed by the governor to study and make recommendations to him on or before November 15, 1956. *S. L., 1955,* Res. 52.
[195] Nine members, appointed by the governor, including one to be selected from the membership of the 1955 Senate and two from the membership of the 1955 House of Representatives. To report to the 1957 General Assembly. *S. L., 1955,* Res. 49.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
W. P. Kemp	Goldsboro	7-10-55	To report to next General Assembly
C. Gordon Maddrey	Ahoskie	7-10-55	To report to next General Assembly
E. M. O'Herron, Jr.	Charlotte	7-10-55	To report to next General Assembly
James Poyner	Raleigh	7-10-55	To report to next General Assembly
R. Grady Rankin	Gastonia	7-10-55	To report to next General Assembly
NORTH CAROLINA RURAL ELECTRIFICATION AUTHORITY[196]			
Mrs. Fred Davis[197]	Stonewall	7-6-55	6-5-59
S. H. Hobbs †	Chapel Hill	7-6-55	6-5-59
NORTH CAROLINA RURAL REHABILITATION CORPORATION[198]			
Ira O. Schaub †	Raleigh	6-8-55	11-19-57
Fred E. Harris †	Bailey	12-21-55	11-19-58
Gaston E. Small †	Elizabeth City	12-21-55	11-19-58
J. J. Hamlin, Jr. †	Rutherfordton	11-21-56	11-19-59
SALT MARSH MOSQUITO STUDY COMMISSION[199]			
C. B. Davis	Wilmington	6-23-55	To report to next General Assembly
W. W. Johnston	Manteo	6-23-55	To report to next General Assembly
Charles J. McCotter	Bayboro	6-23-55	To report to next General Assembly
Edward McKinley	Morehead City	6-23-55	To report to next General Assembly
ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTHEASTERN INTERSTATE FOREST FIRE PROTECTION COMPACT[200]			
Arthur W. Williamson, *Senate*	Cerro Gordo	11-15-55	Term indefinite
Edward L. Owens, *Senate Alternate*	Plymouth	11-15-55	Term indefinite

J. Paul Wallace, *House*	Troy	11-15-55	Term indefinite
Jack R. Rogers, *House Alternate*	Hayesville	11-15-55	Term indefinite
Carlton F. Blades	Charlotte	11-15-55	Term indefinite
W. Charles Cohoon	Columbia	11-15-55	Term indefinite

STATE STREAM SANITATION COMMITTEE[201]

Scott B. Berkeley†	Goldsboro	7-11-55	7-11-61
H. Grady Farthing †	Boone	7-11-55	7-11-61
Walter Clark[202]	Lincolnton	7-19-56	7-11-57

STRUCTURAL PEST CONTROL COMMISSION[203]

D. L. Wray*	Raleigh	7-13-55-56	7-1-56-59

[196] Composed of six members appointed by the governor for four-year terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 117-1.

[197] Succeeded D. E. Purcell, deceased.

[198] The General Assembly of 1953 changed the membership of the governing board from three to nine. Of these nine members five are appointees of the governor for three-year terms. The remaining four members serve ex officio and are: the commissioner of Agriculture, the director of the Co-operative Agricultural Extension Service of North Carolina State College, the director of the Division of Vocational Education, State Department of Public Instruction, and the North Carolina state director, Farmers Home Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture. *G. S.*, Sec. 137-31.3; *S. L., 1953*, Ch. 724.

[199] Seven members, four appointed by the governor and three ex officio (one appointed by the state health officer, one by the director of the Department of Conservation and Development, and one by the director of the Wildlife Resources Commission). To report through the governor to the 1957 General Assembly. *S. L., 1955*, Ch. 1197.

[200] Consists of one member and one alternate from the State Senate, one member and one alternate from the House of Representatives, and two others, one of whom shall be associated with forestry or forest products industries. All are appointed by the governor for indefinite terms, but presumably from one General Assembly to the next. *S. L., 1955*, Ch. 803.

[201] In 1951 the General Assembly created this permanent committee within the State Board of Health. It is composed of eight members, six of whom are appointed by the governor, and two of whom serve ex officio: the chief engineer of the State Board of Health and the chief engineer of the Water Resources and Engineering Division of the Department of Conservation and Development. Appointments by the governor are for six-year terms.

[202] Succeeded Carroll P. Rogers, resigned.

[203] Five members, appointed by the governor: one from the Division of Entomology of the State Department of Agriculture, one from the Entomology faculty of North Carolina State College, one from the State Department of Agriculture, and two from the pest control industry at large but not from the same company. Original appointments were: one for a one-year term, two for two-year terms, and two for three-year terms. All subsequent appointments for three years. *S. L., 1955*, Ch. 1017.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
John L. Reitzell	Raleigh	7-13-55	7-1-57
Walter H. Wilson	Winston-Salem	7-13-55	7-1-57
I. H. O'Hanlon	Fayetteville	7-13-55	7-1-58
Clyde F. Smith	Raleigh	7-13-55	7-1-58
BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE NORTH CAROLINA SYMPHONY SOCIETY, INCORPORATED[204]			
Mrs. Louis V. Sutton[205]	Raleigh	7-6-55	3-10-59
H. Pat Taylor, Jr.[206]	Wadesboro	7-6-55	3-10-59
BOARD OF TRUSTEES, TEACHERS' AND STATE EMPLOYEES' RETIREMENT SYSTEM[207]			
Ralph Moody* [208]	Raleigh	12-7-54-55	4-5-55-59
Thomas F. Royal †	Wadesboro	5-12-55	5-5-59
Mrs. Annie Swindell †	Durham	5-12-55	5-5-59
Claude L. Love[209]	Raleigh	8-30-55	5-5-59
H. L. Stephenson †	Smithfield	5-16-56	5-5-60
Sam J. Burrow, Jr. †	Smithfield	5-16-56	5-5-60
NORTH CAROLINA TOBACCO ADVISORY COUNCIL[210]			
Jesse A. Helms	Raleigh	4-9-56	
TRYON'S PALACE COMMISSION[211]			
George R. Ross[212]	Raleigh	6-3-55	Indefinite
Robert L. Humber[213]	Greenville	11-29-56	Indefinite

NORTH CAROLINA TURNPIKE AUTHORITY[214]

Orten Boren †	Greensboro	7-7-55	7-1-59
W. W. Shope* [215]	Weaverville	7-7-55	7-1-56-60

[204] The board of trustees consists of not less than sixteen members, of whom four are named by the governor for four-year terms, ten are chosen by the North Carolina Symphony Society, and two serve ex officio as follows: the governor, and the superintendent of public instruction. Reappointments are for four-year terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 140-6; *S. L., 1943,* Ch. 755; *S. L., 1947,* Ch. 1049.

[205] Succeeded Lester C. Gifford.

[206] Succeeded Mrs. Walter A. Coble.

[207] The board is composed of eight members, six of whom are appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate for four-year terms, and two of whom are ex officio as follows: the superintendent of public instruction and the state treasurer who is ex officio chairman. One appointee of the governor must be a member of the teaching profession, one must be an employee of the State Highway and Public Works Commission, and one a state employee. The remaining members must not be of the teaching profession or state employees. *G. S.*, Sec. 135-6; *S. L., 1947,* Ch. 259.

[208] Succeeded Ernest C. McCracken, resigned; reappointed for full term, April 12, 1955; resigned in July, 1955, when appointed to Utilities Commission.

[209] Succeeded Ralph Moody, resigned.

[210] Organized in 1946 for the general purpose of encouraging continued production and sale of North Carolina tobacco. Consists of thirty members of whom sixteen are appointed by the governor and fourteen are ex officio. The ex officio members include eight representatives from certain agricultural agencies, five from farm organizations in the state, and one from tobacco research, Duke University. The members appointed by the Governor include representatives from the Plant Food Institute, North Carolina and Virginia; the tobacco belt warehouse associations and Burley markets; processing associations; manufacturers; allied tobacco industries; merchant and banker associations and five members representing the tobacco growers at large. The governor's appointments to this council are not statutory, and the terms of office are indefinite.

[211] The commission consists of twenty-five members appointed by the governor, and six ex officio members as follows: the governor, the attorney general, and the director of the Department of Conservation and Development, the director of the Department of Archives and History, the mayor of New Bern, and the chairman of the Craven County Board of County Commissioners. The law does not specify the terms of the appointees. *S. L., 1945,* Ch. 791.

[212] Succeeded Mrs. Katherine P. Arrington, deceased.

[213] Succeeded Miss Gertrude Carraway, appointed director of the commission.

[214] This group consists of ten members, including the chairman of the State Highway and Public Works Commission, who serves as an ex officio member, and four members appointed by the governor for terms of four years, together with five members of the State Highway and Public Works Commission designated and appointed by the governor, whose terms expire with their respective terms as members of the North Carolina State Highway and Public Works Commission. Re appointments of members are for four years, and vacancies are filled only for duration of unexpired terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 136-89.14; *S. L., 1953,* Ch. 116.

[215] Succeeded Ben E. Roney, resigned; reappointed for full term, July 10, 1956.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
NORTH CAROLINA COMMISSION ON UNIFORM STATE LAWS[216]			
John F. Shuford[217]	Asheville	6-8-55	12-1-57
Bert M. Montague[218]	Wilders Grove	12-22-55	12-1-58
Fred I. Sutton †	Kinston	12-22-55	12-1-58
UTILITIES COMMISSION[219]			
Samuel O. Worthington † [220]	Greenville	6-24-55	2-1-57
Ralph Moody[221]	Raleigh	7-12-55	2-1-61
NORTH CAROLINA VETERANS' COMMISSION[222]			
Frank W. Swan[223]	Andrews	1-26-55	5-16-57
J. Oscar Thomas[224]	Leaksville	5-24-55	5-16-60
John L. Kallam[225]	Kinston	8-27-56	5-16-61
BOARD OF WATER COMMISSIONERS[226]			
C. Settle Bunn, *Chairman*	Spring Hope	8-9-55	6-30-61
David M. Hall	Sylva	8-9-55	6-30-57
James J. Harris	Charlotte	8-9-55	6-30-57
Jack Riley	Raleigh	8-9-55	6-30-59
J. R. Townsend	Greensboro	8-9-55	6-30-59
George L. Hundley, *Vice-Chairman*	Thomasville	8-9-55	6-30-61
James R. McKenzie	Laurinburg	8-9-55	6-30-61
C. W. Mayo[227]	Tarboro	7-18-56	6-30-61

Advisory Committee to the Board of Water Commissioners[228]

H. Clifton Blue, *Chairman*	Aberdeen	8-9-55	6-30-57
Carl Blades	Charlotte	8-9-55	6-30-57
Joe Fowler, Jr.	Mount Airy	8-9-55	6-30-57
Calvin Graves[229]	Winston-Salem	8-9-55	6-30-57
Shearon Harris	Albemarle	8-9-55	6-30-57

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[216] The commission consists of three members appointed by the governor. There is no statutory authority for these appointments.

[217] Succeeded Frank M. Parker.

[218] Succeeded Harry McGalliard, resigned.

[219] Five commissioners are appointed by the governor, with the consent of the Senate, three serving six-year terms and two serving four-year terms. The General Assembly of 1949 increased the membership from three to five commissioners. The two additional commissioners were appointed for terms expiring February 1, 1953, after which time their successors serve terms of four years; successors to the original three members serve six-year terms. The governor designates one member of the commission as chairman. *G. S.*, Sec. 62-1, 4.

[220] Succeeded himself; had resigned in December, 1954, after being elected to legislature. Apparently no one had been appointed to succeed him.

[221] Succeeded Fred C. Hunter, retired.

[222] The commission consists of five members appointed by the governor, all of whom are veterans. Appointments are for five years, and vacancies are filled by the governor for the duration of unexpired terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 165-5; *S. L., 1945*, Ch. 723.

[223] Succeeded Josiah A. Maultsby.

[224] Succeeded Ray Galloway.

[225] Succeeded Herbert H. Taylor, Jr.

[226] Seven members, appointed by the governor. Of the initial appointments two were for two years, two for four years, and three for six years. All subsequent appointments are for six years. *S. L., 1955*, Ch. 857.

[227] Succeeded C. Settle Bunn, resigned. James R. Townsend succeeded Bunn as chairman.

[228] Sixteen members, of which eight are appointed by the governor and eight are ex-officio: the commissioner of agriculture, the director of Agricultural Extension Service, the director of the Department of Conservation and Development, the state soil conservationist, the secretary of the State Board of Health, the director of the State Recreation Commission, the executive secretary of the Stream Sanitation Committee, and the director of the Wildlife Resources Commission. All terms are for two years, expiring June 30, 1957, *S. L., 1955*, Ch. 857.

[229] Resigned September 8, 1956.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
J. B. Lattay	Bolton	8-9-55	6-30-57
David J. Rose	Goldsboro	8-9-55	6-30-57
S. Lee Wilson	Raleigh	8-9-55	6-30-57
NORTH CAROLINA WILDLIFE RESOURCES COMMISSION[230]			
G. E. Beal †	Red Oak	6-7-55	1-24-61
Robert M. Carr[231]	Wallace	6-7-55	1-24-61
Orville L. Woodhouse †	Grandy	6-7-55	1-24-61
WRECK COMMISSIONERS[232]			
A. W. Drinkwater †	Manteo	1-30-56	2-21-58
Roy Eubanks †	Beaufort	11-29-56	9-11-58
YOUTH SERVICE COMMISSION[233]			
Nat S. Crews, *Chairman*	Winston-Salem	8-9-55	7-30-57
Mrs. Walter T. Carpenter	Lenoir	8-9-55	7-30-57
Ren Hoek	Clinton	8-9-55	7-30-57
Mrs. Ernest Hunter	Charlotte	8-9-55	7-30-57
A. B. Gibson[234]	Laurinburg	4-6-56	7-30-57
INSTITUTIONS			
EAST CAROLINA COLLEGE BOARD OF TRUSTEES[235]			
Frederick Willetts †	Wilmington	6-24-55	6-30-61
Elton Aydlett[236]	Elizabeth City	7-7-55	6-30-61
Luther Hamilton[237]	Morehead City	7-7-55	6-30-59

Charles H. Larkins[238]	Kinston	7-7-55	6-30-61
William W. Taylor, Jr.[239]	Warrenton	7-7-55	6-30-57
Mrs. William B. Umstead[240]	Durham	7-7-55	6-30-61
Ralph H. Hodges[241]	Washington	8-2-55	6-30-59

BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF[242]

Charles K. Bryant, Sr.[243]	Gastonia	11-29-56	4-1-57

PEMBROKE STATE COLLEGE BOARD OF TRUSTEES[244]

A. E. Hammond[245]	Fairmont	5-20-55	4-1-57

[230] This commission is composed of nine citizens informed on wildlife conservation and restoration problems and appointed by the governor for terms of six years. Vacancies are filled by appointment of the governor for the duration of unexpired terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 143-241; *S. L., 1947*, Ch. 263.

[231] Succeeded Robert Sadler.

[232] Whenever necessary the governor appoints wreck commissioners for the various districts in the state's coastal counties, who serve for two-year terms. Each commissioner is to live in the district for which he is appointed. *G. S.*, Sec. 82-2.

[233] Five members, appointed by the governor. To advise the governor on matters pertaining to juvenile delinquency and to continue in office until June 30, 1957. *S. L., 1955*, Ch. 904.

[234] Succeeded Ren Hoek.

[235] The board is composed of twelve members appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Senate for terms of six years. The superintendent of public instruction is ex officio chairman. *G. S.* Sec. 116-59.

[236] Succeeded R. J. White.

[237] Succeeded Merrill Evans, resigned.

[238] Succeeded Jane Hall.

[239] Succeeded Ralph M. Garrett, deceased.

[240] Succeeded Janet Palmer.

[241] Succeeded Lewis H. Swindell, resigned.

[242] Seven members appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Senate for four-year terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 116-121.

[243] Succeeded Howard E. Rondthaler, deceased.

[244] Eleven members appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Senate for four-year terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 116-81.

[245] Succeeded Lacy Cummins.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
James R. Lowry[246]	Pembroke	5-20-55	4-1-57
L. W. Jacobs †	Pembroke	5-20-55	4-1-59
D. F. Lowry †	Pembroke	5-20-55	4-1-59
BOARD OF TRUSTEES, NORTH CAROLINA VOCATIONAL TEXTILE SCHOOL[247]			
Claude C. Dawson, Sr.[248]	Cramerton	7-7-55	7-1-59
O. M. Mull †	Shelby	7-7-55	7-1-59
Alex W. Bell [249]	Mount Holly	7-10-56	7-1-60
J. Harold Lineberger[250]	Belmont	7-10-56	7-1-60
WESTERN CAROLINA COLLEGE BOARD OF TRUSTEES[251]			
James J. Harris †	Charlotte	5-19-55	5-6-63
W. H. McDonald †	Tryon	5-19-55	5-6-63
Mrs. Dan K. Moore[252]	Sylva	5-19-55	5-6-63
AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL COLLEGE BOARD OF TRUSTEES[253]			
Elbert Edwin Waddell [254]	Albemarle	3-15-55	1-1-61
Henry A. Scott †	Haw River	3-17-55	1-1-61
George Sockwell †	Gibsonville	3-17-55	1-1-61
A. H. Brett [255]	Winton	3-31-55	1-1-61
James A. Graham[256]	Winston-Salem	4-31-55	1-1-61
ELIZABETH CITY STATE TEACHERS' COLLEGE BOARD OF TRUSTEES[257]			
O. Ray Symons[258]	Elizabeth City	3-17-55	5-1-57
J. H. Moore[259]	Elizabeth City	6-7-56	5-1-57

WINSTON-SALEM TEACHERS' COLLEGE BOARD OF TRUSTEES[260]

Fleet L. Gobble[261]	Winston-Salem	7-8-55	6-5-57

BOARD OF DIRECTORS FOR THE NORTH CAROLINA CEREBRAL PALSY HOSPITAL[262]

Miss Grizzelle M. Norfleet †	Winston-Salem	8-30-55	7-10-61
Forrest Waller[263]	Kinston	8-30-55	7-10-61
James F. White[264]	Raleigh	8-30-55	7-10-61

[246] Succeeded J. Oliver Brooks.
[247] Six members appointed by the governor, who serve four-year terms. An ex officio member is the director of Vocational Education. Reappointments are made for four-year terms, and vacancies are filled by appointment of the governor for the remainder of unexpired terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 115-255.1; *S. L., 1945*, Ch. 806.
[248] Succeeded R. L. Stowe, Jr.
[249] Succeeded John F. Matheson, resigned.
[250] Succeeded R. S. Dickson, resigned.
[251] Twelve members appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate for eight-year terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 116-45, 46; *S. L. 1951*, Ch. 1167; *S. L., 1953*, Ch. 1282.
[252] Succeeded Allen J. Bell.
[253] The board is composed of fifteen members serving six-year terms and the superintendent of public instruction who is a member ex officio. *S. L., 1943*, Ch. 132; *G. S.*, 116-94.
[254] Succeeded J. W. Jeffries.
[255] Succeeded L. W. James.
[256] Succeeded C. H. Dearman.
[257] Nine members appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Senate for four-year terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 116-103.
[258] Succeeded George R. Little, deceased.
[259] Succeeded Dudley W. Bagley, resigned.
[260] Nine members appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Senate for four-year terms. *G. S.* Sec. 116-103.
[261] Succeeded William F. Womble, resigned.
[262] Established in 1945 as the North Carolina Hospital for Treatment of Spastic Children; name changed in 1953 to North Carolina Cerebral Palsy Hospital. The board is composed of nine members appointed by the governor for six-year terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 131-127, 128; *S. L., 1945*, Ch. 504; *S. L., 1953*, Ch. 893.
[263] Succeeded Mrs. Margaret Smethurst.
[264] Succeeded Hubert Teer.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
NORTH CAROLINA ORTHOPEDIC HOSPITAL BOARD OF TRUSTEES[265]			
Miss Helen Kaiser †	Durham	6-2-55	5-4-61
J. Harold Lineberger †	Gastonia	6-2-55	5-4-61
W. Frank Phillips[266]	Charlotte	7-7-55	5-4-59
BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA SANATORIUMS FOR THE TREATMENT OF TUBERCULOSIS[267]			
Joseph S. Lichty[268]	Greensboro	5-19-55	4-29-61
Mrs. Sadie M. McCain†	Southern Pines	5-19-55	4-29-61
W. G. Suiter[269]	Weldon	5-19-55	4-29-61
Hardy Talton †	Pikeville	5-19-55	4-29-61
L. L. Love[270]	Andrews	9-30-55	4-29-59
BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE CONFEDERATE WOMAN'S HOME[271]			
Mrs. John D. Boyd [272]	Fayetteville	7-6-55	5-9-57
Mrs. J. Y. Gatewood †	Yanceyville	7-6-55	5-9-57
Mrs. Robert Grady Johnson †	Burgaw	7-6-55	5-9-57
Mrs. J. F. MacGill [273]	Fayetteville	7-6-55	5-9-57
Mrs. E. R. MacKeithan †	Fayetteville	7-6-55	5-9-57
Mrs. Charles G. Rose[274]	Fayetteville	7-6-55	5-9-57
Mrs. H. L. Stevens †	Warsaw	7-6-55	5-9-57
EXAMINING BOARDS			
STATE BOARD OF CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT EXAMINERS[275]			
S. Preston Douglas[276]	Lumberton	6-28-55	6-30-58
Leslie A. Heath[277]	Charlotte	6-28-55	6-30-58

Sydney H. Shaw[278]	Rocky Mount	6-20-56	6-30-59
R. Glenn Snipes[279]	Asheville	6-20-56	6-30-59

STATE BOARD OF ARCHITECTURAL EXAMINATION AND REGISTRATION[280]

Leon McMinn †	Greensboro	4-3-55	4-8-60
James W. Griffith[281]	Greenville	6-20-56	4-8-61

STATE BOARD OF BARBER EXAMINERS[282]

C. T. Land[283]	Rocky Mount	6-23-55	7-1-61

[265] Consists of nine members appointed by the governor for six-year terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 131-1.
[266] Succeeded Paul C. Whitlock, resigned.
[267] Twelve members appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Senate for terms of six years. The secretary of the North Carolina State Board of Health is an ex officio member. Vacancies are filled by appointment of the governor and confirmed by the next succeeding session of the Senate. *G. S.*, Sec. 131-62, 63, 64.
[268] Succeeded Carl C. Scott.
[269] Succeeded J. Elmer Long, deceased.
[270] Succeeded E. A. Rasberry, deceased.
[271] Composed of seven members appointed by the governor for two-year terms. The state treasurer is the treasurer of the board. *G. S.*, Sec. 112-2.
[272] Succeeded Mrs. Robert Bruce Cook.
[273] Succeeded A. E. Cook.
[274] Succeeded E. Bruce McFayden.
[275] Consists of four members appointed by the governor for a term of three years and until their successors are appointed. *G. S.*, Sec. 93-12.
[276] Succeeded A. T. Allen, Sr.
[277] Succeeded Frank P. Buck.
[278] Succeeded Martin L. Black, Jr.
[279] Succeeded Ernest W. Smith.
[280] Composed of five members appointed by the governor for five-year terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 83-2, 10.
[281] Succeeded Eric G. Flannagan.
[282] Consists of three members to be appointed by the governor. Each member must be an experienced barber. The members of the board are appointed for six-year terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 86-6.
[283] Succeeded W. E. Motley.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
STATE BOARD OF CHIROPRACTIC EXAMINERS[284]			
W. E. Thornton[285]	Goldsboro	5-25-55	5-5-58
Wilfred O. Briens[286]	Hickory	6-20-56	5-5-59
STATE LICENSING BOARD FOR GENERAL CONTRACTORS[287]			
R. D. Beam †	Raleigh	1-4-55	12-31-59
Raymond A. Bryan †	Goldsboro	12-12-55	12-31-60
V. B. Higgins †	Greensboro	12-6-56	12-31-61
BOARD OF COSMETIC ART EXAMINERS[288]			
James A. Henderson[289]	Winston-Salem	6-28-56	7-1-59
Mrs. Charles B. Noe[290]	Beaufort	6-28-56	7-1-59
Mrs. Eleanor Register Wallace[291]	Durham	6-28-56	7-1-59
STATE BOARD OF DENTAL EXAMINERS[292]			
Darden J. Eure †	Morehead City	10-3-55	7-31-58
J. H. Guion[293]	Charlotte	10-3-55	7-31-58
Wade J. Breeland[294]	Belmont	7-5-56	7-31-59
S. W. Shaffer[295]	Greensboro	7-5-56	7-31-59
BOARD OF EXAMINERS OF ELECTRICAL CONTRACTORS[296]			
W. A. Darden †	Greenville	6-2-55	4-15-58
Elwood C. Peele †	Burlington	4-16-56	4-15-59
BOARD OF NURSE REGISTRATION AND NURSING EDUCATION[297]			
Grayson Brothers*[298]	Morganton	5-25-55	1-1-56-60

Mrs. W. D. James, Sr.†	Hamlet	1-1-55	1-1-59
Moir S. Martin†	Mount Airy	1-1-55	1-1-59
Miss J. Elizabeth White†	Charlotte	1-1-55	1-1-59
Miss Willie Louise Harkey†	Concord	12-22-55	1-1-60

NORTH CAROLINA STATE BOARD OF OPTICIANS[299]

Frank McBryde†	Fayetteville	7-11-55	7-1-60
H. L. Ridgeway, Jr.†	Raleigh	6-19-56	7-1-61

[284] Consists of three members appointed by the governor for three-year terms. Members must be practicing chiropractors of integrity and ability and residents of the state. No more than two members shall be graduates of the same school or college of chiropractic. *G. S.*, Sec. 90-140, 141.

[285] Succeeded J. B. Morris.

[286] Succeeded P. M. Starnes.

[287] Composed of five members appointed by the governor for five-year terms. Vacancies are filled by appointment of the governor. *G. S.*, Sec. 87-2, 4.

[288] Consists of three members appointed by the governor for three-year terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 88-13.

[289] Succeeded Mrs. R. J. Hinshaw.

[290] Succeeded Mrs. Ann Jenkins.

[291] Succeeded Mrs. Ralph E. Hanna.

[292] The board consists of six members of the North Carolina Dental Society, elected by the society at its annual meeting and commissioned by the governor for three-year terms of office. *G. S.*, Sec. 90-22.

[293] Succeeded Frank O. Alford.

[294] Succeeded A. T. Jennette.

[295] Succeeded E. M. Medlin.

[296] The board consists of three members appointed by the governor for three-year terms, and two ex officio members as follows: the state electrical engineer who is also the chairman, and the secretary of the Association of Electrical Contractors of North Carolina. *G. S.*, Sec. 87-39.

[297] The board consists of nine members. Five members are to be registered nurses, two are to be physicians, and two are to be representatives of hospitals operating nursing schools, who are not physicians, all of whom are appointed and commissioned by the governor for terms of four years. Vacancies are filled for the remainder of unexpired terms by the governor from a list of two nominees filed by the organization which previously nominated the member creating the vacancy, or by the appointment of the governor if such member was not a nominee of any organization. *G. S.*, Sec. 90-158; *S. L., 1953,* Ch. 1199.

[298] Succeeded R. M. Gantt, Jr., resigned; reappointed for full term, December 22, 1955.

[299] Consists of five members appointed by the governor from a list of names submitted by the North Carolina Opticians Association. Terms of office are for five years. The governor appoints members to fill unexpired terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 90-238; *S. L., 1951,* Ch. 1089.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
STATE BOARD OF EXAMINERS IN OPTOMETRY[300]			
John T. High[301]	Rocky Mount	7-11-55	5-1-60
Harold C. Herring[302]	Fairmont	6-18-56	5-1-61
STATE BOARD OF OSTEOPATHIC EXAMINATION AND REGISTRATION[303]			
S. D. Foster †	Asheville	7-10-56	5-1-61
A. H. Zealy, Sr. †	Goldsboro	5-27-55	5-1-60
STATE BOARD OF PHARMACY[304]			
Robert Neal Watson †	Sanford	5-27-55	4-28-60
William Moss Salley, Jr.[305]	Asheville	4-19-56	4-28-61
STATE EXAMINING COMMITTEE OF PHYSICAL THERAPISTS[306]			
Miss Helen Kaiser †	Durham	1-4-55	1-1-58
Miss Maria Kennedy †	Charlotte	1-4-55	1-1-58
Miss Anne Parrish[307]	Raleigh	12-21-55	1-1-59
STATE BOARD OF EXAMINERS OF PLUMBING AND HEATING CONTRACTORS[308]			
C. C. Davis †	Wilmington	5-24-55	4-25-62
COMMITTEE ON POSTMORTEM MEDICOLEGAL EXAMINERS[309]			
Holt McPherson	High Point	11-29-55	11-29-59

State Board of Refrigeration Examiners[310]

George Brickle	Wilmington	12-22-55	1-1-57
Walter H. Jones	Raleigh	12-22-55	1-1-58

[300] Composed of five members elected by the North Carolina State Optometric Society and commissioned by the governor for five-year terms. Vacancies are filled by the governor for unexpired terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 90-116.

[301] Succeeded James A. Palmer.

[302] Succeeded P. N. DeVere.

[303] Composed of five members appointed by the governor for terms of five years. The membership is selected from a number of not less than five practitioners of osteopathy recommended by the State Osteopathic Society. The governor fills vacancies for unexpired terms in the same manner and may request an increase in the number recommended by the society. *G. S.*, Sec. 90-130.

[304] Composed of five members appointed for five-year terms. They are elected by the North Carolina Pharmaceutical Association and commissioned by the governor. *G. S.*, Sec. 90-55.

[305] Succeeded Wade Axom Gilliam.

[306] Created in 1951 and consisting of five members, including at least one doctor and four physical therapists, appointed by the governor from a list submitted to him by the North Carolina Physical Therapy Association, Inc. Members are appointed triennially for three-year terms. The governor appoints persons to fill unexpired terms and no member is allowed by law to serve more than two successive three-year terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 90-257.

[307] Succeeded Miss Celeste Hayden.

[308] Composed of seven members, each appointed by the governor for a seven-year term with the term of one member expiring each year. Among those appointed there must be one member from the Engineering School and one member from the Division of Public Health of the Greater University of North Carolina, one from the State Board of Health, one plumbing inspector from some city of the state, one licensed master plumber, one heating contractor, and one licensed air conditioning contractor. Vacancies are filled by appointment of the governor for the remainder of the unexpired term. *G. S.*, Sec. 87-16.

[309] This committee was created within the State Board of Health by the 1955 General Assembly. It consists of seven members, six ex officio and one appointed by the governor. The ex officio members are: the state health officer, the attorney general or his representative, the director of the State Bureau of Investigation or his representative, and the heads of the Departments of Pathology at the University of North Carolina, Wake Forest, and Duke University Medical Schools, or their respective representatives. The ex officio members serve during the tenure of their respective offices or that of the officer they represent. The governor's appointee serves for four years. *G. S.*, Sec. 130-293; *S. L., 1955,* Ch. 972.

[310] Seven members, all appointed by the governor: one from the State Board of Health, one from the Engineering School of the Greater University of North Carolina, one from the Division of Public Health of the Greater University of North Carolina, one manufacturer of refrigeration equipment, one wholesaler of refrigeration equipment, and two licensed refrigeration contractors. The tems of office were to be so designated by the governor that one should expire each year. *S. L., 1955,* Ch. 912. (The Governor was advised that appointment of a member from the State Board of Health would create a condition of double officeholding, which is forbidden under the state constitution, and therefore this appointment was left vacant.)

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
C. V. Stevens	Salisbury	12-22-55	1-1-59
P. B. Mayo	Asheville	12-22-55	1-1-61
Emil T. Chanlett	Chapel Hill	12-22-55	1-1-60
Karl P. Hanson	Raleigh	12-22-55	1-1-62
BOARD OF EXAMINERS FOR LICENSING TILE CONTRACTORS[311]			
O. A. Ritch †	Charlotte	4-12-55	**4-12-60**
George W. Carter †	Kinston	6-20-56	**4-12-61**
NORTH CAROLINA BOARD OF VETERINARY MEDICAL EXAMINERS[312]			
George R. Armstrong[313]	Charlotte	7-12-55	7-1-60
J. W. McKee[314]	Hickory	7-12-55	7-1-58
J. C. Bateman[315]	Greenville	7-19-56	7-1-61
STATE OWNED RAILROADS			
ATLANTIC AND NORTH CAROLINA RAILROAD[316]			
Directors			
Judson H. Blount † *	Greenville	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57
M. A. Cowell	Jacksonville	8-1-55	8-6-56
Clayton Fulcher*	Atlantic	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57
Charles M. Johnson*	Raleigh	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57
M. G. Mann † *	Raleigh	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57
B. F. Royal *	Morehead City	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57
Hugh Salter *	Beaufort	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57
J. A. Speight *	Windsor	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57

A. B. Harless	Edenton	8-1-56	8-6-57
Officers			
Judson H. Blount, *Chairman of the Board* † *	Greenville	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57
M. G. Mann, *President* † *	Raleigh	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57
Paul LaRoque, *Secretary-Treasurer* † *	Kinston	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57
James C. Little, Jr., *Attorney*	Raleigh	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57
Finance Committee			
A. B. Harless	Edenton	8-1-55	8-6-56
John Larkins, Jr.*	Trenton	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57
Lawrence Stith	New Bern	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57
Faison Thompson	Goldsboro	8-1-56	8-6-57
Inspector			
Albert R. Bell † *	New Bern	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57
Proxy			
Faison Thompson *	Goldsboro	8-1-55-56	8-6-56-57

NORTH CAROLINA RAILROAD DIRECTORS, OFFICERS, ETC.[817]

Directors			
George H. Clark	Leaksville	7-14-55	7-14-56

[811] Five members appointed by the governor for five-year terms. *G. S.*, Sec. 87-30, 31.

[812] Composed of five members of the North Carolina Veterinary Medical Association appointed by the governor for five-year terms and until their successors are appointed and qualified. One term expires each year. *G. S.*, Sec. 90-180.

[813] Succeeded M. G. Edwards.

[814] Succeeded C. E. Nicks, resigned.

[815] Succeeded B. H. Kinsey.

[816] The board is composed of twelve directors, eight of whom the governor appoints annually. *P. L., 1852,* Ch. 136; *P. L., 1858-1859,* Resolution (p. 99); *P. L., 1891,* Ch. 483; *P. L., 1925,* Ch. 157.

[817] The board of directors consists of twelve members, eight of whom are appointed annually by the governor with the advice and consent of the Council of State. See the bylaws of the North Carolina Railroad Company, and charter and amendments thereto. *P. L., 1854-1855,* Ch. 32; *P. L., 1873-1874,* Chs. 33, 54; *P. L., 1879,* Ch. 138; *P. L., 1891,* Ch. 392; *P. L., 1925,* Ch. 157.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
Carl Fitchett	Dunn	7-14-55	7-14-56
Clyde Gordon	Burlington	7-14-55	7-14-56
Frank Hutton	Greensboro	7-14-55	7-14-56
John M. Morehead *	New York	7-14-55-56	7-14-56-57
Paul Stoner	Lexington	7-14-55	7-14-56
J. Lee White	Concord	7-14-55	7-14-56
Jonathan Woody	Waynesville	7-14-55	7-14-56
Bascom Baynes	Durham	7-9-56	7-9-57
H. V. Bibberstein	Charlotte	7-9-56	7-9-57
Harry Finch	Thomasville	7-9-56	7-9-57
A. E. Finley	Raleigh	7-9-56	7-9-57
Robert H. Frazier	Greensboro	7-9-56	7-9-57
A. W. Thomas, Jr.	Concord	7-9-56	7-9-57
Thomas Van Noppen	Madison	7-9-56	7-9-57
Officers			
John M. Morehead, *President* *	New York	7-14-55-56	7-14-56-57
John Kerr, *Secretary-Treasurer*	Warrenton	7-14-55	7-14-56
Grover Martin, *Secretary-Treasurer*	Smithfield	7-14-56	7-14-57
Hugh McAulay, *Attorney*	Charlotte	7-14-55	7-14-56
A. M. Carroll, *Attorney*	Burlington	7-14-56	7-14-57
Marshall Bennett, *Expert* *	Raleigh	7-14-55-56	7-14-56-57
Finance Committee			
Harris Nelson, Sr.*	Spray	7-14-55-56	7-14-56-57
Faison Thompson	Goldsboro	7-14-55	7-14-56
Hiram Worth*	Greensboro	7-14-55-56	7-14-56-57

Robert G. Deyton	Winston-Salem	7-14-56	7-14-57
Proxy			
John W. Umstead	Chapel Hill	7-14-55	7-14-56
Edwin Gill	Raleigh	7-14-56	7-14-57

MISCELLANEOUS

Davidson County Court[318]

Lester A. Martin, *Judge* †	Lexington	11-23-54	12-3-56
Philip R. Craver, *Solicitor*[319]	Lexington	11-23-54-55	12-3-56-57
Joe H. Leonard, *Judge*[320]	Lexington	11-21-56	12-1-58

Durham Small Claims Court[321]

Oscar G. Barker, *Judge*	Durham	8-5-55	8-5-57

High Point Municipal Court[322]

James A. Myatt, *Judge* †	High Point	4-8-55	5-31-59
Harriss H. Jarrell, *Judge pro tem* †	High Point	4-8-55	5-31-59
James V. Morgan, *Solicitor* †	High Point	4-8-55	5-31-59

Lee County Board of Veterans' Affairs[323]

T. E. Haigler †	Sanford	7-11-55	7-1-59

[318] The judge and solicitor shall be appointed by the governor of North Carolina and shall hold office for two years or until their successors are appointed. Vacancies are filled by the governor. *Public Local Laws, 1933,* Ch. 82. (Hereinafter cited as *P.L.L.*)

[319] Succeeded Beamer H. Barnes.

[320] Succeeded Lester A. Martin, resigned.

[321] A special county court, created by the Board of County Commissioners under authority of *G. S.,* Sec. 7-405-7. The governor appoints the judge for a two-year term.

[322] Appointments are made for four-year terms by the first Monday in June, 1947, and each four years thereafter. *S. L., 1947,* Ch. 842.

[323] Composed of six members, five of whom are appointed by the governor, and one of whom, the chairman of the Board of County Commissioners, is a member ex officio. Members serve four-year terms. *S. L., 1945,* Ch. 599.

Name of Appointee	*Address*	*Date Appointed*	*Date of Expiration*
Gabe Holmes †	Sanford	7-11-55	7-1-59
H. F. Oehler[324]	Sanford	7-10-56	7-1-60
James P. Seymore †	Sanford	7-10-56	7-1-60
TOWN OF SURF CITY[325]			
A. H. Ward, *Mayor*[326]	Surf City-Hampstead	6-21-55	6-30-57
R. L. Church, Jr.[327]	Surf City-Hampstead	6-21-55	6-30-57
G. S. Mercer †	Surf City-Hampstead	6-21-55	6-30-57
THOMASVILLE RECORDER'S COURT[328]			
L. Roy Hughes, *Judge* †	Thomasville	4-1-55	4-1-57
Charles F. Lambeth, Jr., *Solicitor* †	Thomasville	4-1-55	4-1-57
TOWN OF WHITE LAKE[329]			
Hiram A. Melvin, *Mayor*[330]	White Lake	6-21-55	7-5-57
W. M. Corbitt, Jr.	White Lake	6-21-55	7-5-57
I. H. Herring[331]	White Lake	6-21-55	7-5-57
Rodney Marshburn[332]	White Lake	6-21-55	7-5-57
Harry G. Womble	White Lake	6-21-55	7-5-57
TOWN OF WRIGHTSVILLE BEACH[333]			
R. S. Dunlea, Sr.†	Wrightsville	6-21-55	7-5-59
Murdoch M. Dunn †	Wrightsville	6-21-55	7-5-59
Richard F. Meier †	Wrightsville	6-21-55	7-5-57
E. F. Peschau †	Wrightsville	6-21-55	7-5-57
J. C. Thompson[334]	Wilmington	6-21-55	7-5-57

[324] Succeeded W. H. Ray.

[325] In the second week of June, 1953, and at that time every two years, a mayor, who also serves as a commissioner, and two other commissioners are appointed by the governor from persons recommended to him as having had the highest number of votes in the general election. Vacancies are filled by appointment of the remaining commissioners for the duration of unexpired terms. *S. L., 1949,* Ch. 512, Sec. 12.

[326] Succeeded R. L. Church, Jr.

[327] Succeeded D. N. Lucas.

[328] The judge and solicitor are appointed by the governor for two-year terms upon the recommendation of the city of Thomasville. *P. L. L., 1933,* Ch. 245.

[329] The mayor and four commissioners are appointed by the governor from a list of the five persons who received the highest number of votes in the biennial election. The law recommends that the person with the highest number of votes be appointed mayor and the other four be appointed commissioners. Any vacancies are filled by appointment of the governor upon the recommendation of the remaining commissioners. *S. L., 1951,* Ch. 511.

[330] Succeeded W. M. Corbitt, Jr., as mayor.

[331] Succeeded Joe Woodlief.

[332] Succeeded James R. Nash.

[333] A mayor and four aldermen are appointed by the governor from a list of the five candidates with the highest number of votes after the election every two years. The candidate with the highest number of votes is recommended as mayor and the four next highest as aldermen. At the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of mayor or alderman, the remaining aldermen recommend an appointee to the governor. *S. L., 1951,* Ch. 637.

[334] Succeeded Michael C. Brown.

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